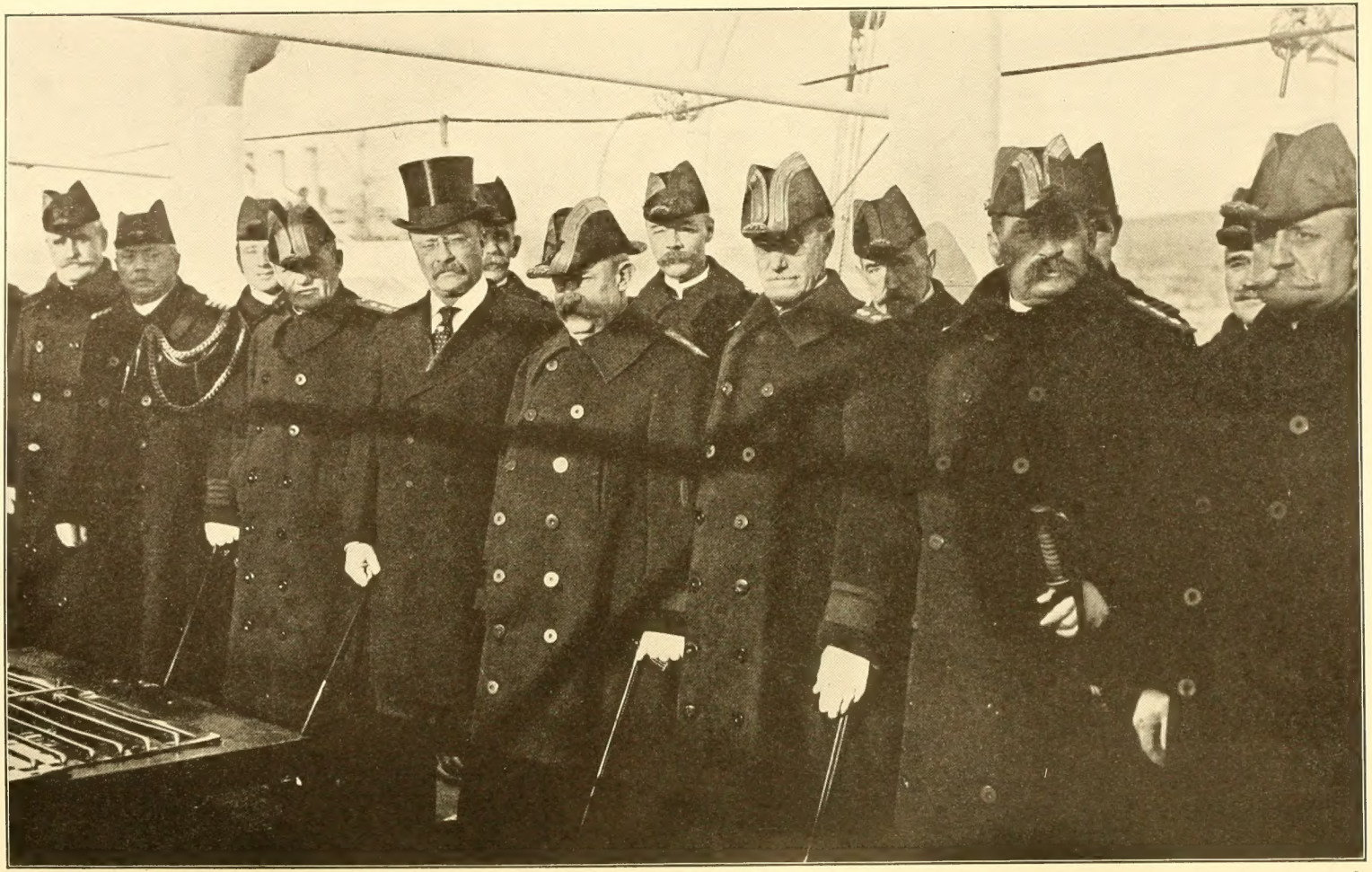
Class E178

Book D47

Copyright No.

COPYRIGHT DEPOSIT.



Copyright 1907, *by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.*

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE FOUR ADMIRALS OF THE BATTLESHIP FLEET.

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT — 1. ADMIRAL EVANS; 2. PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT; 3. ADMIRAL THOMAS; 4. ADMIRAL SPERRY; 5. ADMIRAL EMERY.

THE
GLORY OF OUR YOUTH

AS PORTRAYED IN THE EVENTS AND MOVEMENTS THAT
HAVE CHIEFLY DISTINGUISHED THE MARVELOUS
ADVANCE OF THE AMERICAN NATION

FROM COLONY TO WORLD POWER

THE FASCINATING STORY

Interesting as a romance, of the notable occurrences and decisive actions in the Political, Social, Religious, Economic, and Industrial Life of the People, from the Birth of the Republic to the current year

WITH

ENTERTAINING AND RELIABLE

Character-sketches of the men and women whom the Nation has delighted to honor; all made doubly interesting by lively accounts of personal experiences, anecdotes, etc.

BY

FRAZAR KIRKLAND

AND

CHARLES W. CHASE, A. B.

Richly illustrated with about four hundred reproductions of famous paintings, portraits, etc.

PUBLISHED BY

THE C. A. NICHOLS COMPANY

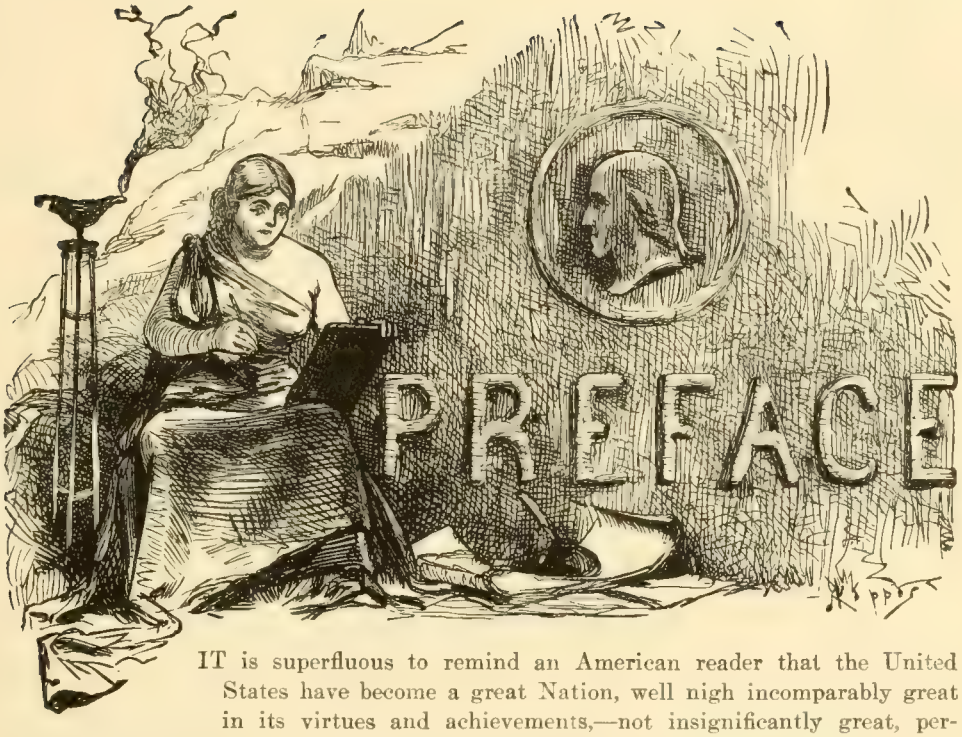
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

E178
.D47

Copyright 1909 by
THE C. A. NICHOLS Co.

J. B. LYON COMPANY
ELECTROTYPERS, PRINTERS AND BINDERS,
ALBANY, NEW YORK.

©Cl.A253240



IT is superfluous to remind an American reader that the United States have become a great Nation, well nigh incomparably great in its virtues and achievements,—not insignificantly great, perhaps, in its vices and in what it has failed to accomplish. Scores of writers have depicted in dignified and stately narrative the growth of the Nation, from a weak and discordant condition that threatened to be fatal, to the stage of exalted power, boundless resources and wealth, and vast moral influence which it holds to-day.

In the present work, however, the author has conceived of this national life as the counterpart or reflection of the life of an individual. In the Colonial period its infancy and childhood are seen, which gradually merge into a lusty and vigorous youth, chiefly through the unifying experiences of the Revolutionary war, and the broadening outlook that came with independent sovereignty and constantly enlarging national and international relations. By conscious and unconscious accretions of strength, physical vigor, and moral force the youth develops through a century of marvelous expansions until at its close full maturity of powers, definiteness of purpose, and a mighty determination to attain more lofty heights of achievement and influence mark the advent upon the world's stage of action of the adult Nation,—a World Power of lofty and imposing grandeur. And in the story of the Nation's progress from infancy to maturity we find "The Glory of Our Youth."

Such a conception naturally admits of a method of treatment of the Nation's development very different from that of the ordinary historian. Wars and international

quarrels are considered rather as incidents in, than determining factors of, its growth. Their course, therefore, has not been followed closely or in detail; but significant events and movements that illustrate the patriotism, and the heroic purpose and action, of the people at different periods have been selected and described more fully than the space of the usual historic narration would permit. But hardly a year has passed since Independence was proclaimed when a certain individual occurrence or natural phenomenon has not chiefly absorbed the thought and attention of all the people of the land. Such living questions of different periods it has been the author's aim to select with judgment and make the subject of detailed treatment in the several chapters of this work. By this method of presenting the story of the Nation's development the reader may become more intimately familiar with the dominant hopes, fears, and aspirations of the people as the years rolled by than would otherwise be possible; while it admits of the description of personal experiences, interesting and peculiar situations, and the introduction of anecdotes, which serve to enliven the narrative.

No subject, for example, so engaged popular attention in 1789 as the novel function of inaugurating the first President of the new Republic. The standard histories simply record the main features of the event, with comment especially directed toward its political significance. Here, however, by making the inauguration the subject of a separate chapter, the author has been able to weave into the story interesting incidents, to describe in detail the movements, bearing, and dress of President Washington, the manner in which popular enthusiasm expressed itself, and many similar features in much the same way as the Press correspondents have recently sent into every home an account of all the incidents of interest connected with the inauguration of President Taft. Comparatively few people of the present day are aware that their forefathers in 1780 were thrown into an almost incredible state of superstitious fear and terror by what was long known and talked of as the "Wonderful Dark Day." By selecting that as the subject best illustrating popular interest at that time, it is possible to depict with a large measure of clearness the mental and religious sentiment then prevalent. Looking back to the year 1857 one finds the whole country disturbed and all its people woefully distressed by conditions not apparently related, yet which our narrative will show were closely connected. The "Great Panic" of that year carried despair and ruin into thousands of homes all over the land; in the "Great Revival" movement of the same period one sees the stricken people, by scores of thousands, turning for succor to Him "who opens His hand" only "to satisfy the desire of every living thing." A chapter given to each of these subjects is replete with incidents and anecdotes that touch the heart and kindle the fires of sympathy in the breast of every reader. With the Great Revival movement of 1857 the author has associated a detailed and inspiriting account of the wonderful work of Moody and Sankey twenty years later. At first blush one would fail to recognize any connection between the chance meeting of Alexander I. of Russia, in 1815, with the religious enthusiast and pietist, Mme. de Krudener, and the establishment of the Monroe Doctrine and the settlement of the Venezuela Boundary dispute. As the attitude of President Cleveland on the latter subject was the topic of dominant interest in this country and England in 1895, it has naturally been chosen as the subject of our chapter to illustrate that period; and it has thus been possible to trace to its source, and in an interesting manner to make more intelligible, the development of the great American Doctrine which, then, for the first time, was recognized by the foremost Powers of the world as an unwritten principle of International Law. No one matter of public concern, probably, has more thoroughly engrossed the thought and attention of the American people during

the last decade than the Isthmian Canal. Making this the subject of one of our longer chapters, the progress of the Canal scheme is detailed from the days when Philip II. of Spain, after prolonged investigation by his naval officers and engineers, abandoned the project because it was evidently an impious act for man to attempt to join oceans which God had put asunder, down to the latest visit of President Taft to Panama. And lastly, not to cite other illustrations from the scores that are noted in our Table of Contents, it will be within the memory of most of our readers how the religious world was shocked when it was proposed to *revise* the grand old Bible, which had been considered perfect in every respect, and of too sacred a character to be touched by the irreverent hands of so-called textual critics and advanced Biblical scholars. A vast majority of Bible readers sympathized with the sentiment of the curate quoted by Bishop Wordsworth, "that if the authorized version was good enough for St. Paul it was good enough for him." Selecting the Revision of the Bible as the subject for our chapter illustrating popular thought and interest about 1880, it is shown in a lucid and, it is believed, very entertaining and instructive manner how our prized King James Version has been evolved from a long succession of antecedent versions; and it is also made manifest that nothing of its essential truth has been disturbed or destroyed in the revision.

These topics are named merely to illustrate as clearly as we may the idea that has been worked out in the preparation of this book. With loving interest and thoughtful study the author has surveyed the period of the nation's history which in his thought constituted its "Glorious Youth," and has chosen such subjects for detailed treatment as seem to express most fully the mental and physical activities of the people for nearly each year of the period covered; and which, he believes, in their totality furnish a more illuminating and vastly more fascinating survey of the young nation's progress toward maturity than can be secured by any other method of treatment. His purpose has been not merely to instruct, but to interest and entertain the reader; "by judicious selection, rejection, and arrangement," as Macaulay has said, "to give to truth those attractions which have been usurped by fiction."

Most frankly and happily it is admitted that the aim has been to present the various subjects treated in a *popular* manner. But with the most determined insistence it is maintained that such a treatment need not, and has not been allowed to, in any degree involve a loss of dignity in the style of writing, nor of a keen sense of the difference between what appeals to a vicious and uneducated public sentiment and that which ministers to the highest ideals, loftiest aspirations, and purest life of an intelligent and right-minded people. The author has had in mind the hundreds of thousands of *average* homes throughout this great land; and unless he has lamentably failed in his labors the work will be found intellectually and morally enlightening and helpful, and, best of all, stimulating in an unusual degree of a desire to know more of the history and true greatness of this, our home-land.

Nor has the pen alone been brought into use to secure these ends. The senses are also appealed to and interested by reproductions of some of the best work of artist, engraver, and photographer. It will at once be recognized, however, that the aim has not been merely to attract the eye. Every picture is designed to *truly* illustrate the text, not merely to adorn the page. For this reason a great number of old and rare prints have been reproduced that the reader may more readily appreciate the actual conditions that existed in any community at the period described. This has involved the insertion in these pages of more than three hundred portraits of distinguished actors in the thrilling movements of the Nation's youth, scenes of notable events, and illustrations of customs, dress, modes

of travel, marvels of industrial and scientific development, etc.

Because apparently isolated events or movements have been described, however, one should not imagine that such subjects have been selected at random nor in any hap-hazard way. There is a unity of purpose and a general thread of continuity underlying the whole work; and the author feels great assurance that the unity of History has been quite as well conserved as in any of the more pretentious histories. But a great gain is made in the opportunity for interesting and attractive statement. Each chapter being complete in itself and devoted entirely to the delineation of a single subject, the volume may be taken up at any time and opened by chance at any place, and one find an entertaining story or narrative, replete with informing and suggestive material; all of which is made more truly attractive by anecdotes of the actors in the events described and others, by accounts of individual experiences, and by a most generous supply of portraits and pictures which effectually illustrate and illuminate the narrative.

CONTENTS.

I.

IN COLONIAL DAYS.

Marvelous Achievements of Nineteenth Century.—Far Surpass Those of All Previous Centuries.—Washington Could Travel No Faster, Nor Despatch Messages More Quickly, Than Cæsar or Hammurabi.—Views of John Fiske.—"The Past Contains Within Itself All the Germs of the Future."—Mr. J. N. Larned's Review of Historical Development.—The United States in 1800.—New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Compared.—Washington in 1800.—Commercial and Social Life of Charleston.—Passion for Sport, Including the Rough-and Tumble Fight.—Beginning of Cotton Culture and the Invention of the Cotton Gin.—Migration to the Ohio Valley.—Local State Jealousies.—Contest Over Adoption of the Constitution.—Payment of Taxes an "Amiable Eccentricity."—Not a Dollar in the National Treasury.—Craze for Cheap Money and Depreciation of Currency.—Samuel Adams Pays $2,000 for Hat and Suit of Clothes.—Injury to Cause of Popular Government Worked by Popular Discord.—Opinions of Fisher Ames, Hamilton, and Others.—"Your People, Sir, Your People is a Great *Beast*."—The Post Office Department.—First Mail Despatched on American Continent.—Methods of Travel, Inns, Etc.—The Early Stage Coaches and Famous Concord Stages.—Advent of Steam Railroad.—Home Life in the Colonies.—The Dining-room and the Kitchen.—The Light of Our Fathers.—The Clergy and Churches.—Intemperance the National Curse.—Moral Status of the People.—Intellectual and Literary Conditions and Publications.—No Scientific Attainments.—Opinions of "Tom" Moore, Noah Webster, and Others.—Contrast Between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries... 31

II.

Birth of the New Republic.—1776.

Declaration of American Independence and National Sovereignty, July Fourth, 1776.—The Gauntlet of Defiance thrown at the Feet of the British Empire by Her Youngest Colonies.—Vast Disparity, in Power and Resources, between the Contestants.—The whole World Looks on Astonished.—Seven Years' Bloody and Desolating War.—The American Cause Triumphant.—Grandest Modern Event.—America Resists Unjust Taxation.—Haughty Obstinacy of King George.—Burning Eloquence of Patrick Henry.—His Summons, "We Must Fight."—Washington Endorses this Sentiment.—Determination of the People.—War Preferred to Submission.—Momentous Action by Congress.—Separation from England Decreed.—Effect of the Act in America.—Its Reception in England.—Excitement of the King and Court.—Lord Chatham, America's Advocate.—His Passionate Change of Views.—Scorching Speech against the Colonies.—He is Struck Dead while Speaking.—Magnanimity of Burke and Fox.—Recognition from France Secured.—Her Timely Aid in the Struggle.—Victories over the British Armies.—England Gives Up the Contest.—World-wide Welcome to the New Nation 65

III.

First American Naval Victory.—1779.

John Paul Jones, Commanding the Bon Homme Richard, Fights and Captures King George's Powerful Ship-of-war, the Serapis, in British Waters.—Crowds of Spectators Line the English Coast.—The Most Sanguinary Battle Ever Fought between Single Ships.—Jones is Hailed as "The Washington of the Seas."—World-wide Interest of this Combat.—Commodore Jones's Early Career.—Offers his Services to Congress.—Appointed a Naval Lieutenant.—Joins the Continental Fleet.—The First to Hoist its Ensign.—Style and Motto of the Flag.—Sails from France on a Cruise.—Terror Created by His Movements.—Characteristic Anecdotes.—Two British Frigates in Sight.—Jones Ready for Bloody Work.—The Ships Muzzle to Muzzle.—Superiority of the Serapis.—A Most Deadly Contest.—Both Vessels on Fire.—Jones Attacked by Another Foe.—One of His Vessels Treacherous.—Remarkable Scenes.—Britain's Flag Struck to America.—An Act without Precedent.—Sinking of the Victorious Vessel 72

IV.

The Wonderful Dark Day.—1780.

The Northern States wrapt in a Dense Black Atmosphere for Fifteen Hours.—The Day of Judgment Supposed to have Come.—Cessation of Labor.—Religious Devotions Resorted to.—The Herds Retire to their Stalls, the Fowls to their Roosts, and the Birds Sing Their Evening Songs at Noonday.—Science at Loss to Account for the Mysterious Phenomenon.—One of Nature's Marvels.—Redness of the Sun and Moon.—Approach of a Thick Vapor.—Loud Peals of Thunder.—Sudden and Strange Darkness.—Alarm of the Inhabitants.—End of the World Looked For.—Dismay of the Brute Creation.—An Intensely Deep Gloom.—Difficulty in Attending to Business.—Lights Burning in the Houses.—Vast Extent of the Occurrence.—Condition of the Barometer.—Change in the Color of Objects.—Quick Motion of the Clouds.—Birds Suffocate and Die.—The Sun's Disc Seen in Some Places.—Oily Deposit on the Waters.—Impenetrable Darkness at Night.—Incidents and Anecdotes.—Ignorant Whims and Conjectures.—An Unsolved Mystery..... 79

V.

Washington's Farewell to the Army.—1783.

Affecting Interviews and Parting Words between the Great Chieftain and His Comrades-in-Arms.—Solemn Farewell Audience with Congress.—In Its Presence He Voluntarily Divests Himself of His Supreme Authority, Returns His Victorious Sword, and Becomes a Private Citizen.—History of the Election of a Military Leader.—America's Destiny in His Hands.—Appointment of George Washington.—The Army at Cambridge, Mass.—He Immediately Takes Command.—Is Enthusiastically Greeted.—Leads Its Fortunes Seven Years.—Record

of His Generalship.—Ends the War in Triumph.—Scheme to Make Him King.—Indignantly Rebukes the Proposal.—Last Review of His Troops.—His Strong Attachment for Them.—Intention to Leave Public Life.—Congress Informed of this Fact.—Embarkation from New York.—Homage Paid Him Everywhere.—Arrival at Annapolis.—Proceeds to the Halls of Congress.—Impressive Ceremonial There.—Rare Event in Human History.... 88

VI.

APPOINTMENT OF THE FIRST MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM THE NEW REPUBLIC TO THE ENGLISH COURT.—1785.

John Adams, America's Sturdiest Patriot, and the Foremost Enemy of British Tyranny, Fills this High Office.—Interview between Him and King George, His Late Sovereign.—Their Addresses, Temper, Personal Bearing, and Humorous Conversation.—The Two Men Rightly Matched against Each Other.—Old Animosities Unhealed.—Mutual Charges of False Dealing.—Settlement Demanded by the United States.—What Adams's Mission Involved.—Dismemberment of the British Realm.—Loss of the Fairest Possession.—Bitter Pill for the King.—His Obstinacy Forced to Yield.—Humiliation of the Proud Monarch.—All Europe Watches the Event.—Mr. Adams Presented at Court.—Patriot and King Face to Face.—Official Address by the Minister.—Reply of King George.—His Visible Agitation.—Adams's Presence of Mind.—Pays His Homage to the Queen.—Her Majesty's Response.—Civilities by the Royal Family.—Results of this Embassy.—Pitiable Position of George the Third.—Fatal Error of Great Britain..... 95

VII.

FIRST ORGANIZED REBELLION IN THE UNITED STATES.—1786.

Daniel Shays, at the Head of an Armed and Desperate Force, Boldly Defies the State and Federal Laws in Massachusetts.—"Taxation and Tyranny" the Alleged Grievances.—Alarming Disaffection throughout all New England.—Bad Leaders and Furious Mobs.—Rout of the Insurgents, by General Lincoln, in the Dead of Winter.—Patriotic Old Massachusetts in a Ferment.—Causes of Public Discontent.—Total Exhaustion of Credit.—Prostration of Trade.—Ruinous Debts, Heavy Taxation.—Weakness of the Government.—An Excited Populace.—Turbulence and Lawlessness.—All Authority Spurned.—A Bloody Conflict Invited.—Courts of Justice Broken Up.—Indignation of Washington.—Heroism on the Bench.—The National Forces Augmented.—Fears of a General Civil War.—Unscrupulousness of Shays.—Intention to Seize the Capitol.—Governor Bowdoin's Defenses.—General Lincoln in Command.—Active Movement of His Troops.—A Terrible Snow Storm.—Hardships of Shays's Army.—Federal Bayonets Triumphant 101

VIII.

FORMATION AND ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.—1787.

The United States no Longer a People without a Government.—Establishment of the Republic on a Permanent Foundation of Unity, Organic Law, and National Polity.—Dignity, Learning, and Eloquence of the Delegates.—Sublime Scene on Signing the Instrument.—Extraordinary Character of the Whole Transaction.—State of Things After the War.—Financial Embarrassment.—Despondency of the People.—Grave Crisis in Public Affairs.—A Grand Movement Initiated.—Plan of Government to be Framed.—All the States in Convention.—Washington Chosen to Preside.—Statesmen and Sages in Council.—The Old Compact Abrogated.—New Basis of Union Proposed.—Various Schemes Discussed.—Jealousy of the Smaller States.—Angry Debates, Sectional Threats.—Bad Prospects of the Convention.—Its Dissolution Imminent.—Franklin's Impressive Appeal.—Compromise and Conciliation.—Final System Agreed Upon.—Patriotism Rules all Hearts.—Ratification by the States.—National Joy at the Decision..... 108

IX.

FIRST ELECTION AND INAUGURATION OF A PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.—1789.

Washington, "First in War, First in Peace, and First in the Hearts of His Countrymen," the Nation's Spontaneous, Unanimous Choice.—His Triumphal Progress from Home, and Sol-

en.n Induction into Office.—Jubilee throughout the Republic, over the August Event.—Auspicious Commencement of the National Executive Government.—Requirements of the Constitution.—A President to be Chosen.—Four Years the Term of Service.—All Eyes Fixed Upon Washington.—His Reluctance to Accept.—Reasons Given for this Course.—Urgent Appeals to Him.—The Result of the Election.—One Voice and One Mind.—He Bows to the People's Will.—Joy Produced by His Decision.—Departs at Once from Mount Vernon.—Farewell Visits to His Mother.—Inauguration Appointed for March Fourth.—Postponement to April Thirtieth.—Order of Ceremonies.—New Spectacle in the Western World.—Distinguished Celebrities Present.—Washington's Elegant Appearance.—Dignity when Taking the Oath.—Reverentially Kisses the Bible.—Curious Customs Initiated.. 115

X.

WHITNEY'S EXTRAORDINARY COTTON GIN INVENTION.—1793.

Amazing Impetus Given to the Culture, Uses, and Consumption of Cotton.—Revolution in the Industrial Prospects and Political Power of the South.—How Cotton Became "King."—Its Relation to the Great Themes and Events in American History.—Ingratitude to Whitney.—His Brilliant Change of Fortune in Another Sphere.—Whitney's Obscure Circumstances.—His Early Mechanical Genius.—Determined to Get an Education.—Goes to the South as a Teacher.—Change of Pursuits.—Befriended by General Greene's Widow.—Amateur Inventive Efforts.—Low State of Southern Industry.—Objection to Cotton-Raising.—Mrs. Greene's Apt Suggestion.—Whitney's Characteristic Resolve.—Secret and Persevering Toil.—Exciting Rumors as to His Purpose.—Great Expectations Entertained.—Triumphant Success.—Enthusiasm of the Cotton-Growers.—His Machine Stolen from Him.—Infringements upon His Patent.—Law-Suits, but no Redress for Him.—His Pathetic Letter to Fulton.—He Invents a Valuable Firearm.—Southern Strides in Wealth..... 122

XI.

FOUNDING AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.—1799.

Bitter Sectional Contest in Deciding the Location.—First "Compromise" in Congress between the North and the South.—Final Removal of the Government and its Archives to Washington.—Official Observance of the Event.—Magnificent Site and Plan of the City.—Splendor of its Public Buildings.—Congress First Sits in Philadelphia.—Need of a Permanent Capital.—National Dignity Involved.—Violent Agitation of the Subject.—Philadelphia and New York Proposed.—They are Objected to by the South.—Northern Disunion Threats.—Schemes of Conciliation.—How the Question was Settled.—Sweetening Two Bitter Pills.—Jefferson's Graphic Account.—General Washington's Preference.—His Site on the Potomac Adopted.—Some Rather Personal Anecdotes.—Work of Laying Out the City.—Its Original Aspect and Condition.—Early Trials of the President's Wife.—Construction of the Capitol.—Its Corner-Stone Laid by Washington.—Congress in its New Halls.—Growth of the Metropolis.—The New Corner-Stone of 1851..... 129

XII.

DEATH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.—1799.

His Sudden and Brief Illness, Last Hours, and Dying Words.—Fortitude and Serenity through all His Sufferings.—He Calmly Announces His Approaching Dissolution Without a Murmur.—The Whole World Does Honor, by Eulogy and Lamentations, to His Exalted Worth and Immortal Fame.—He Anticipated an Early Death.—His Invariably Good Health.—Exposure in a Snow-Storm.—Takes a Fatal Cold.—Last Letter Written by His Hand.—Reads the Papers in the Evening.—Characteristic Reply to His Wife.—Passes a Restless Night.—Alarming Condition the Next Day.—Medical Treatment of no Avail.—Calls for His Two Wills, Burns One.—Affecting Scene at His Bedside.—Last Words, "'Tis Well!"—Only One Day's Sickness.—Acute Laryngitis His Disease.—Burial in the Old Family Vault.—Tidings of His Death.—Tributes from Peoples and Kings.—A Man Without a Parallel.—Last Page in His Journal.—Re-entombment in 1837.—Appearance of His Remains.... 136

XIII.

FATAL DUEL BETWEEN MR. BURR AND GENERAL ALEXANDER HAMILTON.—1804.

Fall of Hamilton at First Fire.—His Death in Thirty Hours.—Profound Sensation and Solemn Obsequies in all Parts of the Land.—Mourned as One of the Founders of the Republic.—Indictment of the Assassin for the Crime of Murder.—Hamilton's Brilliant Public Life.—Washington's Right-hand Man.—Champion of the Federalists.—Burr's Career in the Revolution.—His Notorious Debauchery.—Finally Dismissed by Washington.—Becomes Vice-President in 1800.—Deadly Personal Hatreds.—Criticisms on Burr by His Opponents.—Challenge Sent to Hamilton.—Pacific Explanations Spurned.—Forced to Meet Burr.—Makes His Will in Anticipation.—Sings at a Banquet the Day Before.—Arrival of the Fatal Hour.—Hamilton's Mortal Wound.—What He Said of the Event.—Conversation before Dying.—Partakes of the Communion.—His Testimony against Dueling.—Heartless Conduct of Burr.—A Fugitive and an Outlaw..... 144

XIV.

FULTON'S TRIUMPHANT APPLICATION OF STEAM TO NAVIGATION.—1807.

First Steam-boat Voyage on American Waters under His Direction.—Astonishment Produced by the Exhibition.—Great Era in National Development.—The World at Large Indebted to American Ingenuity and Enterprise for this Mighty Revolutionary Agent in Human Progress and Power.—The Whole Scale of Civilization Enlarged.—Fulton's Early Mechanisms.—His Inventive Projects Abroad.—Steam Propulsion the End Sought.—Various Experiments and Trials.—Livingston's Valued Co-operation.—Studying the Principle Involved.—Its Discovery at Last.—Legislative Encouragement Asked.—Public Ridicule of the Scheme.—Construction of a Steam-boat.—The "Queer-Looking Craft."—Incidents at the Launch.—Undaunted Confidence of Fulton.—Sailing of the "New-Fangled Craft."—Demonstrations Along the Route.—Complete Success of the Trip.—First Passage Money.—That Bottle of Wine.—Opposition Lines, and Racing.—First Steam-boat at the West.—Amazing Subsequent Increase.—Fulton's Checkered Fortunes..... 151

XV.

CAPTURE OF THE BRITISH FRIGATE GUERRIERE BY THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE CONSTITUTION.—1812.

Captain Dacres's Insolent Challenge to the American Navy.—Captain Hull's Eager Acceptance.—His Unrivaled Tactics and Maneuvers.—A Short, Terrific, Decisive Contest.—Yankee Valor on the Ocean a Fixed Fact, Sternly Respected.—The Constitution Becomes the Favorite Ship of the Nation and is Popularly Called "Old Ironsides."—Cruise of the Constitution.—Hull, the "Sea King," in Command.—A Sail! The Enemy's Squadron!—Chased Three Days by Them.—Rowing and Warping in a Calm.—Most Wonderful Escape on Record.—Another Frigate in Sight, the Guerriere.—Her Signals of Defiance.—Yankee Eagerness for Action.—The Two Frigates Afoul.—Yard-Arm to Yard-Arm Encounter.—Fire of the Constitution Reserved.—Final and Deadly Broadsides.—Fearless Conduct of Her Crew.—British Colors Hauled Down.—Sinking of the Shattered Wreck.—Armament and Power of the Ships.—An Almost Equal Match.—Anecdotes of the Two Commanders.—Honors to the Brave Victors.—Future Annals of the Constitution.—Her Varied and Noble Career... 157

XVI.

GENERAL JACKSON'S TERRIBLE ROUT AND SLAUGHTER OF THE BRITISH ARMY, AT NEW ORLEANS.—1815.

His Consummate Generalship in the Order and Conduct of this Campaign.—The War with England Terminated by a Sudden and Splendid Victory to the American Arms.—Jackson is Hailed as One of the Greatest of Modern Warriors, and as the Deliverer and Second Savior of His Country.—National Military Prestige Gained by this Decisive Battle.—British Invasion of Louisiana.—Preparations to Resist Them.—Jackson Hastens to New Orleans.—His Presence Inspires Confidence.—Martial Law Proclaimed.—Progress of the British Forces.—They Rendezvous at Ship Island.—Pirates and Indians for Allies.—Capture of the United

States Flotilla.—Arrival of Veterans from England.—Desperate Attempts at Storming.—Both Armies Face Each Other.—The Day of Action, January Eighth.—General Pakenham Leads the Charge.—His Motto, "Booty and Beauty."—Fire and Death Open Upon Them.—They Are Mown Down Like Grass.—Pakenham Falls at the Onset.—Panic and Precipitate Retreat.—America's Motto, "Victory or Death."—The Result at Home and Abroad.—Startling and Impressive Effect..... 166

XVII.

THE EVER-MEMORABLE SEPTEMBER GALE.—1815.

Its Violence and Destructiveness without a Parallel Since the Settlement of the Country.—Terror Excited by its Sudden and Tumultuous Force.—Unprecedented Phenomena of Tempest, Deluge, and Flood.—One Hour of Indescribable Havoc on the Land and Sea.—Premonitory Indications.—Heavy North-east Rains.—Sudden and Violent Changes of Wind.—Its Rapidity and Force Indescribable.—Demolition of Hundreds of Buildings.—Orchards and Forests Instantly Uprooted.—Raging and Foaming of the Sea.—Its Spray Drives like a Snow-Storm over the Land.—Tremendous Rise in the Tides.—Irresistible Impetuosity of the Flood.—Several Feet of Water in the Streets.—Innumerable Fragments Fill the Air.—Flight for Safety to the Fields.—The whole Coast Swarms with Wrecks.—Perils, Escapes, Fatalities.—Peculiar Meteorological Facts.—Bright Skies in the Midst of the Tempest.—Suffocating Current of Hot Air.—Sea Fowls in the Depths of the Interior.—Effect upon Lands, Crops, and Wells.—All New England Desolated.—Comparison with Other Gales..... 173

XVIII.

VISIT OF LAFAYETTE TO AMERICA, AS THE GUEST OF THE REPUBLIC.—1824.

His Tour of Five Thousand Miles through the Twenty-four States.—A National Ovation on the Grandest Scale.—Cities, States, Legislatures and Governors, Vie in Their Demonstrations of Respect.—The Venerable Patriot Enters the Tomb and Stands beside the Remains of his Great Departed Friend, Washington.—Noble Qualities of the Marquis.—A Favorite of Louis XVI.—Hears of the Battle of Bunker Hill.—Pleads the Cause of the Americans.—Resolves to Join their Army.—Freely Consecrates his Vast Wealth.—Equips a Vessel and Embarks.—Introduced to General Washington.—Admiration of Him by the Chieftain.—One of Washington's Military Family.—A Major-General in His Nineteenth Year.—Heroic Fidelity During the War.—Subsequent Vicissitudes in France.—America's Heart-felt Sympathy.—He Leaves Havre for New York.—Enthusiasm Excited by his Presence.—Incidents, Interviews, Fetes.—Greetings with Old Comrades.—Memories, Joys, and Tears.—Departs in the United States Ship Brandywine.—His Death in 1834.—National Grief..... 181

XIX.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY AND CELEBRATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC.—1826.

Sudden and Simultaneous Death of Ex-Presidents John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, its Two Most Illustrious Founders.—The Day of Resounding Joy and Jubilee Changed to One of Profound National Sorrow.—No Historical Parallel to Such a Remarkable Coincidence.—World-Renowned Career of these Statesmen.—Extraordinary Preparations for the Day.—Adams and Jefferson then Alive.—Sires and Patriarchs of the Nation.—Their Names Household Words.—Invited to Share in the Festivities.—They Hail the Glorious Morn.—Great Rejoicings; Death's Summons.—Jefferson's Distinguishing Honor.—Adams's Patriotic Luster.—Their Imperishable Deeds.—Calm Yet High Enthusiasm.—Hostile Leaders in After-Life.—Racy and Piquant Anecdote.—Crisis Point in Adams's Fortunes.—His Last Toast for His Country,—"Independence Forever."—Two Sages in Old Age.—Serenity, Wisdom, Dignity.—Former Friendship Revived.—Letters of Mutual Attachment.—European Admiration Excited.—Reverence to Their Colossal Fame..... 191

XX.

THE "GREAT DEBATE" BETWEEN WEBSTER AND HAYNE, IN CONGRESS.—1830.

Vital Constitutional Issues Discussed.—Unsurpassed Power and Splendor of Senatorial Eloquence.—Webster's Speech Acknowledged to be the Grandest Forensic Achievement in the

Whole Range of Modern Parliamentary Efforts.—Golden Age of American Oratory. Unprecedented Interest and Excitement Produced in the Public Mind.—No American Debate Comparable with This.—Known as "The Battle of the Giants."—Inflamed Feeling at the South.—Hayne's Brilliant Championship.—His Speech Against the North.—Profound Impression Created.—Its Dash, Assurance, Severity.—Bitter and Sweeping Charges.—His Opponents Wonder-Struck.—Webster has the Floor to Reply.—An Ever-Memorable Day.—Intense Anxiety to Hear Him.—Magnificent Personal Appearance.—His Exordium; All Hearts Enchained.—Immense Intellectual Range.—Copious and Crushing Logic.—Accumulative Grandeur of Thought.—Thrilling Apostrophe to the Union.—The Serious, Comic, Pathetic, etc.—Hayne's Argument Demolished.—Reception Accorded the Speech.—Rival Orators; Pleasant Courtesies 197

XXI.

STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT OF PETITION IN CONGRESS.—1836.

John Quincy Adams, the "Old Man Eloquent," Carries on a Contest of Eleven Days, Single-Handed, in its Defense in the House of Representatives.—Passage of the "Gag Rule."—Expulsion and Assassination Threatened.—His Unquailing Courage.—A Spectacle Unwitnessed before in the Halls of Legislation.—Triumph of His Master Mind.—The Right of Petition a Constitutional One.—Indiscriminate and Unrestricted.—Anti-Slavery Petitions. Mr. Adams Their Champion.—An Unpopular Position.—He Defies Every Menace.—His Bold and Intrepid Conduct.—The North and South at Variance.—Monster Petitions Pour In.—A Memorial from Slaves.—Wild Tumult in the House.—Cries of "Expel the Old Scoundrel!"—Proposal to Censure and Disgrace Him.—Mr. Adams Unmoved Amidst the Tempest.—Eloquence and Indomitableness.—A Petition to Dissolve the Union.—Increased Exasperation.—Violent and Denunciatory Debate.—Sublime Bearing of Mr. Adams.—Vindicated and Victorious at Last.—What He Lived to See.—Honor from His Opponents..... 206

XXII.

BREAKING OUT OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORMATION.—1840.

Origin, Rapid Spread, Influence, and Wonderful History of the Movement.—Enthusiasm Attending the "Washington" Era.—Its Pioneers Rise from the Gutter to the Rostrum, and Sway Multitudes by Their Eloquence.—Father Mathew's Visit.—His 600,000 Converts.—Career of Hawkins, Mitchell, Gough, Dow, and Others.—First Temperance Society in the United States.—Singular Terms of Membership.—Social Customs in Former Times.—Unrestrained Use of Spirits.—Growing Desire for Reform.—Influential Men Enlisted.—Meetings, Societies, Agitation.—A Congressional Organization.—Origin of "Tee-Totalism."—Deacon Giles's Distillery.—"My Mother's Gold Ring."—Rise of "Washingtonianism."—Six Reformed Drunkards.—Cold Water Armies, Processions, etc.—Music, Banners, and Badges.—The Country All Ablaze.—An "Apostle of Temperance."—Administering the Pledge.—Conflict Concerning Measures.—Anecdotes of Washington.—General Taylor's Whiskey Jug.—Farragut's Substitute for Grog..... 217

XXIII.

INVENTION OF THAT WONDROUS PIECE OF MECHANISM, THE SEWING MACHINE.—1846.

Romantic Genius and Perseverance Displayed in Its Production.—Toils of the Inventor in His Garret.—World-Wide Introduction of the Device.—Upwards of One Thousand Patents Taken Out in the United States.—The Industrial Interests of the Country Affected to the Amount of $500,000,000 Annually.—The Humble Inventor Becomes a Millionaire.—The Main Principle Involved.—Comparison With Hand Sewing.—How it was Suggested.—Listening to Some Advantage.—History of Mr. Howe's Efforts.—Ingenuity, Struggles, Triumphs.—Value of a Friend in Need.—A Machine at Last.—Its Parts, Capabilities, etc.—Reception by the Public.—Doubt Succeeded by Admiration.—Great Popularity and Demand.—Wearisome Litigation With Rivals.—Interesting Question of Priority.—Decided in Howe's Favor.—He Rises to Affluence.—Improvements by Others.—Unique and Useful Devices.—Number of Machines Produced.—Time and Labor Saved.—Effect Upon Prices.—New Avenues of Labor Opened 226

XXIV.

Discovery of the Inhalation of Ether as a Preventive of Pain.—1846.

Performance of Surgical Operations Involving the Intensest Torture, During the Happy Unconsciousness of the Patient.—Account of the First Capital Demonstration before a Crowded and Breathless Assembly.—Its Signal Success.—Thrill of Enthusiastic Joy.—Most Beneficent Boon Ever Conferred by Science upon the Human Race.—Instinctive Dread of Pain.—Fruitless Search Hitherto for a Preventive.—Terror of the Probe and Knife.—Heroes Quail before Them.—Case of the Bluff Old Admiral.—Discovery of the Long-Sought Secret.—Sulphuric Ether the Prize.—Bliss During Amputation.—Honor Due to America.—A Whole World Elated.—Medical Men Exultant.—Curious Religious Objections.—Test-Case in Surgery.—Startling and Romantic Interest.—Value in Public Hospitals.—War's Sufferings Ameliorated.—Various Effects While Inhaling.—Amusing and Extraordinary Cases.—"Thocht the Deil Had a Grip o' Her!"—Odd Talk of an Innocent Damsel.—Old Folks Wanting to Dance.—Awards to the Discoverers 234

XXV.

Discovery of Gold at Sutter's Mill, California.—1848.

Widely-Extended and Inexhaustible Deposits of the Precious Metal.—The News Spreads Like Wild-Fire to the Four Quarters of the Globe.—Overwhelming Tide of Emigration from all Countries.—Nucleus of a Great Empire on the Pacific.—California Becomes the El Dorado of the World and the Golden Commonwealth of the American Union.—First Practical Discovery of Gold.—On John A. Sutter's Land.—Found by J. W. Marshall.—Simple Accident That Led to It.—Marshall's Wild Excitement.—Shows Sutter the Golden Grains.—A Dramatic Interview.—The Discovery Kept Secret.—How It was Disclosed.—A Real Wonder of the Age.—Trials of the Early Emigrants.—Their Bones Whiten the Soil.—All Professions at the Mines.—Impetus Given to Commerce.—Life Among the Diggers.—Disordered State of Society.—Crimes, Outrages, Conflagrations.—Scarcity: Fabulous Prices.—Mining by Machinery.—Order and Stability Reached.—Population in 1857, 600,000.—Gold in Ten Years, $600,000,000 242

XXVI.

Victorious Race of the Yacht "America," in the Great International Regatta.—1851.

She Distances, by Nearly Eight Miles, the Whole Fleet of Swift and Splendid Competitors, and Wins "the Cup of all Nations."—Grandest and Most Exciting Spectacle of the Kind Ever Known.—Queen Victoria Witnesses the Match.—Universal Astonishment at the Result.—Admiration Excited by the "America's" Beautiful Model and Ingenious Rig.—Scenes at the "World's Exhibition" at London.—Grand Finale Yet to Come Off.—Championship of the Sea.—England Sensitive on this Point.—Her Motto, "Rule Britannia!"—George Steers Builds the America.—Commodore Stevens Takes Her to England.—His Challenge to all Countries.—An International Prize Race.—Eighteen Yachts Entered.—The Scene on Wave and Shore.—All Sails Set: The Signal.—Every Eye on "the Yankee."—Her Leisurely Movements.—Allows Herself to be Distanced.—Her Quality Soon Shown.—No "Bellying" of Canvas.—Amazing Increase of Speed.—All Rivals Passed, One by One.—They Return in Despair.—Great Odds for the America.—Is Visited by Queen Victoria 250

XXVII.

Naval Expedition to Japan, under Commodore M. C. Perry.—1852.

Negotiations to be Opened for Unsealing the Ports of that Empire to America.—Letter of Friendship from the President of the United States to the Emperor.—Distinguished Favor Shown the Representatives of the Great Republic.—Ceremonies, Entertainments, and Diplomatic Conferences.—Treaty of Peace, Amity, and Commercial Intercourse Concluded.—Former Japanese Isolation Policy.—Exclusive Privileges to the Dutch.—Effects of this Restriction.—European Efforts to Change It.—Mission of Commodore Biddle.—Seeks the

Release of United States Sailors.—Ordered to Depart Forthwith.—Firm Conduct of Captain Glynn.—Contempt for Japanese Etiquette.—Champagne as a Mediator.—Commodore Perry's Fine Fleet.—The Letter in a Golden Box.—Its Presentation to the Emperor.—Commissioners Meet Commodore Perry.—Their Attire, Manners, Etc.—The Conference in Session.—Friendliness of the Japanese.—Civilities and Festivals.—Reception on the Flag-Ship.—Substance of the Treaty.—A Talk with the Emperor.—More Privileges Extended..... 259

XXVIII.

Terrible Crisis in the Business and Financial World.—1857.

Known as "the Great Panic."—A Sudden, Universal Crash, in the Height of Prosperity.—Caused by Wild Speculations and Enormous Debt.—Suspension of Banks all Over the Country.—Failure of the Oldest and Wealthiest Houses.—Fortunes Swept Away in a Day.—Prostration of Every Branch of Industry.—Prolonged Embarrassment, Distrust, and Suffering.—The Panic of 1837 in Comparison.—Extravagance and High Prices.—Chimerical Railroad Schemes.—Mania for Land Investments.—Reckless Stock Gambling.—Western Paper Cities.—Fabulous Prices for "Lots."—Money Absorbed in this Way.—Bursting of the Bubble.—The First Great Blow.—A Bomb in Money Circles.—Wide-Spread Shock and Terror.—Fierce Crowds at the Banks.—A Run Upon Them for Specie.—They "Go to the Wall."—Savings Bank Excitement.—Rare Doings at the Counters.—Wit, Mirth, Despair, and Ruin.—Forty Thousand Persons in Wall Street.—Factories, Foundries, etc., Stopped.—Business Credit Destroyed.—Root of the Whole Difficulty..... 267

XXIX.

The "Great Awakening" in the Religious World, and the Popular Movement (in 1875–76) under Messrs. Moody and Sankey.—1857.

Like a Mighty Rushing Wind, it Sweeps from the Atlantic to the Pacific.—Crowded Prayer-Meetings Held Daily in Every City and Town, from the Granite Hills of the North to the Rolling Prairies of the West and the Golden Slopes of California.—Large Accessions, from all Classes, to the Churches of Every Name and Denomination.—The "American Pentecost."—Early American Revivals.—Dr. Franklin and Mr. Whitefield.—The Revival of 1857 Spontaneous.—No Leaders or Organizers.—Its Immediate Cause.—Universal Ruin of Commerce.—Anxiety for Higher Interests.—All Days of the Week Alike.—Business Men in the Work.—Telegraphing Religious Tidings.—New York a Center of Influence.—Fulton Street Prayer-Meeting.—Scenes in Burton's Theater.—New Themes and Actors.—Countless Requests for Prayers.—A Wonderful Book.—Striking Moral Results.—Men of Violence Reformed.—Crime and Suicide Prevented.—Infidels, Gamblers, Pugilists.—Jessie Fremont's Gold Ring.—"Awful" Gardner's Case..... 276

XXX.

Political Debate Between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in Illinois.—1858.

Cause of this Remarkable Oratorical Contest.—Intense Interest in All Parts of the Land.—The Heart of every American Citizen Enlisted in the Momentous Issue Involved.—Eminent Character of the Combatants.—Their Extraordinary Ability and Eloquence Universally Acknowledged.—The Discussions Attended by Friends and Foes.—Victory, Defeat, Life and Death.—Condition of the New Territories.—Form of Constitution to be Decided.—Domestic Institutions: Slavery.—Mr. Douglas Advocates "Popular Sovereignty."—"Prohibition" Urged by Mr. Lincoln.—National Importance of the Question.—The Public Mind Divided.—Joint Debates Proposed.—Agreement between the two Leaders.—Personal Appearance and Style.—Plans, Places, Scenes.—Theories and Arguments Advanced.—Skill and Adroitness of the Disputants.—Immense Concourses.—Result Impartially Stated.—Mr. Douglas Re-elected Senator.—Mr. Lincoln Nominated for President.—His Election to that Office.—Douglas' Magnanimity.—The Olive Branch.—Shoulder to Shoulder as Unionists.—Sudden Decease of the Great Senator..... 289

XXXI.

EXTRAORDINARY COMBAT BETWEEN THE IRON-CLADS MERRIMAC AND MONITOR, IN HAMPTON ROADS.—1862.

Sudden Appearance of the Merrimac Among the Federal Frigates.—Their Swift and Terrible Destruction by Her Steel Prow.—Unexpected Arrival of the "Little Monitor" at the Scene of Action.—She Engages and Disables the Monster Craft in a Four Hours Fight.—Total Revolution in Naval Warfare the World Over by this Remarkable Contest.—How the Merrimac Changed Hands.—Burned and Sunk at Norfolk, Va.—Her Hull Raised by the Confederates.—She is Iron Roofed and Plated.—Proof Against Shot and Shell.—A Powerful Steel Beak in Her Prow.—Most Formidable Vessel Afloat.—In Command of Commodore Buchanan.—Departs from Norfolk, March Eighth.—Pierces and Sinks the Cumberland.—Next Attacks the Congress.—The Noble Frigate Destroyed.—Fight Begun with the Minnesota.—Suspended at Nightfall.—Trip of the Monitor from New York.—Her New and Singular Build.—Lieutenant Worden Hears of the Battles.—Resolves to Grapple with the Monster.—The Two Together Next Day.—A Scene Never to be Forgotten.—Worden Turns the Tide of Fortune.—Repulse and Retreat of the Merrimac..... 296

XXXII.

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION, AS A WAR MEASURE, BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN.—1863.

More than Three Millions, in Bondage at the South, Declared Forever Free.—Most Important American State Paper Since July Fourth, 1776.—Pronounced, by the President, "the Great Event of the Nineteenth Century."—The Whole System of Slavery Finally Swept from the Republic, by Victories in the Field and by Constitutional Amendments.—Mr. Lincoln's Views on Slavery.—Opposed to all Unconstitutional Acts.—His Orders to Union Generals.—Prohibits the Arming of Negroes.—Alarming Progress of Events.—The Great Exigency at Last.—Slavery *versus* the Union.—Solemn and Urgent Alternative.—Emancipation Under the War-Power.—Preparation of the Great Document.—Its Submission to the Cabinet.—Opinions and Discussions.—Singular Reason for Delay.—Mr. Lincoln's Vow to God.—Waiting for a Union Triumph.—Decided by the Battle of Antietam.—Final Adoption of the Measure.—Mr. Carpenter's Admirable Narrative.—Public Reception of the Proclamation.—Promulgation at the South.—Scenes of Joy Among the Freedmen.—Enfranchisement Added to Freedom 305

XXXIII.

THREE DAYS' BATTLE BETWEEN THE CONCENTRATED ARMIES OF GENERALS MEADE AND LEE, AT GETTYSBURG, PA.—1863.

Overwhelming Invasion of Pennsylvania by the Confederate Forces.—The Union Army Drives Them with Great Slaughter Across the Potomac.—Unsuccessful Attempt to Transfer the Seat of War from Virginia to Northern Soil.—One of the Most Decisive and Important Federal Victories in the Great American Civil Conflict.—Lee's Army Impatient to go North.—Order of March at Last.—Consternation in the Border States.—Call for One Hundred Thousand More Men.—Advance of Meade's Army.—Face to Face With the Foe.—Engagement between the Vanguards.—Terrific Artillery Contests.—Movements and Counter Movements.— Severe Reverses on Both Sides.—Carnage at Cemetery Hill.—Longstreet's Furious Onset.—Most Destructive Cannonade.—Gettysburg a Vast Hospital.—Crawford's Grand Charge.—Standing by the Batteries!—Hand-to-Hand Conflict.—Following the Battle-Flag.—Deadly and Impetuous Fighting.—Forty-one Confederate Standards Taken.—Unbounded Joy of the Victors.—President Lincoln's Announcement..... 315

XXXIV.

GRAND MARCH OF THE UNION ARMY, UNDER GENERAL SHERMAN, THROUGH THE HEART OF THE SOUTH.—1864.

Generals and Armies Baffled, and States and Cities Conquered, Without a Serious Disaster to the Victors.—Display of Military Genius Unsurpassed in Any Age or Country.—The Southern Confederacy Virtually Crushed Within the Coils of this Wide-Sweeping, Bold, and Resistless Movement.—The Great Closing Act in the Campaign.—Sherman's Qualities as a Commander.—His Great Military Success.—His Own Story.—A Brilliant Campaign Planned.

— Brave and Confident Troops.—Atlanta, Ga., the First Great Prize.—Destroys that City: Starts for the Coast.—Kilpatrick Leads the Cavalry.—Thomas Defends the Border States.—Successful Feints Made by Sherman.—Subsists His Men on the Enemy's Country.—Immense Sweep of the Onward Columns.—Savannah's Doom Sealed.—Fall of Fort McAllister.—Christmas Gift to the President.—Advance Into South Carolina.—The Stars and Stripes in Her Capital.—All Opposition Powerless.—North Carolina's Turn Next.—Swamps, Hills, Quagmires, Storms, Floods.—Battles Fought: Onward to Raleigh.—Johnston's Whole Army Bagged.—Sherman Described Personally 325

XXXV.

Fall of Richmond, Va., the Confederate Capital.—1865.

The Entrenched City Closely Encompassed for Months by General Grant's Brave Legions and Walls of Steel.—Flight of Jefferson Davis, and Surrender of General Lee's Army.—Overthrow of the Four Years' Gigantic Rebellion.—The Ægis and Starry Ensigns of the Republic Everywhere Dominant.—Transports of Joy Fill the Land.—A Nation's Laurels Crown the Head of the Conqueror of Peace.—Memorable Day in Human Affairs.—Momentous Issues Involved.—Heavy Cost of this Triumph.—Without It, a Lost Republic.—Unequaled Valor Displayed.—Sherman's Grand Conceptions.—Sheridan's Splendid Generalship.—Onward March of Events.—Strategy, Battles, Victories.—Lee's Lines Fatally Broken.—Approach of the Final Crisis.—Richmond Evacuated by Night.—Retreat of Lee: Vigorous Pursuit.—His Hopeless Resistance to Grant.—Their Correspondence and Interview.—The Two Great Generals Face to Face.—What Was Said and Done.—Announcing the Result.—Parting of Lee with His Soldiers.—President Lincoln's Visit to Richmond.—Raising the United States Flag at Fort Sumter.—Davis a Prisoner in Fortress Monroe 334

XXXVI.

Assassination of President Lincoln, at Ford's Theater, Washington, by J. Wilkes Booth.—1865.

Conspiracy to Murder, Simultaneously, all the Chief Officers of the Government.—The Most Exalted and Beloved of Mortal Rulers Falls a Victim.—A Universal Wail of Anguish and Lamentation Poured Forth from the National Heart.—Darkest Page in the History of the Country.—Funeral Cortege Through Fifteen States.—Tragical Fate of the Conspirators.—Object of this Most Infamous of Crimes.—Singular Time of Its Perpetration.—Virtual End of the Great Civil War.—Dawn of Peace: Universal Joy.—President Lincoln's Happy Frame of Mind.—How He Passed His Last Day.—Conversations on the Evening of April Fourteenth.—Makes an Engagement for the Morrow.—Last Time He Signed His Name.—Reluctantly Goes to the Theater.—Arrives Late: Immense Audience.—Plans and Movements of the Assassin.—The Fatal Shot: a Tragedy of Horrors.—Removal of the President to a Private House.—Speechless and Unconscious to the End.—Death-Bed Scenes and Incidents.—The Nation Stunned at the Appalling News.—Its Reception at the South, and by General Lee.—A Continent in Tears and Mourning.—Most Imposing Obsequies Ever Known.—Booth's Swift and Bloody End.—Trial of His Male and Female Accomplices 344

XXXVII.

National Peace Jubilee and Musical Festival for Five Days, in Boston, in Honor of the Restoration of the Union of the States.—1869.

Ten Thousand Singers, an Orchestra of One Thousand Instruments, and Tens of Thousands of Spectators, in the Coliseum, an Immense Building Erected for the Occasion.—Attendance of President Grant.—Sublime and Inspiring Harmonies.—Most Majestic Musical Demonstration of Modern Times.—Origin of the Jubilee.—P. S. Gilmore: His Zeal and Enthusiasm.—All Discouragements Overcome.—Magnificent Programme.—Splendor of the Coliseum.—It Covers Nearly Four Acres.—Inauguration Ceremonies.—View of the Audience.—Scene of Surpassing Enchantment.—Beauty of the Decorations.—Overtures, Choruses, Anthems, Etc.—Parepa-Rosa, Phillips, Ole Bull.—Their Professional Triumphs.—Zerrahn, Tourjee, Eichberg.—The Famous "Anvil" Chorus.—Chiming the City Bells.—Novel Commingling of Artillery with Music.—Tremendous Ovation to Grant.—Half a Million People in the City.—Testimonial to Mr. Gilmore.—Last Day: Concert by 10,000 Children.—Triumphant Success of the Jubilee 356

XXXVIII.

CONSECRATION OF THE FIRST CARDINAL IN THE UNITED STATES.—1875.

The Venerable Archbishop McCloskey, of New York, Selected by the Roman Pontiff, for this Great Office.—He becomes a Prince in the Church.—The Highest Ecclesiastical Appointment in the Catholic Hierarchy.—Reasons given for this Step.—Solemn Investiture, in the Cathedral, by Clerical Dignitaries from All Parts of the Country.—An Unparalleled Scene.—Illustrious Nature of this Office.—Special Envoy sent from Rome.—Announcing the Event to the Archbishop.—Time of Public Recognition Assigned.—A Mighty Stream of Humanity.—Decorations of the Church.—Procession of Priests.—Incensing the Altars.—Sacred Vessels and Vestments.—Insignia Peculiar to this Rank.—The Scarlet Cap.—Profoundly Impressive Service.—Unprecedented on this Continent.—Imposing the Berretta.—Intoning and Chanting.—Official Letter from the Pope.—Use of the Latin Language.—Inspiring Strains of Music.—Incidents attending the Ceremonial.—Pontifical Benediction by the Cardinal.—Retirement of the Celebrants.—Dispersion of the Vast Throng..... 365

XXXIX.

THE TWEED RING.—1876.

The Character of New York City Government When Tweed Began Public Life.—State Interference.—Tweed's Entry Into Politics.—Sent to Congress in 1853.—"Tweedie Never Goes Back on Tweedie."—Becomes Grand Sachem of Tammany Hall.—The New "Wigwam."—The Democratic National Convention Held in It, July 4, 1868.—Tammany Forces Seymour on Party, and Supports Hoffman for Governor.—Oaths Administered on "Ollendorff's French Method," No Bible Being at Hand.—Constitution of Tweed Ring in 1868.—The "Big Four," "Oakey" Hall, Sweeny, Connolly, and Tweed.—Tweed Already Very Rich.—Marriage of Daughter and Costly Presents From Politicians.—The Americus Club and Its Tiger.—Latter Becomes Emblem of Tammany.—The New City Charter, "Tweed's Charter."—Places All Power in City in Hands of Ring Legally.—Charter Cost Tweed $1,500,000.—"The Young Democracy."—Exposures by New York Times.—"What Are You Going to Do About It?"—Tweed's Hold Upon the Poor.—Ring Overthrown in the Election of 1871.—Statement of Enormous Thefts.—Untold Millions.—Tweed's Various Trials.—Exciting Escape to Spain and Recapture.—Confesses Judgment for $6,000,000.—Unable to Pay or Secure $3,000,000 Bail, He Goes to Jail.—Dies in Ludlow Street Jail April 12, 1878.—Deserted By All His Henchmen and Former Friends.—Other Ring Members Escape to Europe.—Effect Upon Tammany Hall.—Similar Corruption in Other Cities..... 371

XL.

NEW FORMS OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES.— THE SOCIETY FOR CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.—1881.

Recent Organizations of Young People Into Immense Societies.—Meaning of Such Movements.—Dr. Hale and the Lend-a-Hand Clubs.—Mottoes of the Clubs.—Mrs. Bottome and the King's Daughters.—An Outgrowth of the Lend-a-Hand Movement.—Rapid Growth of Order.—Changed to "International Order of the King's Daughters and Sons."—Rev. F. E. Clark as a Pastor.—Origin of Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor.—Its First Meeting.—Dr. Clark's Statement of Results.—October, 1884, More Than 150 Societies With Upwards of Eight Thousand Members.—Incorporation of United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1885.—Mighty Force Toward Christian Unity.—Organizations not Denominational but Interdenominational.—Third World's Convention at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1906.—Sixty-four Thousand Societies Reported; Close to Four Million Members.—Withdrawal of Methodists and Baptists in 1891.—The Epworth League Strictly Denominational and Under Control of Church.—Organization of Baptist Young People's Union the Same Year.—Educational Features of Later Societies.—The Brotherhood of St. Andrew, Organized October, 1886.—"Object" and "Rules" of the Society.—The Rule of Prayer and Rule of Service.—Contrast of Working of These Societies With That of the Young Men's Christian Associations.—A Mighty Power For the Uplifting of All Peoples..... 383

XLI.

THE FEDERATION OF LABOR.—LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.—1881.

Ideal Relation of Capital and Labor.—Actual Conditions.—Labor of Earliest Historical Times.—Origin of Slavery.—Conditions in Greece and Rome.—Change from Slavery to

Serfdom.—Gradual Acquisition of Rights of Freemen by Serfs.—Influence of Wyclif and His Itinerant Preachers.—Conditions in England in Eighteenth Century.—Unions of Laboring Men Organized.—Early Labor Situation in United States.—First Organizations and Their Weakness.—Individual Versus Collective Bargaining.—The Weakness of the Labor Unit.—John Mitchell's Description of the Trade Union and Its Purposes.—Flexibility of Union Organizations.—The Knights of Labor.—"That is the Most Perfect Government in Which Injury to One is the Concern of All."—The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada.—Importance of Federative Principle.—General Position of Unions as to Strikes and Boycotts.—Evil Results to All Unions of Political Alliances.—Present Status of Federation of Labor: 1,500,000 Paying Members.—Organization of Employers' Unions.—"The Citizens Industrial Association of America."—Statement of Its Principles.—Reactionary Position of Its Leaders.—"Labor Has No Rights Capital is Bound to Respect."—The Twentieth Century Spirit Will Not Tolerate Reactionary Measures.—The Rights of All, Labor, Capital, and the Public, Must be Considered.—"No Man Liveth to Himself Alone."—End to be Aimed at is Peace..... 391

XLII.

The Revision of the Bible.—1885.

The Bible of the Apostles.—The Jewish Scriptures.—A Library of Law, Prophecy, Philosophy, and Poetry.—Rise and Importance of the Synagogues.—Manner in Which the Scriptures Were Kept.—The Rolls.—Papyrus and Methods of Writing.—The Septuagint.—Libraries of the Early Christian Churches.—Three Great Sources of Our Bible.—Remarkable Work of Dr. Tischendorf.—The Old Latin Bible.—St. Jerome's Revision.—The Accepted Vulgate.—Caedmon's Paraphrases and Bede's Translations.—King Alfred's Dooms—Translation from Saxon to Modern English.—Effects of the Norman Invasion of England.—Influence of Bible on the Rise of Intellectual and Civil Liberty.—The Black Death.—Wyclif's Translation of the Bible.—Purvey's Revision.—The Invention of Printing.—First Printed Book, the Mazarin Bible.—Luther and His Translation of the Bible.—Intellectual and Religious Conditions in the Church at Close of Fifteenth Century.—Tyndale and His Translation of Bible.—First Division into Chapters.—Final Revision in 1534.—Coverdale's, Matthew's, and Taverner's Bibles.—The "Great Bible."—Influence of Bible upon English People and Language.—Green's Estimate.—The Geneva, or "Breeches," Bible.—First Division of Chapters into Verses, and First Use of Modern Type.—The Bishop's Bible.—Accession of King James and His Character.—The King James, or Authorized, Version of 1611.—The Geneva a Strong Competitor.—Reasons for another Revision.—Wonderful Increase of Texts and Documents Unknown to Revisers of 1611.—Character of Revision Committee and Methods of Work.—Three Million Copies Revised New Testament Sold in One Year.—Work of American Revision Committee.—The American Revised Bible of 1901.—Many Notable Opinions Regarding the Bible.—"In this Book is Contained All the Wisdom of the World."..... 401

XLIII.

The Haymarket Riot.—Anarchy.—1886.

Political and Social Conditions at Close of Eighteenth Century.—Effect of Advances Along Commercial and Industrial Lines.—Difficulty of Realizing Economical and Social Burdens of Eighteenth Century Workingmen.—Accounts of Travelers and Historians and Novelists.—The Origin of Socialism and Anarchy.—St. Simon, Fourier, Proudhon.—Proudhon's "What is Property?" "Property is Theft."—Accounts of the Two Great Anarchist Leaders, Bakunin and Kropotkin.—Rise of Russian Anarchists.—Repressive Laws Following Murder of Alexander II.—The Leaders Driven From Europe to United States.—Connection Between Assassination of Czar and Haymarket Riot a Close One.—Condition in Chicago.—Great Strike at McCormick Harvester Works.—Interference and Incendiary Utterances of Anarchist Agitators.—Calls to Arms.—The Riot at McCormick's Works, May 3.—Call for Haymarket Meeting.—"Workingmen, Arm Yourselves, and Appear in Full Force."—The Throwing of the Bomb.—Whole Company of Police Prostrated.—Eight Mortally Wounded.—Intense Excitement All Over Country.—Trial of Accused Anarchists.—Seven Sentenced to Death, One Imprisonment for Life.—Sensational Suicide of Lingg.—Sentences of Fielden

and Schwab Commuted to Life Imprisonment.—Spies, Parsons, Fisher, and Engel, Hung November 11, 1887.—Change in Public Opinion.—Action of Governor Altgeld.—Judge Gary's Position 445

XLIV.

The Great Blizzard.—1888.

Supreme Satisfaction of People of New York.—Its Apparent Safety From Dangers From Storm or Flood.—Apparent Purpose of the Infinite Power to Show How Insignificant We Really Are.—Beginning of Great Storm, Sunday Evening, March 11, 1888.—Origin and Progress of Storm From West to Coast.—Conditions Early Monday Morning.—All Systems of Transportation Tied Up.—People Rescued From Elevated Trains by Ladders.—Before Ten O'Clock Broadway a Succession of Hills, Valleys, and Ravines.—Drifts Across Street Six to Ten Feet Deep.—Side Streets Filled With Abandoned Teams About Which Snow Piled up Fifteen to Twenty Feet.—Cabmen Charge Fifty Dollars for Fare Madison Square to Wall Street.—Trade Conditions.—Many "Spring Openings" Advertised for This Monday Morning.—At Altman's Through Forenoon One Woman Bought Two Spools of Thread.—All Business Suspended at Noon.—No Steam Trains Able to Enter or Leave City.—Horrors of Monday Night.—Storm Increasing, Wind Rising, Mercury Falling.—Total Darkness and Blinding Storm Obliterated all Landmarks.—Sufferings of Lady Stenographer; Seven Hours Getting Home, a Distance of Two Miles.—Terrible Experience of Roscoe Conkling.—Lost in Union Square.—Snow Storm Ceases Tuesday Morning, But Not the Wind.—12,500,000 Loads of Snow to Be Removed.—Over Six Hundred Funerals Wednesday.—City Close to Starvation.—Humorous Messages of Sympathy from Dakota.—"Keep Off the Grass."—Extent of Storm.—Worst Recorded in History of Country.—Twenty Lives Lost and $15,000,000 to $20,000,000 of Property Destroyed in Manhattan Alone. 457

XLV.

The New Navy.—1893–1909.

Conditions Preceding Spanish War.—President Cleveland's Attitude Regarding Cuban Affairs.—President McKinley's.—Republican Platform of 1896.—Senator Proctor's Description of Conditions in Cuba.—Destruction of the *Maine*.—Resolutions of Congress Declaring War.—History of American Navy.—Sentiment of Colonial Leaders.—John Paul Jones.—Total Strength of Revolutionary Navy.—First Secretary of Navy.—Character of Vessels Built After War.—First Application of Steam and of the Propeller.—*The Demologos*.—The *Monitor* and *Merrimac*.—Condition of Navy After Civil War.—Birth of New Navy.—The White Squadron.—The Battleship Era.—The *Oregon*.—The Battle of Manila.—Departure of Admiral Sampson's Fleet to Blockade Cuba.—Cervera's Squadron and the Santiago Blockade.—The Blowing Up of the *Merrimac*.—Destruction of Cervera's Fleet.—Fall of Santiago and Close of War.—Schley and the Famous Loop.—Improvement in Navy Following Close of Spanish War.—Comparison of Navy of 1893 and 1908.—Naval Appropriations of Leading World Powers.—Cruise of the Battleships.—Itinerary of Trip.—Reception of Fleet and Review in Hampton Roads, February 22, 1909. 467

XLVI.

The Venezuela Boundary Dispute.—Monroe Doctrine.—1895.

Alexander I. of Russia and Mme. de Krudener.—The Emperor's Religious Enthusiasm.—His Part and Purpose in Forming the Holy Alliance.—Text of That Remarkable Document.—The Holy Alliance Becomes Association of Despots For Overthrow of Liberty.—Spanish Colonies in Western Hemisphere Declare Independence.—Purpose of Holy Alliance to Restore Power to Spain.—Canning's Proposals.—Views of John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State.—Declares Against Acting "As a Cock-boat in Wake of British Man-of-War."—"Make an American Cause and Adhere Inflexibly to That."—Statement of His Doctrine as Announced by President Monroe in 1823.—Reception of Message by British Press.—Canning's Duplicity Proved.—Doubtful Position of the United States Government as to Doctrine for Seventy Years.—"To Be Asserted When, and to What Extent, Individual Conditions Demand."—Polk's Attitude as Congressman and Later as President.—Application to French Occupation of Mexico.—Interpretations and Indorsements in Many Party

Platforms.—History of Differences between Great Britain and Venezuela.—Intervention of the United States.—Olney versus Salisbury.—Latter's Contempt for Monroe Doctrine.—President Cleveland's Vigorous Message.—Appointment of American Commission to Determine True Boundary Line.—Great Britain Assents to Arbitration.—Distinguished Arbitrators.—Character of Award and Results.—Final Determination of Status of Monroe Doctrine 502

XLVII.

The Annexation of Hawaii.—1898.

Sandwich Islands Unknown When American Independence Declared.—Discovery by Captain Cook, 1778.—His Experience With Natives.—Descriptions of Islands.—Highest Volcanoes In World.—Notable Eruptions.—Princess Kapiolani Defies Pele, Goddess of Volcanoes.—Three Periods of Hawaiian History.—Origin of Native People.—Physical Characteristics.—Their Religion and Superstition.—The Tabu.—Pastimes of People.—Native Poetry.—Vancouver's Influence.—Introduction of Rum.—Kamehameha I.— Conquers Other Chiefs.—Established Central Government.—Overthrow of Idolatry by People.—Arrival of Missionaries.—Intense Interest of People in Education.—Continuous Interference of Foreign Powers.—The "New Kaahumanu."—Formation of Written Language.—First Constitution.—Independence Recognized by United States, France, and England.—Comparison of Census Statistics.—Steady Growth of American Party.—Statement of Liliuokalani.—Early Movements Toward Annexation.—Hostility of English.—First Treaty With United States.—Kalakaua.—Crisis on Accession of Liliuokalani.—Establishment of Provisional Government.—Negotiations with Government of United States.—The Joint Resolution of Congress.—Final Cession to United States 525

XLVIII.

The Hague Conferences.—1899–1907.

Early Arbitration Agreements.—The Jay Treaty.—The Burr-Hamilton Duel.—The Geneva Arbitration.—The Czar's First Letter to Sovereign States.—Public Opinion Regarding It.—Second Letter and Programme for Conference.—Description of Holland and The Hague.—Grotius and His Work.—The House in the Wood.—Splendid Courtesy of Queen Wilhelmina and The Netherlanders.—First Meeting of First Conference.—Twenty-six Nations, Twelve Hundred Million People Represented.—Character of Delegates and Languages Spoken.—Delegates from the United States.—Routine Work of Delegates.—Social Functions.—Details of Results Achieved.—Effective Addresses of Leading Delegates.—Permanent Court of Arbitration.—Notable Arbitration Between Chile and Argentina.—The Statue of the Christ.—Second Conference Demanded by Interparliamentary Union.—President Roosevelt's Action.—Final Call of Czar of Russia for Conference to Meet June 15, 1907.—Delegates from United States.—Conditions Attending the Meeting.—Organization and Distribution of Work.—Notable Addresses.—Stubborn Fight to Perfect Permanent Court.—Magnificent Work of Mr. Choate.—All Provisions Made for Court, but no Judges.—Bitter Opposition of Smaller Nations.—"The World Desires Peace."—The International Prize Court.—Achievements of Second Conference.—Opinion of Elihu Root, then Secretary of State.—Real Significance of the Conferences 557

XLIX.

The Destruction of Galveston.—1900.

Sublime Faith and Heroism of Stricken Peoples.—Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, San Francisco.—Peculiar Location of Galveston.—Importance as Sea Port.—Converging Point of Fifty-three Steamship Lines.—The "Oleander City."—The Terrible Hurricane of September 8, 1900.—Winds Began to Rise Early in Forenoon.—Constantly Changing Direction They Covered Every Point of Compass.—Rapidly Increasing Velocity.—"Every Building on Island Trembled, Many Rocking Like Boats."—Velocity of Wind One Hundred and Ten Miles an Hour in Evening.—Whole City Prepares for Death.—At Convent the Sacrament Administered to All.—At Orphan Asylums Nuns Tied Little Charges in Bunches, Each Sister Fastening Bunch to Herself.—All Perished Together.—Great Rafts of Wreckage Hurled in Every Direction by Wind and Waves.—Veritable Battering Rams.—After Nine

P. M., Began to Subside.—Pastor and Family and Three Quarters of Entire Congregation Drowned.—Within a Week Six Thousand Bodies Recovered.—Probably Another Thousand Washed Out to Sea.—Wonderful Recuperative Powers of People.—Committee of Safety.—The Deep-water Commission.—New City Charter.—Mammoth Sea Wall.—Total Surface Level of City Raised from Five to Eighteen Feet.—The New Government By Commission; "The Galveston Plan."—Result of Its Work in Rebuilding and Redeeming Galveston. Adopted in Many Other Cities 585

L.

THE PANAMA CANAL.—1903.

Early Search for Strait Connecting Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.—Efforts of Cortez, Saavedra, and Others.—Interest of Charles V. and Philip II.—Latter Decides, "Contrary to Divine Will to Unite Two Oceans Which the Creator of World Had Separated."—English Become Interested in Nicaragua in Seventeenth Century.—Visit of Humboldt to United States and Central America.—Outlines Nine Routes for Waterway from Atlantic to Pacific.—Views of Goethe.—Remarkable Predictions as to Development of United States; Also as to Canals.—The Treaty of 1846 with New Granada (Colombia).—The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.—French Interference Under Napoleon III.—American Position Asserted by President Grant In 1869.—"Only American Canal, under Control of Americans Should be Built Between Atlantic and Pacific Oceans."—DeLesseps and the French Concession.—Appointment of Commission to Investigate Merits of All Leading Routes.—Commission Reports in Favor of Nicaragua.—Debate in Congress and Spooner Amendment.—Clayton-Bulwer Treaty Abrogated by Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 1901.—The Remarkable Panama Revolution.—M. Bunau-Varilla.—Treaty with Panama Republic.—President Roosevelt's Attitude.—His Letter to Dr. Shaw.—Transfer of All Rights and Property of French Canal Company for $40,000,000.—Canal Commission Appointed.—Repeated Changes in It.—Whole Work Finally Placed in Hands of Board of Army Engineers.—Great Improvement in Its Prosecution.—Statistics as to Present Conditions.—Original Estimates and Probably Final Cost of the Canal.. 594

LI.

THE TREATY OF PORTSMOUTH.—1905.

The Interests of Russia and Japan in Manchuria.—Position and Importance of the Province.—Position of Korea.—The Building of the Siberian Railroad.—Japan's Vital Need of Manchurian and Korean Markets and Products.—The Chinese-Japanese War of 1894–5.—Japan Robbed of the Fruits of Victory by European Powers.—Russia's Agreement of 1902 to Evacuate Manchuria.—Not Only Fails to Evacuate but Strengthens Forces.—Russia's Interests on the Yalu.—Dignified but Forcible Protest of Japan in 1903.—Russia's Dilatory Tactics.—Diplomatic Relations Severed February 5, 1904.—The Battle of Chemulpo Bay and Port Arthur.—Unprecedented Successes of Japan on Sea and Land for Fifteen Months.—Final Battles of Mukden and Korean Straits.—Movements Looking Toward Peace.—The Influence of the Hague Conference.—President Roosevelt's Identical Notes to Czar and Mikado of June 7, 1905.—Conference Agreed Upon.—Ambassadors Named by Both Powers.—Reception of Ambassadors on the *Mayflower*.—President Roosevelt's Tact, and Amicable Toast.—Reasons for Choosing Portsmouth as the Treaty City.—First Meeting of Envoys August 9, 1905.—Account of Deliberations.—Dark Days.—Final Agreement.—Result of Compromises.—Treaty Signed September 5.—Interesting Interchange of Courtesies Between Envoys.—Notable *Te Deum* Service in Episcopal Church at Portsmouth.—Reception of News Throughout United States.—Cannons Roar, Bells Ring, Bonfires Everywhere.—Hostile Reception by Japanese People.—Results Achieved.—Happy and Proud Position of President Roosevelt 612

LII.

EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE AT SAN FRANCISCO.—1906.

The Long Chain of San Franciscan Missions in California.—The Mission Dolores on the Site of San Francisco.—Took Present Name in 1847, with Population of 450.—Discovery of Gold on Sutter Ranch.—The Early Vigilance Leagues.—Character of Early City.—"A Free and Easy City, Bohemian to the Core."—Early "Baptisms of Fire."—Peculiar Location of City.

—Market Street and Van Ness Avenue.—The Fateful 18th of April, 1906.—Small Loss of Life and Property from Earthquake.—The Starting of the Fire and Causes.—No Water, The City at the Mercy of the Flames.—Dynamite the Only Weapon with Which to Fight the Fire.—"Shoot at Sight Anyone Caught Pilfering or Looting."—Sorrowful Flight of Refugees to Suburban Towns, or The Presidio and Golden Gate Park.—Wonderful Fortitude of Sufferers.—Progress of the Fire on the 19th.—Final Stand of Fire Fighters at Van Ness Avenue.—Sudden Change of Wind Saves the Rest of the City.—Three Quarters of a Mile of Mansions Blown Up.—Region Destroyed Covered About Four Square Miles.—498 City Blocks.—Month Following Fire Most Orderly City Had Ever Known.—The Bread Lines.—"Neither Markets nor Money with Which to Buy."—Glorious Outburst of Sympathy Throughout the Country.—More than $20,000,000 Contributed in Thirty Days.—Hon. J. D. Phelan's Review of the Situation.—Character of New Buildings.—Systematic Plans for Rebuilding.—The Burnham Plans.—Labor Troubles and Municipal Rottenness.—The Case of Mayor Schmitz.—Widespread Sympathy with the Stricken People..... 626

LIII.

The Story of Electricity.

Amber and the Lodestone.—Views of Ancient Philosophers and of the Church Fathers.—The Chinese "South-Pointing Car."—Rise of Experimental Philosophy.—Dr. Gilbert the Pioneer Experimenter.—Formation of the British Royal Society.—The "Roarings and Crackings" when Electricity was Produced.—Earliest Comparison with Thunder and Lightning.—Franklin's Experiments.—His "Electrified Bumpers."—His Demonstration that Lightning of the Storm Same as He Produced.—Lightning Rods.—Invention of Leyden Jar.—Line of Monks, Nine Hundred Feet Long, Electrified.—Experiments of Galvani and Volta.—Humphrey Davy and the Arc Light.—Oersted's Great Discovery.—Faraday Determines Relation of Electricity and Magnetism.—Joseph Henry's Distinguished Career and Discoveries.—Morse and the Electric Telegraph.—Strange and Sad Vicissitudes of Inventor.—First Telegraph Laid, Baltimore to Washington, Opened May 24, 1844.—First Message, "What God Hath Wrought."— Cyrus Field and the Atlantic Cable.—Repeated Failures.—First Perfect Connection Established July 27, 1866.—Statistics as to Cable Service.—Bell and the Telephone.—Remarkable Characteristics of Invention.—The Microphone.—Every Other Family in the United States Has Telephone.—Development of Dynamos and Motors.—Remarkable Transmission of Currents for Power and Light.—The Electric Light.—Incandescent and Arc Lights Described.—Arc Light 3,000,000 Candle Power.—Uses of Selenium.—Various Applications of Electricity in Railroad Service.—Dr. Holmes's "Broomstick Train."—Hertz and the Hertzian Waves.—Ether.—Marconi's Wireless Telegraph and Its Principles.—Remarkable Invention of Orling and Armstrong.—The Wireless Telegraph and the *Republic* Collision.—What Next, Telepathy?..... 636

LIV.

International Courtesies.

Founder's Day at Carnegie Institute, Pittsburg.—Address of W. T. Stead.—"Outlook for Peace."—"You Have Only to Hang Twelve Newspaper Editors."—Influence of More Intimate Relations Between Peoples.—"Little Things that Make for Peace."—The Life and Death of George Peabody a Link Between the English and American Peoples.—Editorial Utterances.—The Geneva Arbitration.—The French Gift of Bartholdi Statue.—Description of Statue.—Educational Reciprocity.—Work of l'Alliance Française.—Exchange of Lecturers by Harvard and The Sorbonne.—Lectures of Charles F. Beach at University of Paris Law School.—Work Extended to Other French Universities.—German Emperor and American Ambassador Discuss Exchange of Professors Between Universities.—Emperor Invited President Nicholas Murray Butler to Discuss Subject at Informal Dinner.—"The Theodore Roosevelt Professorship" at University of Berlin.—Gift of James M. Speyer to Columbia to Found Similar Chair.—English and American Universities.—Opinion and Efforts of Baron Kentaro, of Japan, Along Same Lines.—Cecil Rhodes and His Ambitions. "A Good Understanding Between England, Germany, and United States, Will Secure Peace of the World; and Educational Relations Form the Strongest Tie."—The Rhodes Scholarships.—Bryce and "The American Commonwealth."—Hannis Taylor and "The English Constitution."—"God Hath Created of One Blood All Nations of Men."..... 678

LV.

Education in Colonies and States.

Education at the Time of the Great Reformation.—The Renaissance.—Wyclif's Position. Luther's Appeal to the German Magistrates.—"The True Wealth of a City is to Have Many Learned, Serious, Worthy, Well-educated Citizens."—Common Schools in Germany and Low Countries in Sixteenth Century.—Contact of Pilgrim Fathers with Dutch System While at Leyden.—First School Established in Colonies of America.—Support of Dutch West India Company.—The Boston Latin School.—Massachusetts Law of 1647.—"The Great Charter of Free Education in the Commonwealth."—Early Schools for Boys Alone; Girls Had No Share in School Privileges.—Graduates of English Universities in Colonies.—John Harvard and the Founding of Harvard College.—No Knowledge of Harvard's Life.—$500 Offered for Five Lines of Authentic Information.—Present Status of University, and Its New President.—Foundation of William and Mary.—Elihu Yale and Yale College.—Tennent's "Log College" and Princeton.—Lottery to Raise Money for King's College.—Present Status of Columbia University.—The "Dartmouth College Case."—Number and Resources of "Colleges, Universities, and Technical Schools" in the United States.—Rise of Academies and Notable Preparatory Schools.—Education of Women.—Growth of the High School System.—Horace Mann and the Massachusetts State Board of Education.—Establishment of Normal Schools.—The National Educational Association.—Origin and Development of State Universities.—Post-Graduate Work.—Women's Colleges; Vassar, Mt. Holyoke, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr.—The Chautauqua and Summer Schools..... 691

LVI.

An Era of Princely Gifts.

Contrast Between Early Gifts and Those of To-day.—Different Sources of Wealth.—Total of Gifts Above $5,000 for 1903–1907 Inclusive Upwards of $1,000,000,000.—Animating Impulse in Such Gifts.—"There is Something Pathetic About a Great Gift."—Stephen Girard and His Benefactions.—His Estate Valued at $9,000,000.—Girard College and Its Peculiar Restrictions as to Ministerial Visitors.—Notable Gift of John Lowell.—The Lowell Institute and Its Work.—The Lyceum Lectures in New England.—Estimate of Value of Lowell's Beneficence by Hon. Edward Everett.—George Peabody and His Royal Liberality.—Letter of Thanks from Queen Victoria.—The J. F. Slater and Daniel C. Hand Bequests for the Freedmen.—Beneficent Action of Miss Anna T. Jeanes.—The Enoch Pratt Library.—Johns Hopkins: His University and Hospital.—Influence of Death of Son on Leland Stanford and Wife.—"The Children of California Shall Be Our Children."—The Leland Stanford Junior University.—"The Lolita Armour Institute of Bloodless Surgery."—The Newberry and Crerar Libraries in Chicago.—Peter Cooper and Cooper Union.—John Jacob Astor's Gift to City.—James Lenox and His Library.—"The Finest Collection of Books and Art in New World."—J. Pierpont Morgan's Many Liberal Benefactions.—Samuel J. Tilden's Notable Gift to New York.—The Tilden Library Foundation.—Joseph Pulitzer Gives $2,000,000 to Establish His School of Journalism.—Peculiar Gift of Mrs. Russell Sage.—The True Measure of the Value of Gifts.—Carnegie and His Many Notable Gifts.—Rockefeller's Beneficence: The University of Chicago, and General Education Board.—Influence of Robert C. Winthrop on Direction of George Peabody's Great Benefactions.—Indirectly, also, of Those That Have Followed.—Opinions of President Daniel Coit Gilman 731

LVII.

The Conquest of the North Pole — 1909.

Polar Exploration Prosecuted for nearly Four Centuries.— Its History Divided Naturally into Three Periods.—Characteristics of Each.—Importance of Ancient and Mediæval Commerce between Europe and the Orient.—Early Trade Routes.—The "Wealth of the Indies."—Effect of the Mohammedan Conquests.—Europe Shut in upon Herself.—Birth of Polar Exploration in Commercial Distress that Followed.—Significance of Voyages of Columbus and Magellan.—Beginning of the Search for a Northwest or Northeast Passage to Cathay.—History of Early English and Dutch Ventures.—Well Determined Routes for Exploration at Beginning of Nineteenth Century.—Most noted Expeditions of the

last Century.—Sir William Parry's Four Ventures.—Sir John Franklin's Notable Achievements and Melancholy Fate.—Great Number of Relief Expeditions.—Discovery of the Northwest Passage.—Amundsen and the *Gjoa*.—Exploits of the Three Noted American Explorers,—Kane, Hayes, and Hall.—Terrible Experience of the Crew of the *Polaris*.—De Long and the *Jeannette* Expedition.—Nordenskiöld Makes the Northeast Passage.—Nansen's Famous Drifting Expedition in the *Fram*.—Notable Expedition of the Duke of the Abruzzi.—Attempts to reach the Pole by Balloon and Air Ship.—Announcement of Cook and Peary that They had Reached the Pole.—Previous Experience of Each.—The Voyage of the *John R. Bradley*.—Dr. Cook's Dash for the Pole.—His Return and Reception.—The *Roosevelt* and Commander Peary's Remarkable Achievements.—Some Considerations Regarding the Controversy Over the Claims of the two Explorers.—Both Successful, though Dr. Cook first at the Pole.—Only Alternative.—Chronology of Arctic Exploration 767

LVIII.

THE UNITED STATES A WORLD POWER — 1909.

Influence of Catch-words and Phrases on Sentiment of People.—Old Ideas of World Powers.—What Constitutes the World Power of To-day.—The "Powers" of the Nineteenth Century.—The Concert of the Powers.—"Spheres of Influence."—Europe No Longer the World.—The Recognized World Powers; England, France, Germany, Russia, and the United States.—Riches of China.—Outbreak of European Nations in 1897.—Murder of French and German Missionaries.—"The Battle for Concessions."—Attitude of Administration Leaders Toward Spanish War.—Despatch to Commodore Dewey at Hong Kong.—"Offensive Operations in the Philippine Islands."—The Annexation of Hawaii.—Underlying Purpose of Many Congressmen.—"Point of Vantage for Acquiring Dominion in Far East."—Causes of War.—Political and Commercial and Not Merely Humanitarian.—Terms of the Protocol Concluding Peace.—The American Commissioners to Paris.—Proceedings of the Joint Commission at Paris to Agree upon Treaty of Peace.—"The Cession Must Be of Whole Archipelago or None."—Change in Public Sentiment at Result of War.—Views of Senator Hoar.—The Teachings of the Fathers Become "Glittering Generalities."—"Those Nursery Rhymes that were Sung Around the Cradle of the Republic."—Debate Over the Spanish Treaty.—Possessions Acquired by the Treaty.—Increasing Responsibilities and Expenses as Result of War.—Already More than One Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty Million Dollars Directly Chargeable to that Cause.—"The Parting of the Ways."—Contrasted Views of World Powers.—The One Militant and Aggressive; the Other Peaceful and Moral.—United States Always a World Power in Latter Sense.—Illustrations of that Fact.—The Outlook 799

NO.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
1.	Frontispiece	
2.	John Leslie,	23
3.	Penn Treaty Tree, and Philadelphia in 1800,	36
4.	The Battery, New York City, in 1800,	37
5.	Broadway and Canal Street, 1812,	38
6.	Boston in 1775,	39
7.	Virginia Tobacco Team, 1800,	42
8.	Charleston, S. C., in 1780,	43
9.	Elsbur Ames,	47
10.	Burns' Coffee House, Bowling Green,	49
11.	A Colonial Stage Coach,	52
12.	Green Dragon Tavern Boston,	54
13.	Exchange Coffee House, Boston,	55
14.	The John Hancock House,	56
15.	New York in 1745,	57
16.	Head of Lady of Fashion, 1775,	58
17.	Noah Webster,	63
18.	Ringing the Bell July 4, 1776,	65
19.	Hall of Independence, Philadelphia, 1776,	67
20.	Hoisting the First Naval Flag,	72
21.	John Paul Jones,	74
22.	The First American Naval Victory,	75
23.	Traveling During the Dark Day,	79
24.	Change of Scene After the Dark Day,	83
25.	The Wonderful Dark Day,	86
26.	Washington's Sword,	88
27.	The Washington Elm, Cambridge, Mass.,	90
28.	Washington's Resignation	91
29.	Amity Between England and America,	95
30.	George the Third,	96
31.	Reception of the First Minister to England,	98
32.	John Adams,	99
33.	Scene in Shays' Rebellion,	101
34.	Shays' Forces in Massachusetts,	103
35.	Daniel Shays,	104
36.	General Lincoln,	106
37.	Enrolling the Constitution,	108
38.	The Convention at Philadelphia, 1787,	110
39.	Franklin Pleading for Pacification,	112
40.	Washington's Inauguration Bible,	115
41.	First Inauguration of a President,	117
42.	Presidential Mansion, 1789,	119
43.	Presidential Mansion, 1876,	119
44.	Results of the Cotton Gin,	122
45.	Eli Whitney's Cotton Gin, 1793,	124
46.	Eli Whitney,	126
47.	Washington, D. C., in 1876,	133
48.	The National Capitol in 1876,	134
49.	Statue of America Surmounting the Capitol,	134
50.	Martha Washington,	137
51.	Death of Washington, December 14, 1799,	139
52.	George Washington as Colonel,	140
53.	George Washington as General,	141
54.	George Washington as President,	141
55.	The Tomb of Washington,	142
56.	Monument to Alexander Hamilton,	144

NO.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
57.	Alexander Hamilton,	145
58.	Aaron Burr,	145
59.	Scene of the Burr and Hamilton Duel,	148
60.	First Steamboat on the Hudson,	151
61.	Robert Fulton,	152
62.	Fulton's First Steamboat,	154
63.	Captain Isaac Hull,	159
64.	Action Between the Constitution and Guerriere,	162
65.	American Defenses at New Orleans,	166
66.	Andrew Jackson,	169
67.	The Battle of New Orleans,	171
68.	Destruction by the Great Gale and Flood,	173
69.	The Ever-memorable Gale, September 23, 1815,	175
70.	Horrors of the Whirlwind Throughout New England,	178
71.	Landing of Lafayette at New York,	181
72.	General Lafayette,	183
73.	Sword of Honor Presented to Lafayette,	185
74.	Lafayette's Residence,	186
75.	Lafayette's Birthplace,	188
76.	Lafayette's Tomb,	190
77.	The Jefferson Mansion at Monticello,	192
78.	Thomas Jefferson,	194
79.	The Adams Mansion at Quincy, Mass.,	196
80.	The Victor's Wreath,	197
81.	Robert Y. Hayne,	199
82.	Daniel Webster,	201
83.	Webster's Reply to Hayne,	204
84.	Monster Petition to Congress,	206
85.	John Quincy Adams,	208
86.	Adams Defending the Right of Petition,	212
87.	Effect of the Temperance Reformation,	217
88.	Signing the Pledge,	220
89.	Distinguished Temperance Advocates,	223
90.	The Inventor Toiling in his Garret,	226
91.	Elias Howe, Jr.,	228
92.	The Old and New: Sewing by Hand and Machine,	230
93.	Relieving Pain by the Use of Ether,	234
94.	The Three Claimants of the Discovery of Ether,	236
95.	Monument in Honor of the Discovery of Ether,	240
96.	Mining Operations in California,	242
97.	Sutter's Mill,	244
98.	John A. Sutter,	245
99.	James W. Marshall,	247
100.	George Steers,	252
101.	The Yacht America,	254
102.	The "Cup of All Nations,"	256
103.	Treaty of Peace, Amity, etc.,	259
104.	Commodore Perry,	261
105.	Naval Expedition to Japan Under Commodore Perry,	264

NO.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
106.	Run on a Bank,	267
107.	Excitement in Business Circles During the Panic,	269
108.	Effects of the Hard Times,	271
109.	Book of Requests for Prayers,	276
110.	Group of Eminent Revival Preachers,	280
111.	Dwight L. Moody,	284
112.	Ira D. Sankey,	284
113.	Great Revival Meeting in Brooklyn,	286
114.	State Capitol of Illinois,	289
115.	Debate Between Lincoln and Douglas,	290
116.	Stephen A. Douglas,	294
117.	Interior of Turret of the Monitor,	296
118.	Commodore Franklin Buchanan,	298
119.	Battle Between the Merrimac and Monitor,	301
120.	Lieutenant John L. Worden,	303
121.	Pen Used in Signing Emancipation Proclamation,	305
122.	William H. Seward,	306
123.	Edwin M. Stanton,	307
124.	Abraham Lincoln,	308
125.	Considering the Proclamation of Emancipation,	310
126.	General Meade's Headquarters,	315
127.	General George G. Meade,	317
128.	The Battle of Gettysburg,	319
129.	James Longstreet,	321
130.	Soldiers' Monument at Gettysburg,	323
131.	Headquarters at Atlanta, Ga.,	325
132.	General W. T. Sherman,	327
133.	Sherman's March Through the South,	329
134.	General Grant Stating Terms of Surrender,	334
135.	The Union Army Entering Richmond,	337
136.	President Lincoln's Early Home,	344
137.	Ford's Theatre, Washington, D. C.,	345
138.	Assassination of President Lincoln,	347
139.	House in Which Lincoln Died,	348
140.	J. Wilkes Booth,	349
141.	Lincoln's Home at Springfield, Ill.,	350
142.	Sergeant Boston Corbett,	351
143.	Burial Place of Lincoln,	353
144.	Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore,	358
145.	National Peace Jubilee at Boston, 1869,	361
146.	The Great Cathedral, New York City,	365
147.	Cardinal John McCloskey,	366
148.	Consecration of First American Cardinal,	368
149.	William M. Tweed	372
150.	The Tammany Wigwam,	374
151.	Horatio Seymour,	375
152.	A. Oakey Hall,	377
153.	The Tombs, New York City,	381
154.	Rev. Edward Everett Hale,	384
155.	Mrs. Margaret Bottome,	385
156.	Rev. Francis E. Clark,	387
157.	John Mitchell,	396
158.	Uriah S. Stephens,	398
159.	Samuel Gompers,	399
160.	Scripture Rolls,	403
161.	Mt. Sinai Convent,	407
162.	Alfred the Great,	413
163.	John Wyclif,	414
164.	Wyclif's Pulpit,	416
165.	Johann Gutenberg,	417
166.	Desiderius Erasmus,	419
167.	William Tyndale,	420
168.	St. Paul's Cross,	421
169.	Vilvorde Castle,	423
170.	Myles Coverdale,	424
171.	A Chained Bible,	426
172.	J. R. Green,	427
173.	Hugh Latimer,	428
179.	James the First,	431
180.	Cardinal Newman,	435
181.	Alexander II. of Russia,	451
182.	Joseph E. Gary,	454
183.	Roscoe Conkling,	463
184.	Snow Drifts on Side Street, N. Y. City,	465
185.	Redfield Proctor,	469
186.	Fitzhugh Lee,	470
187.	The Maine,	471
188.	Captain Charles D. Sigsbee,	472
189.	The John Ericsson Statue,	478
190.	John D. Long,	481
191.	The Oregon,	482
192.	Admiral George Dewey,	483
193.	Manila Bay,	484
194.	Admiral W. T. Sampson,	486
195.	Admiral Pascual Cervera,	487
196.	Lieutenant Richard P. Hobson,	489
197.	General Joseph Wheeler,	491
198.	Captain Charles E. Clark,	494
199.	General Nelson A. Miles,	495
200.	Admiral Robley D. Evans,	497
201.	Admiral Charles S. Sperry,	498
202.	The Connecticut,	499
203.	The Dewey Arch, New York City,	501
204.	Alexander I. of Russia,	503
205.	Mme. de Krudener,	505
206.	John Quincy Adams,	507
207.	James Monroe,	509
208.	George Canning,	513
209.	James K. Polk,	514
210.	Grover Cleveland,	517
211.	Lord Salisbury,	520
212.	Richard Olney,	521
213.	Melville W. Fuller,	523
214.	Captain Cook,	526
215.	Crater of Kilauea Volcano,	528
216.	Captain Vancouver,	535
217.	Kamehameha I,	536
218.	Rev. Titus Coan,	542
219.	King Kalakaua,	549
220.	Queen Liliuokalani,	552
221.	Sanford B. Dole,	555
222.	John Jay,	558
223.	The Vyver, or Fish Pond, The Hague,	563
224.	Hugo Grotius,	564
225.	Queen Wilhelmina, of Holland,	565
226.	Andrew D. White,	567
227.	The House in the Wood,	568
228.	Horace Porter,	574
229.	David Jayne Hill,	575
230.	Joseph H. Choate,	580
231.	Elihu Root,	583
232.	The Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas,	587
233.	The Sea Wall at Galveston,	591
234.	Cortez,	596
235.	Philip II. of Spain,	597
236.	Alexander von Humboldt,	598
237.	Goethe,	599
238.	Ferdinand de Lesseps,	601
239.	John C. Spooner,	603
240.	John Hay,	604
241.	Theodore Roosevelt,	605
242.	Sir Julian Pauncefote,	607
243.	Colonel G. W. Goethals,	608
244.	Relief Map of the Canal Zone,	609
245.	The Emperor of Japan,	614
246.	The Czar of Russia,	618
247.	The President and Envoys on the Mayflower,	621
248.	The Dolores Mission,	627
249.	San Francisco in 1855,	628
250.	General Funston,	630
251.	Section of Market Street Before the Fire,	631
252.	Portion of Business Section After the Fire,	634
253.	Benjamin Franklin,	642
254.	Sir Humphrey Davy,	649
255.	Michael Faraday,	651
256.	Joseph Henry,	652
257.	Samuel F. B. Morse,	655
258.	Morse's Original Apparatus,	656
259.	Orders Conferred on Morse,	659
260.	Cyrus W. Field,	662
261.	Alexander Graham Bell,	665
262.	Thomas A. Edison,	669
263.	Searchlight on Vessel at Sea,	670
264.	William Marconi,	674
265.	The Monarch Bearing Remains of George Peabody,	680
266.	The Bartholdi Statue,	683
267.	Emperor William II. of Germany,	685

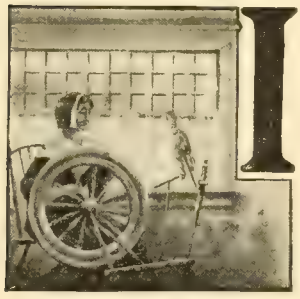
NO.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
268.	Baron Kaneko Kentaro,	687
269.	Cecil John Rhodes,	688
270.	James Bryce,	689
271.	Martin Luther,	693
272.	Rev. John Cotton,	696
273.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge, England,	700
274.	John Harvard Monument,	702
275.	First Harvard College,	703
276.	Harvard College Campus, 1870,	705
277.	Charles W. Eliot,	706
278.	Abbott Lawrence Lowell,	707
279.	James Blair,	709
280.	Elihu Yale,	711
281.	Timothy Dwight,	712
282.	Yale College in 1830,	713
283.	James McCosh,	714
284.	Woodrow Wilson,	715
285.	First King's College,	716
286.	Nicholas Murray Butler,	717
287.	John Marshall,	718
288.	Horace Mann,	722
289.	James B. Angell,	726
290.	Mary Lyon,	727
291.	Vassar College,	728
292.	Alice Freeman Palmer,	729
293.	William R. Harper,	730
294.	Stephen Girard,	733
295.	Girard College, Philadelphia,	735
296.	John Lowell, Jr.,	739
297.	Louis Agassiz,	740
298.	George Peabody,	743
299.	Johns Hopkins,	748
300.	Leland Stanford,	751
301.	Greek Theatre, University of California,	753
302.	John Crerar,	755
303.	Peter Cooper,	756
304.	John Jacob Astor,	758
305.	Samuel J. Tilden,	759
306.	J. Pierpont Morgan,	760
307.	Mrs. Russell Sage,	762
308.	John D. Rockefeller,	764
309.	Andrew Carnegie,	765
310.	Robert C. Winthrop,	766
311.	In Winter Quarters,	772
312.	Sir John Franklin,	773
313.	A Constant Companion,	775
314.	Esquiman Women and Children,	779
315.	The Duke of the Abruzzi,	783
316.	Frederick A. Cook,	785
317.	John R. Bradley,	786
318.	Reconnoitering,	788
319.	Robert E. Peary,	789
320.	The Roosevelt,	791
321.	Etah	792
322.	William McKinley,	803
323.	George F. Hoar,	805
324.	William P. Frye,	806
325.	Cushman K. Davis,	807
326.	Whitelaw Reid,	808
327.	George Gray,	809
328.	William R. Day	810

I.

IN COLONIAL DAYS.

Marvelous Achievements of Nineteenth Century.— Far Surpass Those of All Previous Centuries.— Washington Could Travel No Faster, Nor Despatch Messages More Quickly, Than Cæsar or Hammurabi.— Views of John Fiske.— "The Past Contains Within Itself All the Germs of the Future."— Mr. J. N. Larned's Review of Historical Development.— The United States in 1800.— New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Compared.— Washington in 1800. — Commercial and Social Life of Charleston.— Passion for Sport, Including the Rough-and-Tumble Fight.— Beginning of Cotton Culture and the Invention of the Cotton Gin.— Migration to the Ohio Valley.— Local State Jealousies.— Contest Over Adoption of the Constitution.— Payment of Taxes an "Amiable Eccentricity."— Not a Dollar in the National Treasury.— Craze for Cheap Money and Depreciation of Currency.— Samuel Adams Pays $2,000 for Hat and Suit of Clothes.— Injury to Cause of Popular Government Worked by Popular Discord.— Opinions of Fisher Ames, Hamilton, and Others.— "Your People, Sir, Your People is a Great *Beast*."— The Post Office Department.— First Mail Despatched on American Continent.— Methods of Travel, Inns, Etc.— The Early Stage Coaches and Famous Concord Stages.—Advent of Steam Railroad.— Home Life in the Colonies.— The Dining-Room and the Kitchen.— The Light of Our Fathers.— The Clergy and Churches.— Intemperance the National Curse.— Moral Status of the People.— Intellectual and Literary Conditions and Publications.— No Scientific Attainments.— Opinions of "Tom" Moore, Noah Webster, and Others.— Contrast Between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.

"Let our object be OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of wisdom, of peace, and of liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration forever." — DANIEL WEBSTER.



IN one of the most charming passages of the Odyssey, Homer recites the trials of Penelope who, persistently followed by suitors, yet still hoping that Ulysses may return, finally consented to consider their proposals after she had finished the web upon which she worked, intended as the death-shroud for the ancient Laertes. Day by day Penelope and her maids, *with their distaffs,* worked at the web,

"But every night-time she unwrought it all,"

thus keeping the suitors at bay for three years, when her "dear lord" returned, and slew all those who had taken advantage of the defenseless position of his wife. The "distaffs" used by Penelope and her maids, with only slight change of form, none of principle, are still to be found in many homes through the country in the "Spinning Wheels" which our grandmothers used.

When Hammurabi, more than four thousand years ago the great King of Babylon, sent a messenger to a governor of one of his provinces; when Abraham hurried a trusted servant off to Lot; when Cæsar despatched a lieutenant with instructions for

a general in Gaul, each of these messengers traveled as swiftly,—probably in the case of the Roman courier more swiftly, because of the fine Roman roads,—as did George Washington when he set out from Philadelphia in 1775 to take command of the American army at Cambridge, though the "speed of his desire" naturally urged him forward on his journey with impatient haste. Or, as a prominent British essayist, W. R. Gregg, writing about thirty years ago summed the matter up: "Few phenomena are more remarkable, yet few have been less remarked, than the degree in which material civilization—the progress of mankind in all those contrivances which oil the wheels and promote the comfort of daily life—has been concentrated into the present century. It is not too much to say that in these respects more has been done, richer and more prolific discoveries have been made, grander achievements have been realized in the course of fifty or seventy years of our own lifetime than in all the previous lifetime of the race, since states, nations, and politics such as history makes us acquainted with, have had their being,"—in effect boldly contrasting the advancement along all intellectual and material lines of the nineteenth century,—the general period covered by this work,—with the the sum of all similar endeavor and development, of all the preceding centuries. There have been other individual eras marked by great development and wonderful enlightenment, as the Age of Pericles, or the Age of the Antonines; but the characteristics that have made them distinguished have been special in their nature, while the great forward movements of the nineteenth century have been of universal interest and such as to transform the modes of life, and tendencies of the thought and activities of the people of all nations. Not the least interesting phase of the subject is the fact that one of the most, if not the most, important of the discoveries of this same nineteenth century,—the principle and laws of evolution,—has given to us a key to the mystery of the world's history, which reveals a continual unfolding through all the historic period that is beautiful in its suggestiveness and inspires a reverent homage in the mind of every thoughtful and devout man or woman. Previous to the middle of the nineteenth century all great historical events and movements were looked upon as phenomena, each an independent act of the Ruler of the Universe, and not necessarily nor even probably, having any direct connection with others; or, as each happening by chance, the Creator being, as Carlyle expressed it, "an absentee God, sitting idle ever since the first Sabbath, at the outside of His Universe, and 'seeing it go.'"

To-day, however, the principles of evolution are generally recognized, and, we believe, the view so well expressed by John Fiske is well nigh universally accepted by thoughtful and studious people. "The past contains within itself all the germs of the future," he says. "Humanity is not a mere local incident in an endless and aimless series of cosmical changes. The events of the Universe are not the work of chance neither are they the outcome of a blind necessity. The Universe is not a machine, but an organism; and the whole tendency of modern science is to impress upon us ever more forcibly the truth that the entire knowable Universe is an immense unit, animated throughout all its parts by a single principle of life." And he further refers to the appearance of man upon the earth as the last act in "the great drama of creation," believing "that all the remaining work of evolution now consists in the perfecting of the creature thus marvellously produced." This has, perhaps, seemed theoretical and visionary to many; yet the question whether the wonderful movements of the last century were sporadic, or an orderly and natural development of pre-existing conditions, is certainly a most absorbing one,—an inquiry which must affect one's whole outlook upon life. Before taking up the individual subjects illustrating the mighty advances made during the past century,

therefore, it would seem helpful to consider whether any evidence can be discovered that would make such an orderly purpose in the development of human history, looking toward the present era, apparent; and, also, whether there may not be found proof sufficient to warrant the belief that the present age of enlightened activity is not to be a limited period, but a continuous and more and more intelligent advancement of the race toward its ultimate goal of perfection.

Mr. Fiske's theory and belief was that during the process of the evolution of the race there came a time when, in the order of natural selection, the direction of effort was changed from physical to psychical ends; that man, the animal, had become as complete an organism as could be made, or as was necessary for the furtherance of the Divine purpose; and that thereafter the whole course of his development was to be along lines that should continually enlarge his mental horizon and constantly increase his spiritual and intellectual achievements,—the "glorious consummation" toward which organic evolution is tending being the production of the highest and most perfect psychical life, as "the Creation and perfecting of Man has been the goal toward which Nature's work has been tending from the first."

The distinguished historical writer, Mr. J. N. Larned, in a recent work entitled "Seventy Centuries," has concisely but most lucidly reviewed the history and development of the human race from the earliest times. The interest in the work for our present purpose lies in his masterly division of the historic period into six great epochs which illustrate the orderly development like six acts in a great drama. As the time covered by each period, or act, is from four thousand to two hundred years, there are, of course, many floodings and ebbings of the tide of progress during its years; yet it becomes clear that the sum-total of the events and activities of each period represents a distinct advance upon previous achievement. The drama opens with the Semitic and Hamitic races supreme throughout the then known world, and they hold the stage until about the sixth century before Christ, when a new actor enters in the form of the Persian branch of the great Aryan race, which utterly overthrows and forever destroys the early nations as ruling peoples. Then the Persian Aryan is overthrown by an European branch of the same family in the great victory of the Greeks over Xerxes, in 480 B. C., ending the first act or period. During the progress of its events the race had advanced from the rude and semi-barbarous culture of Babylon and early Egypt—the most absolute of despotisms—to the time when the Greeks became masters of the Eastern

JOHN FISKE.

World, and an era of great enlightenment and culture sets in. At the beginning of the second act of the drama the Greeks hold the stage and early present the marvels of art, literature, political ideals, and philosophic thought which astonish the world to-day as much as ever, when viewed as the product of the people of one small country in less than two hundred years. Early in this act the wonderful conquests of Alexander complete the destruction of the Asiatic despotisms, and the Greek language and Greek culture are carried to the ends of the earth. But the era of Greek supremacy represents an age

chiefly of great intellectual enlightenment, not of moral advancement. Yet the way was paved for the coming of the Master teacher. But before His work could be effectual the whole world must be brought under one sway, and the Roman takes the stage, subduing the whole world physically, yet himself conquered by the arts and philosophy of Greece, so that nothing good is lost, and new elements of strength are introduced. The whole world being under one power maintaining everywhere order and peace, and the Greek language affording a universal means of communication, the path is straight for the coming of the grand revelation of the Creator's purpose, and Christ appears, teaching for the first time in history the greatest of all truths which is thereafter to dominate the desire of mankind,—*the Fatherhood of God, and its corollary the brotherhood of man,*—a truth that man will never again lose sight of. Unconsciously a tremendous support for this truth is now added to the sum of the world's knowledge and enlightenment by the great Roman concept of the Law of Nations, in general, teaching for the first time that there are certain fundamental rights that are common to all peoples; while the Roman further presents as his contribution to the advancement of the race the general idea of order under clearly defined legal principles. When, in course of time, these new ideas have become a permanent possession of the race, Greece and Rome have served their purpose and a new principle is needed. During all these years hardy, uncontaminated peoples have been developing up in the North of Europe, their very methods of life and the vast solitudes in which they lived, creating in them a passion for freedom and an indomitable independence; and with the fall of Rome the great second act of the drama ending, the third opens with the inroads of the barbarians who over-run and destroy most that is material of the older states. But, as Rome in conquering Greece absorbed all her teachings of philosophy, literature, art, and politics, so now the Northern invaders gradually settle down upon the lands of the conquered, but, in turn, absorbing and being conquered by their religion and culture,—nothing, again, of real value being lost, while the Teutons add to the sum of the world's spiritual good the great principle of individual freedom and activity. All of the action of this third period, which extends to A. D. 1453, is involved in the settlement of the "New Nations," the constantly shifting of borders and governments; until toward the close of the period all the Nations have assumed practically the positions that have since been maintained. But now "the old order changeth;" and from the opening of the fourth period, in 1450, on, the dominant movements are to be along mental and intellectual lines, and not a constant struggle between nations for supremacy. Not that tumult is to cease. It is a part of the law of evolution that old forms and forces may and do exist for centuries alongside the new; but they are no longer the dominating and directing forces. So more or less incessant warfare will continue; and the full flowering of the new principles will be but gradually realized. But the *real* leaven that is to work from this time on will be spiritual and intellectual, and not material. And just here seems to begin the working of Mr. Fiske's principle of the change in the direction of the activity of the law of natural selection from physical to mental and spiritual lines. The first great influence in this period was that of the Renaissance, so-called, which was not in reality the birth of anything new, but "an expansion, a liberation, an enlightenment—an opening of eyes, and of ears, and of inner senses and sensibilities." Then follows closely the great religious Reformation, when the spirit of Liberty which has been more or less dormant for centuries realizes itself, and the shackles are forever broken that have bound men to the church. The next great Era is that of the Political revolutions, covering roughly the period from 1600 to 1800, the act opening with the great contest for civil and political liberty between Charles I. and Parliament, and ending with the revolu-

tion of 1688, and the establishment of the first Constitutional government. Then follows a long period of struggles for greater freedom of thought and speech, and for the rights of the individual as a man and as a citizen, culminating in the American and the French Revolutions, and resulting actually in the total overthrow of the whole structure of absolutism and despotism,—whether in church or state. And after seventy centuries of slow but sure evolution man, representing the race, stands on the threshold of the nineteenth century *emancipated bodily, mentally, and spiritually;* and the way is clear and open for the unrestricted use and exercise of *all* his faculties, the sequel of which is the story of the marvelous outburst of energy, inquiry, invention, and activity which has in very truth, within one hundred years, transformed the world.

Imperfectly as we have expressed the marvelous development of the race, we think we have outlined the process with sufficient clearness to illustrate our purpose, and, perhaps, to lead others to investigate the subject more fully, firmly believing that all who do so will exclaim with Tennyson

"Yet I doubt not through the Ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the Suns."

And the strongest evidence that the vast and rapid changes of the nineteenth century are not to be, like those of other centuries, sporadic, is to be found, as will be seen in our further treatment of the subject, in the fact that all the achievements of the human intellect during this period follow one another in order. Each new discovery becomes at once a powerful instrument in the hands of innumerable skilled workers, and each year, as has been said, "wins over fresh regions of the universe from the unknown to the known." We have become so accustomed to the almost daily discovery of most important principles that we fail to appreciate their meaning or importance, even inventions or improvements that the most unscientific person must recognize as revolutionary causing hardly a passing comment. It will, however, be our effort in the following pages to give some comprehensive idea of what the total for the nineteenth century really represents.

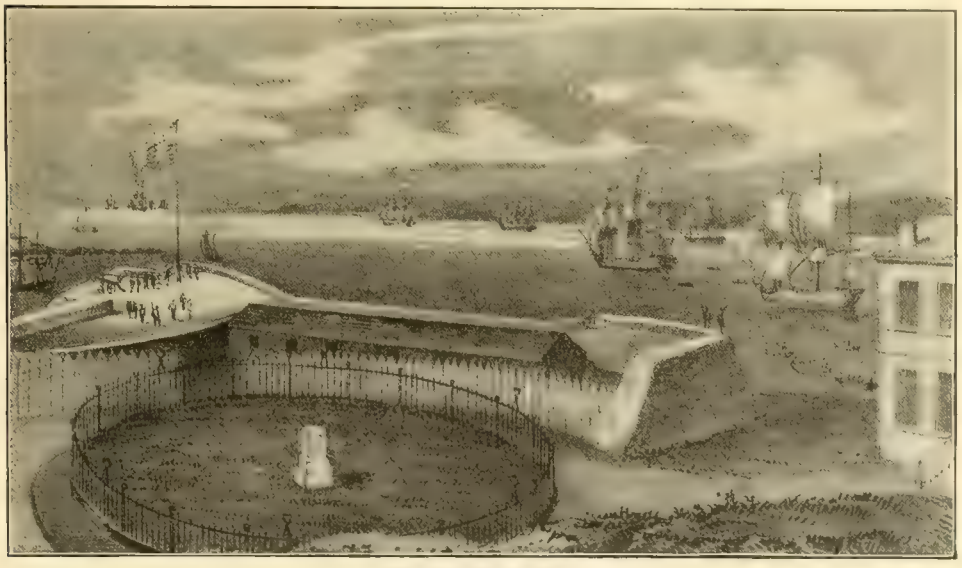
It has been shown how little the conditions of life or of business had changed during the entire historic period down to the nineteenth century. It is now necessary to obtain some clear conception, if possible, of what the mode of life, and state of commerce, science, and the arts really were at that time, so that an intelligent realization of what the vast changes which are apparent now, as the result of a little more than a century's development, really mean. The census of 1800 showed the population of the entire United States to be 5,308,483, of which number nearly 1,000,000 were negro slaves. As the country had generally become more settled after the Revolutionary War, five important social and commercial centres had established permanently their lead — Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston. Of these, Philadelphia, the National Capital until July, 1800, having a population of about 70,000, was the most distinguished not alone because of its prestige as the capital city, but also because it was better paved, lighted, had a better class of houses and inns, and maintained a more refined and aristocratic social life than was to be found elsewhere. Owing to the repeated scourges of yellow fever, considerable attention had been given to drainage and sanitation, and a general appearance of greater cleanliness obtained than in any of its sister cities. The Duc de Liancourt was one of the most intelligent and observant of travelers through the States in the latter part of the eighteenth century; and in the narrative of his travels he says: "Philadelphia is not only the finest in the United States, but may be deemed one of the most beautiful cities in the world. The profusion and luxury on great days, at the tables of the wealthy, in their equipages, and the dresses of their wives and daughters, are extreme. I have seen balls on the President's birthday where the splendor of

the rooms and the variety and richness of the dresses did not suffer in comparison with Europe; and it must be acknowledged that the beauty of the American ladies has the advantage in the comparison. The young women of Philadelphia are accomplished in different degrees, but beauty is general with them. They want the ease and fashion of French women, but the brilliancy of their complexion is infinitely superior. Even when they grow old they are still handsome; and it would be no exaggeration to say, in the numerous assemblies of Philadelphia it is impossible to meet with what is called a plain woman. As to the young men, they for the most part seem to belong to another species." And the historian Henry Adams, referring to the same period, declares that "it (Philadelphia) surpassed any city of its size on either side of the Atlantic for most of the comforts and some of the elegancies of life." Pennsylvania, too, manifested far greater public spirit, and a more determined purpose to make use of her natural advantages. More roads and canals were building and planned than elsewhere; while a turnpike from Philadelphia to Lancaster was completed, and the great highway to Pittsburg was the most important artery of commerce and national life to be found in the Union. Several important industries had started up about the city too. There were iron-works already in a flourishing condition, and the most productive manufactures of paper, gunpowder, pleasure carriages, etc., were located there. The city was also the headquarters of the Bank of the United States, with its capital of $10,000,000 and private banks were capitalized at about $5,000,000 more. All accounts of travelers represented it as a most attractive and interesting city; and the native or foreigner who wished to see the most or best of the social or material life of the country went to Philadelphia, as to-day he goes to New York.

THE PENN TREATY TREE, AND PHILADELPHIA, ABOUT 1800.

The State of New York gained a lead in population over Massachusetts and

Maine (then one state) for the first time in 1800, the former being credited with a population of 589,000, and the latter with one of 573,000; while their respective valuations for purposes of taxation were $100,000,000 and $84,000,000. Outside the city of New York, however, there were fewer evidences of prosperity and general comfort than in New England. In fact it was in increase of population alone that the city had shown any material advance since the Revolution. The population of 33,000 in 1790 had grown to 60,000 in 1800, and the city was compared by foreign travelers with Liverpool, which then had a population of about 70,000. It was a typical sea-port town, dirty, undrained, and for the most part unattractive. No sanitary regulations were enforced, and terrible scourges of the yellow fever in 1798 and 1803 swept off hundreds of victims, and drove all who could get away back to the higher country. The estimated city expenses for the year 1800 amounted to $130,000, a marked contrast with those of the present day. The appearance of the residence part of the city had been somewhat improved as the area laid waste by two large fires had been filled in by new houses of other than Dutch architecture, which made an agreeable change in the monotony of the residence streets. The Battery was naturally the rendezvous and promenade for all the people, and was undoubtedly the most attractive "breathing place" and park to be found in the country at that time. A broad walk ran to the water's edge, and above it on a terrace were ranged thirteen guns which commanded the entrance to the rivers. The wharves were all on the East river side and extended from the Battery round to Peck Slip. All the warehouses, stores, and best residences were east of Broadway, Wall street at the opening of the century being the fashionable residence street, with the aristocratic Trinity Church and church-yard at its head. John Jacob Astor, who had not yet begun his great series of investments in city property, but was simply a furrier, dwelt quite in the suburbs where the present Astor house stands. Though the Battery was the great resort of the people, still there were other attractive and inviting places outside the city. On the heights overlooking the Sound were several "Tea Gardens" which were places of note. At Brannon's, for instance, there was a greenhouse full of lemon trees and orange trees, and many varieties of tropical plants, and, "besides the tea, the best



THE BATTERY, 1800.

iced liquors and the best iced creams that were to be had on the island." But the most popular of these resorts was at Gravesend, a "tea-drinking pleasure house" known far and near. The fine

BROADWAY AND CANAL STREET, 1812.

views and the cool breezes were additional attractions, and local papers speak of the "thousands" who on Sunday took the ferry to Brooklyn and thence the road to Gravesend. These were days when people seem to have taken the burdens of life lightly, the merchants finding abundant time for social gatherings in the coffee-houses, and the women for promenades on the Battery, and gossip. Just previous to 1800 the merchants had left their old Exchange at the foot of Broad street, and had made the new "Tontine Coffee House" their meeting place. "This building," says McMasters, "has been described as elegant and commodious and in its coffee-room, from eleven till two each day, the merchants and brokers were gathered. There politics were discussed, scrip and stock bought and sold, and business in a large way transacted. There were the insurance offices, blank checks on the city banks, and the huge books in which captains and pilots spread such shipping news as they had been able to collect. If a merchant wanted a clerk, or a clerk wanted a position it was at the Tontine that the notice was posted up." To live at the Tontine cost at least two dollars and fifty cents a day; but where No. 1 Broadway now stands was a fashionable boarding house, or family hotel, where the rates were seven dollars per week. But a little way out of the city board could be obtained for two or three dollars a week. The bulk of the capital of the city at this time was invested in shipping. Of manufactures there were but few and those unimportant. New York had a wide and rapidly growing country over which to extend its trade, as all of Massachusetts west of the Connecticut river, most of Connecticut and New Jersey, and all of the Hudson valley with its constantly increasing settlements, came within its zone of trade. But no great amount of wealth, no new creations of power, nor any considerable industries yet existed. There were two banks in addition to the branch of the United States Bank, with a total capital of about $2,500,000; and besides these but two other banks existed in the state, one at Hudson and the other at Albany. The total value of the exports from New York in 1800 was but $14,000,000, while the net revenue from imports for 1799 was $2,373,000, the net revenue col-

lected in Massachusetts for the same period being $1,607,000.

The census of 1800 gave to Boston a population of 25,000. It was not an attractive town. Its footways and sidewalks, like its streets, were paved with round cobblestones, with no curbings, though a gutter ran between the walks and the street. The streets were almost unlighted at night, the occasional oil lamp that was provided serving rather to make the darkness more sensibly felt than to lighten the way. Notwithstanding its large population, and its extended interests, it still retained the old New England town system of government, the management of its affairs being in the hands of selectmen, chosen annually at the "town meetings." The first charter for a city was issued in 1822. Though there had been many improvements in the way of building roads and of public and private buildings, still, notwithstanding the general economy and thrift of the people, Boston and New England were poor. A few of the more prominent merchants, chiefly in foreign trade, had amassed what were then considered large fortunes, and built houses and lived in a style of comfort and elegance, that compared favorably with the best homes and social life of Philadelphia, or of the best English mercantile classes. But lawyers, ministers, and the average tradesmen found it difficult to live in such a manner as their abilities and worth would warrant. There were no great corporations of any character to pay large retainers and "fat" fees to the lawyers. Litigation was for the most part over petty causes, and the litigants were far from rich; while down to the nineteenth century few ministers in New England received more than five hundred dollars a year. On these meagre salaries, however, they reared large families, and practiced charity and hospitality with considerable liberality. In a eulogy on the Rev. Abijah Weld, of Attleborough, Mass., President Dwight stated the amazing fact that on a salary of two hundred and twenty dollars a year Mr. Weld had reared eleven children, in addition to keeping a hospitable house and exercising a generous charity toward the poor. Temporarily, as a result of the French Wars, Boston was enjoying an unusual degree of prosperity. The ex-

BOSTON IN 1775.

ports and imports of New England were comparatively very great, and its shipping is said to have been greater than that of New York and Pennsylvania. One factor in the volume of this shipping has brought the bitterest criticism upon Boston, and few will deny that it has been well merited. A regular fleet of vessels was engaged in a peculiar tri-angular trade. They loaded at Boston with Medford rum, which was then taken to the coast of Africa where it was exchanged for negroes. Of course certain of the coast chiefs were a part of the machinery, and they constantly warred on their neighboring tribes, and held their captives to exchange with the American captain for his rum. Many other ways were devised, too, to get possession of natives. Frequently off some little coast settlement the innocent blacks would swarm in their canoes around the vessel attracted by the curious ship, unfamiliar to them. They could usually be lured on board, when all would be chained and cast into the hold. Death itself would have been infinitely preferable to the sufferings these poor creatures were doomed to endure. The "cargo" was not complete until every available inch of space in the hold was "assigned." Each man was allowed six feet by sixteen inches to lie down in; boys were allowed five feet by fourteen inches; the women five feet, ten inches by sixteen inches; and the girls four feet by one foot each. To make them lie close the lash and rope's end were used. Brooks's "History of Medford" gives several illustrations of the transactions of these vessels. The cargo of the "Caesar," for example, outbound was: eighty-two barrels, six hogsheads, and six tierces of New England rum; thirty-three barrels best Jamaica spirits; thirty-three barrels of Barbados rum; twenty-five pistols; two casks musket balls; one chest arms; twenty-five cutlasses. The return cargo was "In the hold on board the scow 'Caesar,' 153 adult slaves and two children." Frequently these return cargoes of slaves were taken directly to Southern points and sold; but generally they were taken to some "clearing house" in the West Indies, where they were exchanged for molasses, which was brought to Boston to make more rum, so that there should be no hitch in the perfect working of the system.

The great manufacturing interests that have made Boston and New England such hives of industry, and have been the sources of the great wealth so manifest in New England to-day, had as yet no existence. The people were still dependent upon home industry for clothing and most of the necessaries of life. Two or three small cotton mills were being operated with doubtful success; but Massachusetts could not compete with England in lines of ordinary manufacture. The whale-oil, salt-fish, lumber, and rum were mostly shipped abroad; but a few coasting sloops were engaged in the coasting trade, on which were shipped home-made linens and clothes, cheese, butter, shoes, etc. These were sent chiefly to Norfolk and the Southern ports, one sloop only plying regularly between Boston and New York. Down to the nineteenth century three banks had been established in Boston, one being a branch of the Bank of the United States, and the others local. The total capital of these institutions was about $2,500,000, while the capital of a number of small banks scattered through the smaller towns was about equal in amount.

Baltimore had suddenly become a centre of enterprise and activity after the war, and at the time we are considering had a population as large as that of Boston, with an equal or larger shipping business. Washington was just rising, with doubtful success, from the marshes of the Potomac. When the seat of government was removed to that place from Philadelphia in 1800, a most unattractive and unpromising scene presented itself. The "City" had only a few log cabins and negro quarters, where, as one has said, "the plan called for the traffic of London and the elegance of Versailles." The half finished White House stood in a barren field overlooking the Potomac, with two unattractive government buildings near

it; while a mile and a half away across a swamp stood the two unfinished wings of the capitol, without a body. "Never," says Henry Adams, "did hermit or saint condemn himself to solitude more consciously than Congress and the Executive in removing the government from Philadelphia to Washington; the discontented men clustered together in eight or ten boarding houses as near as possible to the capitol and there lived, like a convent of monks, with no other amusement or occupation than that of going from their lodgings to chambers and back again. Even private wealth could do little to improve the situation, for there was nothing which wealth could buy. There were in Washington no shops or markets, skilled labor, commerce, or people. Public efforts and lavish use of public money could alone make the place tolerable; but Congress doled out funds for this national and personal object with so sparing a hand that their capitol threatened to crumble to pieces and crush Senate and House under the ruins long before the building was complete."

Turning toward the south from Washington, the evidences of prosperity became less and less apparent. Virginia had at this time a population of more than a half million whites and three hundred and fifty thousand slaves. Yet between Alexandria and Charleston no place of any importance existed. Of roads there were practically none; and Jefferson complained that between Monticello and Washington seven rivers were to be crossed, over four of which there were no bridges of any kind for their entire length. The land was already exhausted; and the most skilled husbandry which a few large land-owners like Jefferson practiced could not secure a yield of more than eight bushels of wheat to the acre. Even where the continued planting of tobacco had not exhausted the lands bad systems of agriculture and force of habit kept the farmers in their old ruts. Great estates were still the rule, situated mostly along the navigable rivers, sounds, and creeks of the Eastern Shore; but even on these the evidences of wealth, and the semi-royal mode of life which prevailed a century before, were rarely in evidence. As the Duc de Liancourt observed: "The Virginians are not generally rich, especially in net revenue. Thus one often finds a well-served table, covered with silver, in a room where for ten years half the window panes have been missing, and where they will be missed for ten years more. There are few houses in a passable state of repair, and of all parts of the establishment those best cared for are the stables." No better statement of the different conditions that obtained in Virginia and Pennsylvania could be found than that which appears in the account of the travels of an English Quaker, Robert Sutcliffe, who made a journey through the States in 1804. "In Pennsylvania," he says, "we met great numbers of wagons drawn by four or more fine, fat horses, the carriages firm and well made, and covered with stout good linen bleached almost white (the 'Conestoga wagons'); and it is not uncommon to see ten or fifteen together traveling cheerfully along the road, the driver riding on one of his horses. Many of these come more than three hundred miles to Philadelphia from the Ohio, Pittsburg, and other places; and I have been told by a respectable Friend, a native of Philadelphia, that more than one thousand covered carriages frequently come to the Philadelphia market. The appearance of things in the slave States is quite the reverse of this. We sometimes meet a ragged black boy or girl driving a team consisting of a lean cow and a mule; sometimes a lean bull, or an ox, and a mule; and I have seen an ox, a mule, and a bull, each miserable in its appearance, composing one team, with a half naked black slave or two riding or driving as occasion suited. The carriage or wagon, if it may be called such, appeared in as wretched condition as the team and its driver. Sometimes a couple of horses, mules, or cows, would be dragging a hogshead of tobacco, with a pivot or axle driven into each end of the hogshead, and

something like a shaft attached, by which it was drawn or rolled along the road."

Although North Carolina ranked fifth among the sixteen states of the Union in population, being credited with 478,000 inhabitants, yet it was the most unknown of all the states. No enterprise was manifest, and so far as influence of any kind upon the political, social, and economic life of the country was concerned it might as well, apparently, have been stricken from the list of states. Travelers who were forced to pass through it, *en route* for Charleston, or other points farther south, made the most doleful reports of their experiences. One particularly intelligent traveler reports: "The taverns are the most desolate and beggarly imaginable; bare, black, and dirty walls, one or two old broken chairs and a bench form all the furniture. The white females seldom make their appearance. At supper you sit down to a meal the very sight of which is sufficient to deaden the most eager appetite, and you are surrounded by half a dozen dirty, half naked, blacks, male and female, whom any man of common scent might smell a mile off. The house itself is raised upon props four or five feet, and the space below is left open for the hogs, with whose charming vocal performances the wearied traveler is serenaded the whole night long."

But when one reached Charleston the whole scene changed. The city had in 1800 a population of 18,000 and so was a close third to Baltimore and Boston. It possessed a large foreign trade and at all times vessels from Great Britain and the West Indies could be seen at the wharves. It had, too, a very large proportion of cultivated, refined people, most aristocratic in their bearing and manner. They were chiefly owners of large plantations who made the city their home for the greater part of the year, while the overseer managed the estate. Many of the men had been educated at the English universities and had brought back to Carolina an intense devotion to sports, especially of the lower class so much favored by the English aristocrat. Like the wealthy Virginian, the Carolina planter was a passionate lover of the race course, as well as the patron of cock-fighting, and in too many cases of the brutal "set-to," known as the rough-and-tumble fight, which was a prize-fight without rules, and in which

VIRGINIA TOBACCO TEAM, 1800.

the biting off of an ear or nose, and the gouging out of eyes were permissible. This barbarous encounter was of more or less frequent occurrence all through the South, and particularly common in the southwest along the Ohio river. These Virginia and Carolina planters scorned any connection with trade, and looked upon the things done by merchants and tradesmen as degrading. They were generally poor in immediate cash, yet ever ready to wager a slave on a horse race or five hundred dollars in tobacco or cotton upon a cock-fight,—the cocks always being shod with steel spurs to make the "sport" more bloody, and so more exciting. A most generous hospitality was offered at the homes of the great planters of both Virginia and the Carolinas, the passing stranger ever finding a warm welcome. In many cases where the house lay far back from the main-traveled road a slave was kept stationed at the highway to invite travelers to share the hospitality of the proprietor. This custom had arisen from the fact that the great plantations were so isolated that even the sight of a strange face served to break the monotony of life, while from the stranger the planter might hope to get some news of what was going on in the world from which he was so absolutely separated.

The people of Charleston, too, had been active in efforts to improve their trade, and extend the area that might be tributary to the city. They readily saw that theirs was the natural shipping port for the whole Tennessee and northern Georgia territory, and they had secured a good road from the coast to Nashville, Tenn., over which a regularly established trade was being rapidly built up. But two events had recently occurred that meant more to the far Southern States than any avenue of commerce they might open up. The first was the utilization of the recently invented Watt steam engine by the cotton manufacturers of England, enormously increasing the demand for cotton; and the other was the invention

CHARLESTON IN 1780.

of the Whitney Cotton Gin. Here we come upon the first of the great inventions that have helped to transform the world during the nineteenth century. The first cotton grown in the United States was probably in 1789. The next year a few bales, then called "packets," were sent to England and sold for twenty-two pence a pound. From this time the price steadily rose until in 1799 it reached forty-four cents in this country. In the meantime more and more attention had been given to its culture, and the crop of two hundred thousand pounds in 1791 grew to twenty million in 1801, and twice that amount in 1803. In 1794 Whitney received the patent on his "gin," and in 1801 South Carolina bought it, and in 1802 North Carolina and Tennessee; and an immediate and tremendous impulse was given to the production of cotton. The planters increased their land holdings as fast and as far as possible, and a brisk demand arose for more slaves. The future of the South looked more promising than that of most of the Northern states; and the citizen of Charleston easily saw his city passing Boston and Baltimore in wealth and commerce to take its place as the third city of the Union.

Already, in 1800, nearly a half million people had pushed their way beyond the Alleghany and Blue Ridge mountains. By the routes already mentioned to Pittsburg, and another road that had been built from the Potomac southwest through Virginia to Knoxville, Tenn., and thence through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky, there was a constant movement of emigration toward the Ohio valley. At Pittsburg and along the Monongahela river existed settlements already old, with a population of more than seventy thousand. Kentucky, the largest community west of the mountains, had a population of one hundred and eighty thousand whites and forty thousand negro slaves; while about ninety thousand whites and fourteen thousand slaves were sparsely settled over the state of Tennessee. Cincinnati had a population of about fifteen thousand people, and at Marietta a New England colony had established itself. Buffalo and Rochester were not yet laid out, and the rough outline we have sketched of the area and conditions within the United States of 1800 certainly has little that would lead the most optimistic of prophets to see even the faintest glimmerings of the great changes that were so soon to press upon each other with a bewildering rapidity. As Henry Adams well says: "Nature was rather man's master than his servant, and the five million Americans struggling with the untamed Continent seemed hardly more competent to their task than the beavers and buffalo which had for countless generations made bridges and roads of their own." The same authority estimates that the "probable valuation of the whole United States in 1800 was $1,800,000,000, equal to $328 for each human being, including slaves or $418 to each free white. This property was distributed with an approach to equality, except in a few of the Southern States. In New York and Philadelphia a private fortune of one hundred thousand dollars was considered handsome, and three hundred thousand was great wealth. Inequalities were frequent but they were chiefly those of a landed aristocracy. Equality was so far the rule that every white family of five persons might be supposed to own land, stock or utensils, a house and furniture worth about two thousand dollars; and as the only considerable industry was agriculture, their scale of life was easy to calculate — taxes amounting to little or nothing, and wages averaging about a dollar a day."

But it was not only the lack of inventive faculty and the disposition to be satisfied with existing conditions; the low mental state and the lack of moral force that characterized a great part of the people,—it was not alone these things that filled many thoughtful people with dark forebodings as to the future. In addition to these the want of a sentiment of nationality and union filled many with alarm. Between New England and New York, or New York and Pennsylvania,

there was little of common interest; while between all three and the South there was still less. Moreover the inland empire that was being built up west of the Alleghanies had no common ground of thought or action with the sea-board states; and its natural connection with the outside world seemed to be by way of the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers rather than over two hundred miles of mountains and forests to the Atlantic ports.

The primary causes of this lack of common interest are to be found in the desperate and paralyzing conditions that existed during the last two or three years of the Revolutionary War. At the outbreak of the war, and especially after the Declaration of Independence, the entire population of the Colonies was thrilled with a spirit of patriotism and enthusiasm that promised great and speedy results. The repulse of the British regulars at Lexington and Concord, followed by the essential victory at Bunker Hill, had convinced the Americans that under anything like equally favorable conditions they were more than a match for the British troops. But the people had no conception of what it meant to organize, drill, and equip an army, and were suspicious of every movement that looked toward the possible establishment of a standing army; so that every obstacle was placed in the way of Washington's achieving much immediate success. The brilliant campaign of 1777 in New Jersey, which was destined to establish among military critics Washington's position as one of the greatest generals of history, only served to revive for a period the rapidly waning confidence of the people; and when this was followed by the forced inaction and futile efforts of the next two or three years, chiefly due to the vacillating course and incompetency of the Continental Congress, an evil spirit of apathy and despair took possession of the popular mind, the worst result of which was the revival of old-time local and state jealousies, and a hopeless indifference as to the outcome of the struggle for independence. Even the crowning victories in South Carolina and Virginia failed to dissipate this sentiment and to inspire hope; and it was only the most adroit and persistent effort of Washington and a few of the great political leaders that was powerful enough to revive the desire for Union sufficiently to secure a convention for the consideration of some new form of government. Even after the Constitution had been framed and laid before the people it was nearly two years before the approval of nine of the thirteen colonies could be secured; while in the fight in the different states over its adoption the old sectional differences and selfish local interests were still further inflamed. Never did a great nation have its birth in greater pains and labor than did the United States. The war had cost $170,000,000; but there was no inclination on the part of the states to contribute toward the settlement of their share of the just claims incurred. So indifferent were the people to the public needs that at one time there was not one dollar in the national treasury. The payment of taxes was regarded as an "amiable eccentricity." All these disgraceful and disheartening conditions, too, were aggravated by the deplorable state of the currency. The craze for "cheap money" was everywhere manifest in the rural communities, and every kind of a substitute for coin was in circulation, until it became impossible to fix upon any basis of values on which business transactions could be conducted. It would have seemed that the experience of the people with the Continental currency during the war should have taught them a lesson they would not soon forget; but such was not the case. The Continental Congress, having no power to levy taxes on the colonies, as early as 1775 began to issue bills. The first issue was for $300,000, redeemable in gold or silver in three years. Further issues in rapid succession increased the amount outstanding in 1778 to about nine millions, and down to that date their value was maintained. But when Congress showed neither an inclination nor ability to redeem the earlier issues, depreciation began and the decline was rapid; so that by the end of that year

the paper dollar was worth only sixteen cents in the Northern states and twelve in the Southern. Washington sadly observed that it took a wagon load of money to buy a wagon load of provisions. A small minority in Congress insisted upon the adoption of some method of taxation to relieve the situation; but the general sentiment of that body was voiced by one member who indignantly asked why he should help to tax the people when they could go to the printing office and get a cartload of money. "Early in 1780," says John Fiske, "the value of the dollar had fallen to two cents, and before the end of the year it took ten paper dollars to make a cent. In October, Indian corn sold wholesale in Boston for $150 a bushel; butter was twelve dollars a pound; tea, ninety dollars; sugar, ten dollars; beef, eight dollars; coffee, twelve dollars; and a barrel of flour cost $1,575. Samuel Adams paid $2,000 for a hat and suit of clothes. The money soon ceased to circulate, debts could not be collected, and there was a general prostration of credit. To say a thing 'was not worth a continental,' became the strongest possible expression of contempt." But, notwithstanding these bitter and recent experiences, nearly all the states within five years were flooded with local bills, and every conceivable thing that was transferable was offered in payment for goods. In many places the merchants closed their stores and refused to do any business. Such conditions could not fail to result in the direst distress, which resulted in disorder and riots in many places, and the more serious "Shays' Rebellion" in Massachusetts. The sentiment that the Union was a failure became common throughout the greater part of the country, and that no relief from the public ills could be looked for from that source. Within twenty-five years after the adoption of the Constitution no less than five distinct movements looking toward secession received popular support in different parts of the country, while the general principle of nullification was stoutly maintained by the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799. By the Funding Act of the first National Congress the financial situation was materially improved; and by measures of reasonable taxation a tolerable revenue was established both for the general and state governments. Business improved accordingly and the dejected and disheartened people slowly acquired a measure of confidence in the future of the Union, and hope came to reign in the place of despair. But even the improved business conditions, and the increase of wealth could not obliterate state and sectional prejudices and jealousies; and anything like a real condition of political harmony and national unity was still far from realization at the opening of the nineteenth century. Happily, in a sense, the various aggressions of both England and France on the rights of Americans during the first quarter of a century of the nation's existence, with the resultant war of 1812, served in a measure to unite all the factions, and to create a sentiment of nationality and a community of interests, which the coming of the railroad a few years later,—breaking down all physical barriers between the diverse sections of the country, and bringing the people of each locality into closer intercourse and acquaintance with those of every other,—served to perpetuate and make lasting. Though, as a sad experience proved, only the civil war could remove certain obstacles to a perfect harmony, and forever bury all ideas of nullification and separation by establishing an indissoluble union of the people of the whole land, as distinguished from a federation of individually sovereign states.

But the conditions which prevailed down to the war of 1812—the jealousies, selfishness, indifference to the public welfare,—worked a lasting injury to the cause of popular government, which only the successful issue of the Civil War, establishing a more solid and permanent union, served to relieve. European nations looked upon a government by the people as a beautiful dream, perhaps, but impossible of realization; and the chaos, and almost anarchy, of the early period of

our history only confirmed them in their opinion. The people could not be trusted to establish a government, and rule themselves! And this conviction is voiced by all the foreign publicists and writers on the science of government of the first half of the nineteenth century,—Mill, Maine, and Freeman (in his earlier days) in particular,—all illustrating their arguments from what they conceived to be the failure of Republican institutions in America. More serious, however, was the breach made between the great leaders in the popular movement here and the people for whom they labored. Anyone reading the Journal of the Constitutional Convention will see that, however much Hamilton and a few others favored a more aristocratic form of government than that finally adopted, all were agreed that the government to be established should be one of, by, and for all the people of all the states. No one seriously questioned the ability of the people to act sanely and wisely in adopting and conducting their government. But the course of affairs and the conduct of the great rural communities during the twenty years following the adoption of the Constitution disgusted and alienated the leaders who had spared neither physical strength and health, expenditures of private means, nor incessant labor in behalf of the popular cause, until the line of division in sentiment between the two classes became marked and threatening. No one would doubt the patriotism of Fisher Ames; yet he but expressed the profound conviction of nearly all his class, when he wrote, in 1803: "Our country is too big for Union, too sordid for patriotism, too democratic for liberty. What will become of it, He who made it best knows. Its vice will govern it, by practising upon its folly. This is ordained for democracies." In his most valuable History of the United States, Henry Adams has discussed this situation at length; and among other illustrations of the spirit he quotes, "as neither more extravagant nor more treasonable than the rest," a paragraph from Dennie's "Portfolio," of 1803. "A democracy," says the writer, "is scarcely tolerable at any period of national history. Its omens are always sinister and its powers are unpropitious. It is on its trial here, and the issue will be civil war, desolation, and anarchy. No wise man but discerns its

FISHER AMES.

imperfections, no good man but shudders at its miseries, no honest man but proclaims its fraud, and no brave man but draws his sword against its force. The institution of a scheme of policy so radically contemptible and vicious is a memorable example of what the villainy of some men can devise, the folly of others receive, and both establish in spite of reason, reflection, and sensation." But the too prevailing sentiment among these men was most tersely stated by Hamilton, who at a dinner in New York, replying to some democratic sentiment, struck the table sharply with his hand, and exclaimed, "Your people sir,—your people is a great *beast*." Small prophesy, surely, can be found in such political conditions of the firmly established Union, and mighty nation, now a leading "World Power."

Such was the general character of the physical, material, and political conditions that existed in the United States in 1800. It will also be of interest to learn some-

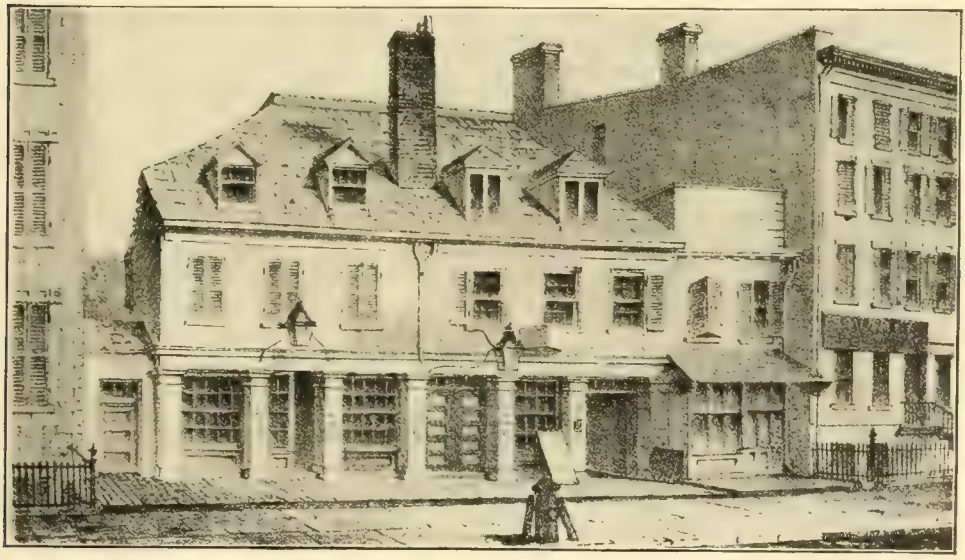
thing of the domestic life of the people, the conveniences and advantages they enjoyed at home and when they traveled, and of the intellectual advancement which had been reached when the nineteenth century opened. As it is the traveler alone who can obtain any satisfactory idea of the social and domestic conditions of a wide area of country,—settled by people of various nationalities,—each of whom looks upon the "home-land" customs and habits as the best and most rational, and all variant ones as peculiar or foolish,—the means of communication between different parts of the country, and the modes of travel first claim our attention.

There is hardly any institution in which the whole people to-day are so much interested as in the post-office department. It was not so, however, one hundred years ago, the difference due partly to the very poor service rendered and the high rates of postage, coupled with the poverty of the people, and also to the sluggish mental condition of the great majority. The first mail ever despatched on this continent left New York for Boston on New Year's Day, 1673. Francis Lovelace, the second English Governor of New York, who came over in 1668, evolved a plan which he thought should promote the union of the English Colonies. This plan he outlined in a letter to Winthrop, at Hartford, in 1672, which has such a lasting interest as the origin of our great mail service that we quote it entire, as given by John Fiske. "I herewith present you with two rarities," he wrote; "a pacquette of the latest intelligence I could meet withal, and a Post. By the first you will see what has been acted on the stage of Europe; by the latter you will meet with a monthly fresh supply; so that if it receive but the same ardent inclination from you as at first it has from myself, by our monthly advisoes all publique occurrences may be transmitted between us, together with several other great conveniencys of publique importance, consonant to the commands laid on us by His sacred Majestie, who strictly injoins all his American subjects to enter into a close correspondency with each other. This I look upon as the most compendious means to beget a mutual understanding; and that it may receive all the countenance from you for its future duration, I shall acquaint you with the model I have proposed; and if you please but to make an addition to it, or substraction, or any other alteration, I shall be ready to comply with you. This person that has undertaken the employment I conceived most proper, being both stout, active, and indefatigable. He is sworne as to his fidelity. I have affixt an annuall sallery on him, which, together with the advantage of his letters and other small portable packes, may afford him a handsome livelyhood. Hartford is the first stage I have designed him to change his horse, where constantly I expect he should have a fresh one lye. All the letters outward shall be delivered gratis, with a signification of *Post Payd* on the superscription; and reciprocally, we expect all to us free. Each first Monday of the month he sets out from New York and is to return within the month from Boston to us again. The maile has divers baggs, according to the townes the letters are designed to, which are all sealed up till their arrivement, with the seale of the Secretarie's office, whose care it is on Saturday night to seale them up. Only by-letters are in an open bag, to dispense by the wayes. Thus you see the scheme I have drawne to promote a happy correspondence. I shall only beg of you your furtherance to so universall a good work, that is to afford him directions where and to whom to make his application to upon his arrival at Boston; as likewise to afford him what letters you can to establish him in that imployment there. It would be much advantageous to our designe, if in the intervall you discoursed with some of the most able woodmen, to make out the best and most facile way for a Post, which in processe of tyme would be the King's best highway; as likewise passages and accommodations at rivers, fords, or other necessary places."

A locked box was set up in the Secretary's office in New York, in which east

bound letters were dropped day by day during the absence of the carrier. When he returned with his prepaid mail, he emptied his New York bag on a large table in the Coffee-House where citizens were most accustomed to congregate. And in that locked box in the Secretary's office, and the table at the Coffee-House, was the prophecy of the great Postal-System of the present day, which reaches the most remote settlements of the whole country. But the development was slow and hardly any improvement in methods was made for more than one hundred years.

Shortly after the Revolution a general post-route had been marked out from Passamaquoddy in the Province of Maine to Georgia, with a few lateral branches from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; the service rendered down to the end of the eighteenth century being conducted by mail carriers on horseback, with their bags hung on either side of their horses. No definite schedule of time for the starting or arrival of mails could be established, owing to the poor condition of the roads or trails traversed. Consequently the carriers took their own time, conducting a private commission and agency business along their routes and appropriating, as perquisites, all postage collected on local letters taken along their lines. By an Act of Congress, February 20, 1792, the rates of postage were fixed as follows: Up to thirty miles, on a single letter, six cents; between thirty and sixty miles, eight cents; between sixty and one hundred miles, ten cents; and so on, until between three hundred and fifty and four hundred and fifty miles it was twenty-two cents, and above four hundred and fifty, twenty-five cents. Much trouble later arose regarding these rates, as the postmaster at each office was the sole judge of distances, and great abuses grew up in the way of overcharges. As a result of constant complaints, in 1811, the Government ordered a careful topographical survey of the entire post-road from Maine to Georgia, as well as of the cross-roads. The distances between each of the post-towns was then published so that anyone could compute with accuracy just the amount of postage required. In this connection it is interesting to note that the historian of the British Post-office says that "in 1813 there was not a single town in the British Kingdom, at the post-office of which absolutely certain information could have been obtained as to the charge to which a letter addressed to any other town would be subject."



BURNS'S COFFEE HOUSE, BOWLING GREEN.

As a basis for charging postage a letter was a single sheet of any size, each additional sheet counting as an extra letter. That the people indulged in but little correspondence is manifest from the fact that, even at the high rates of postage, the gross revenue for the eighteen months beginning July 1, 1791 and ending December 31, 1792, was only $92,988.40, the expenses for the same period being $76,586.60, leaving a net revenue for the department of $16,401.80. The Postmaster-General was not yet a member of the cabinet, so insignificant were his duties. In 1791, something like a reorganization of the service was attempted, Timothy Pickering being placed at its head. There were then two hundred and sixty-four post-offices in the country. There were also the same troubles over what is now termed "second class" matter as frequently arise at present. Previous to Pickering's regime the Postmaster-General would have nothing to do with newspapers. Local postmasters received them generally, and sent them along with the mails; but they were not under obligation to do so. Consequently local papers remote from the coast towns were filled with complaints that the "Pennsylvania Packets," or the "New York Journals" were kept back, and polite but urgent requests were made that they be forwarded. But the new law of 1792 decreed that after its passage no postmaster should receive or distribute newspapers free of postage, which was fixed at one cent for any distance within one hundred miles, and beyond that distance at a cent and a half. By the same Congressional Act the "franking" privilege was given to members of Congress. These two latter features of the law aroused a storm of angry criticism and abuse of the Government all over the country. The postage on papers was declared to be "a vile tax on knowledge," and the Postmaster-General was brought into violent disputes with many editors. The "franking" privilege was regarded as a scheme to intrench itself in power by the dominant party,—"An aristocratic scheme." The general sentiment as voiced by the press, has been well summed up by McMaster. "Why," it was said, "should the mass of the people be loaded with an odious tax, while a select few escaped? Was the information likely to be conveyed in the letters of Congressmen better than the information to be found in 'Packets' and 'Journals?' What kind of information did these letters convey while the funding system was being framed (when Congressmen were openly charged with the use of their knowledge for speculative purposes)? Had not these self-appointed aristocrats most shamefuly abused their privilege on that occasion? That scheme of finances which collected a revenue from the mails by loading them with free letters might be understood by the minds of a Congressman, but, happily, such minds were rare."

By the schedules of that day, letters which left Philadelphia at eight in the morning were due in New York at two the next afternoon; and exactly the same time was consumed in reaching Baltimore. Ordinarily it took four days for a letter to go from New York to Boston,—in winter, much longer. George Washington died December 14, 1799; but the news of his death did not reach Boston until the 24th, though it was doubtless conveyed with the greatest speed possible, as it was an event of such momentous interest. At the time of the reorganization in 1792, President Washington was anxious that a system should be established that would insure the covering on all main routes of at least one hundred miles every twenty-four hours; and as the mail carriers traveled only by day, it was proposed to hurry the mails along at night by giving them to stage coaches. But the country was too poor for this added expense, so that matters continued in about the same condition until well into the nineteenth century. By 1800 the gross revenue from the mail service was $320,000, toward which letters contributed $290,000, and the balance, we may presume, was largely from the postage on newspapers. It would seem that, at the rates of postage quoted above, an average of eight letters for a

dollar would be a fair one, which would indicate that about 2,320,000 letters were carried during the year, or about one for each adult inhabitant of the country. But when it is considered what a large proportion of these letters must have been sent in due course of business, it would appear hardly probable that the average inhabitant outside the large cities could have mailed a letter much oftener than once in five years.

As he had been for more than sixty centuries, so at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the horse was the only motive power for travel, as well as almost the sole burden bearer,— some oxen being in use. All through the land, and especially in the south, the most common method of travel was in the saddle; and when the wife or daughter or children accompanied the traveler, they rode behind him on the pillion, which was a padded cushion with straps, sometimes having on one side a kind of platform stirrup. An amusing custom which enabled four persons on a journey to ride part of the way, was the "ride-and-tie" system. Two would start on the horse, and two would walk. When those on the horse had ridden about a mile, they would dismount, tie the horse to a tree, and proceed on foot. When the other couple came up to the horse they would mount, and, passing the foot travelers, at the end of another mile would dismount, tie the horse, and proceed on foot; and so in turn they alternately rode and walked a mile until they reached their journey's end. Horses of a rather scrubby character were very numerous, so that it was a common saying that "no one walked save a vagabond or a fool." After a time a good class of saddle horses was produced in Rhode Island, called the "Narragansett Pacers," which were very easy in motion and of great endurance. In Virginia and the Carolinas, however, from the earliest colonial days the best of English racing horses were imported and bred. Even down to the end of the eighteenth century, there were but few roads or turnpikes which could be traversed by coaches, and these were chiefly the great highways that connected the important cities and, in a few cases, extended in lateral directions, generally toward the west. In every direction, too, travel was restricted and made dangerous by a lack of bridges, and ferries were established only when a considerable and regular traffic made them profitable. It is interesting to note that the American mechanics thus early took the lead in bridge building, which has unquestionably been maintained to the present day. The first important work was the bridge from Boston to Charlestown. As an old account informs us the Charles river at the point where the old ferry crossed had about the same width as the Thames at London bridge. Here Lemuel Cox, a Medford shipwright, the forerunner of a long succession of eminent builders, was successful in erecting a draw-bridge in 1786, which was considered the longest in the world, and a "triumph of engineering skill." This was followed by an era of bridge building which soon made travel much safer and far more agreeable. Road construction also received an important impetus at about the same period, and in New England especially some quite long stretches of macadamized road were built,— as the Salem and Boston turnpike, the Essex turnpike, and the Newburyport turnpike. The most notable highway of all, however, was the great "National Road" built by the National Government, really as a military measure. Its construction was first proposed in Congress in 1797, though the act authorizing it was not passed until nine years later. It extended at first from Cumberland to Wheeling, one hundred and thirty miles, and cost $1,750,000. It was sixty-five feet wide, of stone broken to pass through a three-inch sieve, then covered with gravel and rolled hard. From Cumberland to Baltimore the cost of construction fell on certain banks of Maryland, which were rechartered on condition that they complete the road, which eventually proved a great source of profit to them. Mrs. Earle, in her most interesting work,

"Stage Coach and Tavern Days," has given valuable and entertaining accounts of these old "highways and by-ways." Another much traveled road at this time was the "Mohawk Turnpike." After the Revolution an epidemic of emigration broke out in New England and thousands turned their eyes and steps westward, the objective points being the Mohawk and Genesee Valleys. It is said that in the winter of 1795 twelve hundred sleighs passed through Albany in three days, loaded with sturdy New Englanders bound for the Genesee Valley. Roads were built, the prices of land rapidly advanced, and a genuine "boom" was created. Within a short time fifty-two taverns were opened within fifty miles of Albany, and even these were unable to accommodate the travelers.

The first public road-wagon, the forerunner of the stage coach, came into use early in the eighteenth century. It was not until the middle of the century, however, that they became common and coaching became a recognized business,—several companies having been organized about that time. Then began the great variety of interesting announcements and advertisements of independent and rival companies. The old road-wagon became a

COLONIAL STAGE COACH.

"stage chaise," a "stage coach," a "stage wagon," and even "stage chariots" were run on some routes. The typical vehicle, however, down to the present century, and which is still seen on many western lines, was the stage wagon, which was well described by an English traveler who made the journey from Philadelphia to Baltimore and return in 1795. "The vehicle," he says, "was a long car with four benches. Three of these in the interior held nine passengers. A tenth passenger was seated by the side of the driver on the front bench. A light roof was supported by eight slender pillars, four on each side. Three large leather curtains suspended to the roof, one at each side and the third behind, were rolled up or lowered at the pleasure of the passengers. There was no place nor space for luggage, each person being expected to stow his things where he could under his seat or legs. The entrance was in front over the driver's bench. Of course the three passengers in the back seat were obliged to crawl across all the other benches to get to their places. There were *no backs* to the benches to support and relieve us during the rough and fatiguing journey over a newly and ill-made road." And another foreigner, who had, however, lived in America thirteen years, writing of the same subject in 1806, uses almost the same words as the traveler quoted, describing the coach between Philadelphia and New York. "The vehicle, the American Stage Coach," he says, "*which is of like construction throughout the country,* is calculated to hold twelve persons, who sit on benches placed across, with their faces toward the horses. As there are no doors at the sides the passengers get in over the front wheels. The first get seats behind the rest, the most esteemed seat because you can rest your shaken frame against the back part of the wagon." About 1815 this rough and most uncomfortable coach gave place on the leading lines to an egg-shaped vehicle, more like the modern stages, with racks behind, fastened to the axle, for the carriage of baggage. These in turn gave place about fifteen years later to the most famous of all makes of coaches, which no one has ever attempted to improve upon, and which are still in constant demand and use in all parts of the world. This was the "Concord Stage," the first of which, establishing the type, was built at Concord, N. H., in 1827. With its earlier and somewhat rougher form all who have visited Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows are familiar; and all travelers among mountain resorts which the railroad has not yet

reached, are acquainted with its later and more perfected forms. The period between 1820 and 1840 was the golden age of stage coach travel, both in England and the United States. The coaches had become comfortable vehicles, the business was systematized and better horses provided, the stages were cut down from fifteen to twenty miles to from ten to twelve, and the roads had everywhere been greatly improved; and all who have ever ridden on top of a Concord coach through the mountains or a fine river country, with a pleasant party of companions enjoying the clear, fresh, frosty air of an autumn morning, will never forget the exhilaration and abounding joy of the experience. Boston became the greatest coaching centre about 1820, and a great number of lines started from there. In 1818 a combination was formed of all the lines in Eastern Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, and New Hampshire, a veritable "Trust," and its business and profits were enormous. In 1829 there were seventy-seven stage coach lines from Boston, which had increased to one hundred and six in 1832. The old and familiar newspaper, the Boston Traveler, was started as a coach paper in 1825. But, as one has well said, "none of these companies was shrewd enough to heed the warning 'Look out for the Engine;'" and in 1838 the railroad had so far advanced in its operations that the great eastern stage company utterly collapsed, carrying ruin also to the great number of taverns, vast stables, blacksmiths shops, etc., which had everywhere been established along the stage routes for the accommodation of travelers and to meet all demands of the business. The climax was reached at about the same time in England, and the catastrophe was equally ruinous. The great English novelists of the second and third quarters of the last century, particularly Dickens and Lever, gave us so many amusing, interesting, and exciting tales of the road, that they threw over the story of coaching such a halo of romance that one who has ever been inoculated by its spirit may never expect to fully recover from the infection. "Pickwick" was published in 1836, when the stage companies began to read the handwriting on the wall; and we can hardly close this brief account of the "good old days" of staging better than by quoting the words of Tony Weller's protest: "I consider that the rail is unconstitutional, and a inwader o' privileges. As to the comfort—as an old coachman I may say it—veres the comfort o' sittin' in a harm-chair, a lookin' at brick walls, an heaps o' mud, never comin' to a public 'ouse, never seein' a glass o' ale, never goin' thro' a pike, never meetin' a change o' no kind (hosses or otherwise), but always comin' to a place ven you comes to vun at all, the wery picter o' the last! As to the honor and dignity o' travellin', vere can that be vithout a coachman, and vats the rail to sich coachman as is sometimes forced to go by it, but a outrage and a insult!"

A very essential element in the matter of travel, especially after the weary travelers had been jolted over rough roads all day, in cramped positions on seats without backs, was the Inns. These were, of course, of the most varied character. In the larger towns of New England, the well settled parts of New York, and the Quaker settlements of Pennsylvania, commodious, neat, and clean taverns were to be found, which, though they would seem bare, inconvenient, and not over-restful places of entertainment to the traveler of to-day, yet were sumptuous hostelries in the esteem of the public of a century ago. Reminiscences of some of these inns still linger in many localities, and in the memories of some who enjoy the greater conveniences of the twentieth century hotels. The Wadsworth Inn, at Hartford, Connecticut; The Buckman Tavern, at Lexington; the Bliss Tavern, at Haverhill; Howe's Tavern, at Sudbury, which Longfellow has immortalized as "The Wayside Inn,"—all in Massachusetts, are typical of such houses. At them a warm welcome, a generous table, clean and comfortable beds always awaited the visitor. In all cases one of the most inviting and

comfortably furnished of the rooms was the "tap-room," where "mine host" from within a cage, not unlike those provided for clerks in modern banks, dispensed rum, flip, sack, a variety of wines, and beer to the thirsty assembly, and generally the thirst was a scorching one. On one side of the room there was an immense

THE GREEN DRAGON TAVERN, BOSTON.

brick fire-place, from which in winter the great logs sent out warmth and cheer for every guest. But the average inn which a traveler off the main highways would encounter only added to the miseries of a journey. Dirty, with filthy table cloths, or a bare, greasy table, with little variety in the fare furnished, many a sore and half sick mortal went to a soiled bed hungry, rather than eat the food offered, which generally consisted of some form of pork,—salt pork and bacon being the staples. But the custom that most disgusted travelers was that of putting several beds in one room, and frequently two or even three strangers into the same bed. Weld, one of the most intelligent of the Englishmen who visited this country about the opening of the last century, and whose record of travels forms one of the best source books, which all historians have freely drawn from, on arriving at Elkton, on the main road between Philadelphia and Baltimore, asked the landlord what accommodations he had? "Don't trouble yourself on that score," was the reply; "I have no less than eleven beds in one room." And this custom prevailed more or less generally over all the states, north and south, apparently without protest from the American people. But the traveler was never sure of even the one of many beds in a room assigned him; as he was not infrequently awakened by the landlord entering the room with a candle, and designating to a later arrival half of his bed as the place where the new-comer should sleep. One can, therefore, hardly wonder at the indignant outburst of one sufferer, a Philadelphian, who queried: "What can be the reason for the vulgar, hoggish custom, common in America, of squeezing three, six, or eight beds into one room?" These inns all put out pretentious signs, many of which were interesting and many grotesque,—however inferior and squalid the house itself might be. Before the war, many of them had large pictures of the King or some member of the royal family, or the royal arms, or some distinguished British officer. After the war, these, of course, gave place to portraits of Washington, or some distinguished or favorite American officer. The average tavern was little more than a rough saloon with the most indifferent provision for meals or lodging. The quarter century after the close of the war was one of intense political ferment; and the rural tavern was the meeting place, day and night, for a half-drunken, brawling crowd, who spent their time in "discussing" political questions, too often accentuating their arguments by the use of the knife or pistol, or settling the whole question by a free fight.

There were, of course, in all the larger cities pretentious houses of wide notoriety, toward which all travelers turned with eager steps upon their arrival. Such was the Exchange Coffee House of Boston, which was seven stories high, had 200 rooms, and had cost a half million dollars. Here were registers of all shipping, and it was also a naval rendezvous. President Monroe stopped at the house in 1817, and at a sumptuous banquet tendered him many men distinguished in the young nation's history were assembled,—as Commodores Bainbridge, Hull, and Perry; Ex-President John Adams; Generals Swift, Dearborn, Cobb, and Humphrey; and Judge Story. Early

in the century, too, the City Hotel, occupying a whole block on Broadway, at Thomas street, New York, held a similar leading position. It was run by two old bachelors, Jennings and Willard, who were said to be able to call by name anyone who had ever once stopped at the house. It was commonly understood that Willard never went to bed, but was on hand always to perform his duty as host, bookkeeper, or cashier. When Niblo's Garden opened farther up town, it was decided that Willard must attend the housewarming, but when the time to start arrived it came to light that he had not owned a hat for several years. Equally famous was the London Coffee House of Philadelphia, which was the most popular meeting place and resort for officers of the government and army during and following the Revolutionary war. In the cities, frequently, one or more of the most stately homes and grand mansions became famous inns, as the "Indian Queen" in Philadelphia, which had at different times been the home of Sir Richard Penn, General Howe, Robert Morris, and Presidents Washington and Adams. There were, too, certain taverns and road-houses near the larger cities famous for some special dish, or dishes, as well as for their good cheer. In Philadelphia "cat fish" suppers at the Mendenhall Ferry Tavern were in high favor, as were "Turtle-feasts" at a popular resort up East river, in New York. A clergyman traveling late in the 18th century, wrote: "There are several taverns pleasantly situated upon east river, New York, where it is common to have these turtle-feasts. These happen once or twice a week. Thirty or forty gentlemen and ladies meet and dine together, drink tea in the afternoon, fish and amuse themselves till evening, and then return home in Italian chaises, a gentleman and lady in each chaise. On the way there is a bridge, about three miles distant from New York, which you always pass over as you return, called the 'Kissing Bridge,' where it is a part of etiquette to salute the lady who has put herself under your protection." One can easily imagine with what speed the poor horses were driven until the "Kissing Bridge" was reached, and how leisurely they were allowed to jog along toward home after it had been passed.

THE EXCHANGE COFFEE HOUSE, BOSTON.

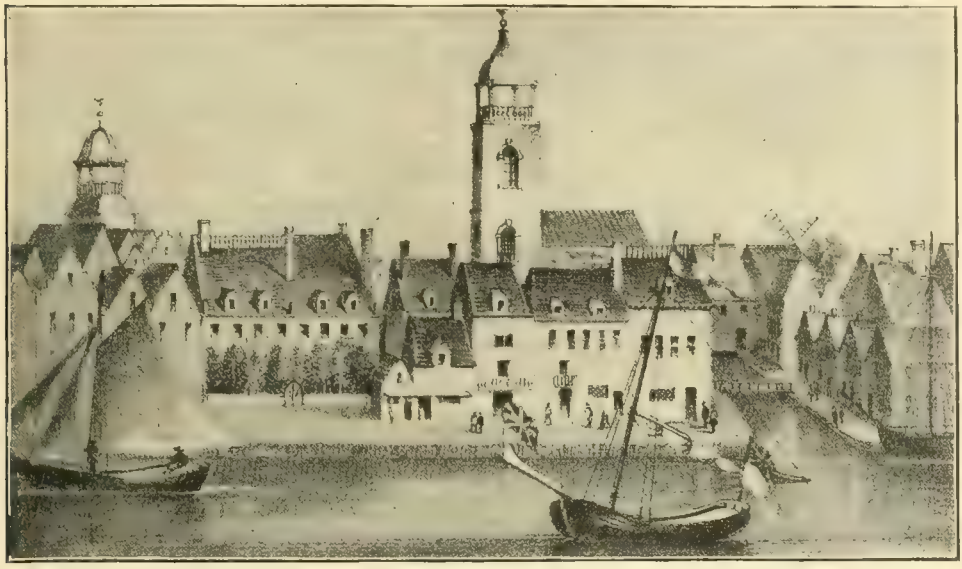
The home life of the people at the close

of the colonial days, which was not materially changed until well into the nineteenth century, was exceedingly primitive. The five large cities, at the beginning of that century, had less than 200,000 inhabitants, leaving a rural population of upwards of 5,000,000, or 4,000,000 exclusive of slaves. In the cities, among the richer families, there were evidences of great comfort, and better household appointments, than prevailed elsewhere. But even in the more elegant homes the superiority to the conveniences and arrangements of the average home consisted chiefly in the greater elegance and costliness of materials used, both for building and decoration, rather than in any essential differences in the mode of life. Many city homes were large and imposing structures of stone and brick; and in many rural communities were isolated structures of similar character, though generally constructed of wood, whose architecture is still greatly admired and copied, and which it would be difficult to improve upon for interior arrangements, whether beauty or comfort is considered.

The country had been settled by people from many lands, to whom long association had made certain styles of houses dear; and in the land of their adoption they tried to reproduce the "homeland" so far as possible, and so in a degree alleviate the pangs of homesickness. New England houses, therefore, were suggestive of England, both in their external appearance, and in the surroundings, where by planting English flowers and hedges, an effort was made to reproduce the home atmosphere of the mother country. In Virginia, the rich cavaliers who were the early settlers built noble specimens of the country houses of their wealthy countrymen, many of which could hardly be equaled anywhere in the colonies. They attempted, too, a style of furnishing and an elegance in all their surroundings that tended to rob exile of its chief horrors, and to make life in the wilderness of the new world a reflection of the social conditions and atmosphere of the homeland for which their hearts still yearned, to which they looked for all the amenities of life,—importing liberally

THE JOHN HANCOCK HOUSE — TYPICAL COLONIAL MANSION

the evil as well as the good products and influences. In New York, settled by the Dutch, the prevailing early architecture was from Holland, and churches, houses, and furnishings all suggested



NEW YORK IN 1745.

Amsterdam and Delft as distinctly as the New Englander reproduced Old England. In the interiors, however, there was greater uniformity. In the homes of the average Americans the kitchen was the centre of life, light, and sociability; and its most prominent feature was the great brick fireplace which during the long winter months was the source of heat for all the household, as well as the centre of nearly all the activities of the housekeepers. On its hearth some fire was kept perpetually alive, if only a few embers, as matches had not yet come into use and the only means of striking a light was from the old flints, which was an uncertain and tedious process; consequently candles and the pine knots were lighted from the fire on the hearthstone. These fire places were of immense size, and the fore and back logs were frequently drawn into the kitchen by a horse, or on sleds. On the great cranes hung a variety of pots and kettles, and on the side walls were hung all the utensils for cooking, as well as the "warming pan," usually of copper or brass, about a foot in diameter and four inches deep, which in very cold weather was filled with live coals, and then used to warm the sheets of the beds before the family or guests retired. What we call the dining table was then known as the "Board," and the table-cloth was the board-cloth. These tables were made of two or three smooth boards fastened together, which were placed upon supports consisting of crossed strips of wood, like the saw-horse,—such tables, in fact, as are still in use at church or fraternal society suppers. Of table linen and napkins there was usually a generous supply, as they were the special pride of the housewife and represented her own, or her daughter's, work at the spinning wheel. The centre-piece, when the table was dressed, was a large salt cellar, generally of pewter; and those seated at the table were placed "above the salt," where sat the husband and wife at the head of the table, with any people of distinction or honored guests at their right or left; or "below the salt," where people of less consequence or children were seated. Of course it is impossible to learn just when social customs and

uses change, or give place entirely to new conditions; but it is certain that except in the homes of the wealthy people, pewter was the material used for all table ware until after the Revolution, china or earthenware being very rarely seen; and even after they had come into more common use, or had become more fashionable, pewter still held a warm place in the housekeeper's heart. As one of our best authorities has said: "Pewter was used until this (19th) century in the wealthiest homes, both in the north and south, and was preferred by many who owned rich china. Among the pewter-lovers was the Revolutionary patriot, John Hancock, who hated the clatter of the porcelain plates;" and what was called a "garnish of pewter," that is, a full set of pewter platters, plates, and dishes was one of the

HEAD OF A LADY OF FASHION, 1776.

richest and most coveted of wedding gifts. But it was late in the eighteenth century, and, in fact, well on in the nineteenth in some localities, before plates came into common use. All through the Colonial period the "trencher" was used in its place in this country as it was in England. This was made of wood, frequently only a block of wood ten or twelve inches square and about four inches deep, hollowed out in the middle so that it made a sort of bowl. In this the food was placed, porridge, meat, vegetables, etc., and from it generally two persons ate, using their spoons or fingers as might be most convenient. For forks were as late in coming into use as was china, and even in the last half of the eighteenth century were hardly common even at the tables of the more wealthy city people. When elaborate meals were prepared, they were not served in courses as to-day; but pride was taken in loading the board-cloth with everything conceivable and obtainable that could be eaten. In his diary John Adams has left an account of some of the dinners to which he was invited when he went to Philadelphia. At the house of Miers Fisher, a young Quaker lawyer, he says, "This plain Friend, with his plain but pretty wife with her Thees and Thous, had provided us a costly entertainment; ducks, hams, chickens, beef, pig, tarts, creams, custards, Jellies, fools, trifles, floating islands, beer, porter, punch, wine, etc.;" and at the home of Chief Justice Chew, he says, "about four o'clock we were called to dinner. Turtle and every other thing, flummery, jellies, sweetmeats of twenty sorts, trifles, whipped sillabubs, floating islands, fools, etc., with a dessert of fruits, raisins, almonds, pears, peaches, etc." Of course even the elaborate dinners of the less opulent in rural communities bore little resemblance to these semi-barbaric feasts; yet with the latter as with the former, a desire prevailed to make the greatest and most attractive showing of food possible. And among both classes no dinner was complete without a liberal supply of drinks of varying character, ranging from the beer, ale, and cider of the average home to the "fifteen kinds of wine, besides cider, beer and porter," which were served by Col. Duer of New York, in 1787, when the Rev. Dr. Cutler dined with him, as recorded in the latter's diary. In rural homes, when the meal was over the table was quickly removed, and the kitchen and dining-room became the living room, especially in the winter,

as no other room was heated. Usually all along the ceiling rafters were hung strings of dried apples and pumpkins, which the prudent housewife took care to prepare in abundance during the autumn. But her chief concern was the laying by of a supply of candles that should last through the long winters. These were chiefly the ordinary tallow candles, though among the wealthier classes spermaceti candles were in use, as well as those made of the wax of the bay-berry, which grew in profusion in many parts of the country. These were particularly favored in the homes of the rich because of the peculiarly agreeable odor that followed the putting out of the light; and in fashionable social gatherings it was quite a common thing to extinguish the lights to enjoy the perfume. Among those whose incomes were very limited the usual light was furnished by the pine tree knots, which were usually "cloven into two little slices, something thin, which are so full of the moysture of turpentine and pitch that they burne as cliere as a torch." As these pine candles gave out a great deal of smoke, and their burning was accompanied by pitchy droppings, they were usually placed in a corner of the fireplace, on a flat stone. Mrs Earle tells of an old Massachusetts minister who boasted that every sermon of the hundreds he had written had been copied by the light of these torches; and when we remember the length of the sermons of those days this is no mean indorsement of the pine tree candle. Among the slaves and the poor whites of the south, these pine knots furnished practically the only light used. But among the wealthy in the cities, pressed glass lamps were used, of styles and forms that may be seen in some country stores at the present day, in which whale or fish oils were burned.

Next to the homes, the church was, over the greater part of the country, the centre and the most potent influence of colonial life. In New England this was particularly true, the influence of the clergy even down to the eighteenth century being well nigh supreme, and in many cases it was exercised in a most tyrannical manner. Fortunately they were, as a rule, an educated and enlightened class of men, and their general influence in a community tended to sobriety and seriousness of life. The churches were barren and uninteresting, and even in the severe winters of New England were never heated. Women, as a rule, took small foot-stoves, filled with coals, to church with them, but, while they kept the feet warm for a time, they only served to make the general chill and dampness of the atmosphere more sensible. Generally the pews were the square box pews still to be seen in many old churches, and the seats were plain board benches along three sides, which could be raised during the singing of the psalm so that the audience could have the support of the pew walls during that long and trying ordeal. When, at the close of the singing, or end of the service, the people dropped their seats the noise was deafening, and in summer could be heard for a long distance. As an old poem puts it

"And when at last the loud Amen
Fell from aloft, quickly then
The seats came down with heavy rattle,
Like musketry in fiercest battle."

The pulpit was generally opposite the main entrance to the church, and raised from ten to fifteen feet above the floor level; and over it hung a sounding board suspended from the ceiling by a brass rod. To reach this the minister ascended a flight of stairs, which then became the vantage ground from which the "titheing man" or the deacons watched the congregation, and in due course turned the hour glass which stood in front of the pulpit. The sermons of those days were serious affairs, as were also the prayers. No minister conceived that he was in any sense doing his duty unless he preached two hours at each service. It is recorded that when the First Church in Woburn was dedicated, the minister preached for nearly five hours; and a Fast Day prayer of four hours is also a matter of record. The singing was hardly less tedious than the other features of the service. None of

the congregation had any notes, and singing by ear was not productive of harmony. Usually the psalms were "lined" or "deaconed,"—that is, the deacon from the pulpit steps read a line, which was then sung by the congregation; and it is said that the "lining" and singing of some psalms occupied a full half hour, during which the congregation stood. There were no church organs; pitch-pipes were used to get the key; and after a time bass-viols, clarionets, or flutes were introduced to help the singers. Violins, however, were too closely associated with frivolous dance music to find any place in the church service.

Both the Sabbath and its services were less puritanically observed in New York, where the Dutch Reformed was the established church, than in New England, though even there the recognized duties and services were such as would make an ardent churchman of the twentieth century quail. As one went farther south, religion and church ordinances and customs were taken far less seriously. In Virginia the Church of England was the established church, and it was not until after the Revolution that other denominations gained any foothold. During the Colonial period, of course, the regular Church of England service was used in all its churches, which was materially altered after the separation from the mother country, and the Protestant Episcopal Church of America succeeded to the English Church.

During the formative period of American life,—social and intellectual as well as religious,—the ministry played a most conspicuous and, with rare exceptions, a most stimulating and healthful part. It would be difficult to find any body of men at any period of the world's history, who held loftier ideals, or were for their age, better educated; who with rare unselfishness ever strove to lift the people to their ideal standards, and placed at their service the results of their study and experience. Their whole creed and outlook upon life seems to us to-day stern and forbidding; but the times and the social and political conditions were very different from ours, and called for different men and measures. There were many New England ministers, especially in the larger cities, who became puffed up with pride, and were arbitrary and dictatorial in their manner and speech, and cruel in their enforcement of their individual ideas; and they, unfortunately, have taken a prominent place among the worthies in history. But all about them were noble men, true pastors, who, with but little return, gave to their people themselves and all they had; and who were most important factors in the development of the character and thought of their people—a character and mental activity of which every New Englander is justly proud, and whose characteristics can be easily observed in almost every part of the northern United States to-day, from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. There were, of course, many ministers in all the Colonies who were hardly examples which their flocks should follow. Not a few in particular were caught in the snares of intemperance, and were more or less constantly under the influence of liquor. So different, however, was the public sentiment of those days from that of this century, that such lapses were not seriously regarded. In his history of Amherst College, Prof. Tyler cites several cases of excessive use of liquors among New England ministers, and one or two where the minister was badly intoxicated while presiding at the Communion service. But, happily, such cases were exceptional and rare. Virginia suffered more than the other Colonies in this regard, because her ministers were, as a rule, sent out from England and were too often men who had disgraced themselves and the church there before being sent here. Relying upon the authority of Bishop Meade, John Fiske cites the following case: "In 1711 a bequest of one hundred pounds was made to the vestry of Christ Church parish in Middlesex, providing that the interest should be paid to the minister for preaching four sermons each year against 'the four reigning vices, —viz: atheism and irreligion, swearing

and cursing, fornication and adultery, and drunkenness.' Later in the century the living was held for eighteen years, and the sermons were preached, by a minister who was notoriously guilty of all the vices mentioned. He used to be seen in the tavern porch, reeling to and fro, with a bowl of toddy in his hand, while he called to some passer-by to come in and have a drink. When this exemplary man of God was dying in delirium, his last words were halloos to the hounds." In 1726 a thoughtful and worthy minister named Lang wrote to the Bishop of London about the scandalous behavior of the clergy, of whom the sober part were "slothful and negligent" while the rest were debauched and "bent on all manner of vices."

Apart from the excessive use of liquors the morals of the people were above the average. Theft was comparatively unknown, as the promiscuous mixing of strangers in the same bed or bedroom in the taverns would manifest, if nothing else did, as nowhere are there accounts of robbery even under such favorable conditions. There was, too, a very general spirit of brotherliness and helpfulness manifested in every community. But drunkenness was the besetting sin of the people. Everywhere, and on every occasion, everybody, almost without exception, drank not only wines, but hard liquors, and fearful decoctions that were brewed from them. Even boys of twelve were accustomed to have at home, or get at the tavern, their toddy or draught of black-strap. From the standpoint of temperance the outlook was certainly a most discouraging one, and none of the scientific achievements and advances of the last century are more remarkable and noteworthy than the moral upheaval which has produced from the drunken conditions and sentiments of one hundred years ago, the high standard of temperance that now obtains. The social life of the eighteenth century in the Colonies and the new Union was much cleaner than such a prevalence of heavy drinking would lead one to suppose. There was a literary paper of some pretension and a fair measure of success published in Philadelphia, whose interests were decidedly pro-English, and whose columns were open to any criticism of American political or social life. In it, in 1803, a writer said: "I heard from married ladies, whose station as mothers demanded from them a guarded conduct,—from young ladies whose age forbids the audience of such conversation, and who using it modesty must disclaim,—indecent allusions, indelicate expression, and even at times immoral innuendoes. A loud laugh or a coarse exclamation followed each of these, and the young ladies generally went through the form of raising their fans to their faces." In analyzing this and other similar general statements, however, Henry Adams well says: "Yet public records might be searched long before they revealed evidence of misconduct, such as filled the press and formed one of the commonest topics of conversation in the society of England and France. Almost every American family, however respectable, could show some victim to intemperance among its men, but few were mortified by a public scandal due to its women." Excessive drinking, too, was not an exclusively American habit, but was the curse of Great Britain as well as of the United States. Many proofs of this could be advanced, but one will suffice. Dr. McCosh, the late distinguished president of Princeton University, left among his papers an autobiographical sketch, which Professor Sloane afterward made the basis of his life of the President. In that sketch Dr. McCosh gave quite detailed accounts of his experiences as pastor in Scotland during the early part of the nineteenth century. He refers to two weaknesses of the people that caused him more trouble and anxiety than all the others. One was the excessive drinking. His people drank on any and all occasions. Christenings, weddings, deaths, were always occasions of assembling of all the relatives and friends for a day or two's debauch. And he mentions one case in particular where a man died in mid-winter back in the hill country. The relatives

and friends came from miles around, a great feast was spread and eating and drinking lasted through the night. The next forenoon they started through the deep snow and over the bleak hills to the burial ground several miles away, only to find when they reached it that they had left the corpse at home.

As has been said the chief interest of the people was in agriculture, as it was the principal source of what wealth they possessed. Science and invention at the opening of the nineteenth century were subjects of which the vast majority of the people had no knowledge. Two medical schools had been established toward the close of the last century; but so far as an acquaintance with the character or causes of diseases, and methods of treatment, was concerned the medical profession had apparently made little, if any, advance since the days of Hippocrates and Galen. Whatever the nature of the patient's ailment but three remedies were used,—bleeding, purging, and blistering; and they were employed singly or collectively in every case. It has hardly ever been doubted that Washington's life would have been prolonged many years had he received any rational treatment during his brief illness; but he was bled, purged, and blistered until even his strong vitality was utterly destroyed, and complete exhaustion resulted in a speedy collapse. Not a few thoughtful men have regarded the treatment of his case as closely akin to professional murder; and one of his three doctors confessed that they had made a mistake in bleeding their victim the last time, as he had not vitality enough left to survive the drain upon his system.

Nor was the condition different in other scientific fields. An engineer, civil or mechanical, could hardly be found. So true was this that when, in 1793, a company was formed in Boston to build a canal from the Merrimac river to Boston harbor, no competent engineer could be found in Boston to make the survey of an easy route of less than thirty miles, and the directors were forced to send to Philadelphia, and secure the services of an English engineer whom the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal Company had employed. Philadelphia had one citizen possessed of considerable scientific knowledge and experience, La Trobe, an architect by profession. Writing to a friend in France, in 1811, he said: "Thinking only of the profession and the affluence that it yields in Europe to all who follow it, you forget that I am an engineer in America; that I am neither a mechanic nor a merchant, nor a planter of cotton, rice, or tobacco. You forget, for you know it as well as I do, that with us labor of the hand has precedence over that of the mind; that *an engineer is considered only as an overseer of men who dig, and an architect as one that watches others who hew stone or wood.*"

Nor is a survey of the literary field more inspiring. Apart from political pamphlets, many of which were of the highest literary form, and written in the purest and most expressive English, there was but little interest manifested in the productions of the mind. Of newspapers there was an endless succession; but there was little in their columns that tended to advance education, or to enlighten their readers. The first newspaper in the Colonies was the "Boston News Letter," published by John Campbell, a Scotchman, who was a bookseller and postmaster in Boston. Its first issue, April 24, 1704, was a folio, printed in small pica type. The first page was filled with an extract from "The London Flying Post," respecting the Pretender. The Queen's speech to the Houses of Parliament, a few articles under the Boston head, four short paragraphs of marine intelligence from New York, Philadelphia, and New London, and an advertisement formed its entire contents. Though these publications increased rapidly in number, the estimate of a competent critic of the papers of 1800 will show that they had not materially changed their character. "The student of history," he says, "might search forever these storehouses of political calumny for facts meant to instruct the public in any useful subject. A few dozen adver-

tisements of shipping and sales; a marine list; rarely, or never, a price list, unless it was European; copious extracts from English newspapers, and long columns of political disquisition,—such matters filled the chief city newspapers, from which the smaller sheets selected what their editors thought fit. Reporters and regular correspondents were unknown. In such progress as had been made Philadelphia took the lead and in 1800 was at the height of her influence." Unfortunately it was not journalism alone that was material and earthy; but throughout the land literature languished. It is true that President Dwight had given expression to his poetic genius in an epic poem, in eleven books and ten thousand lines, entitled, "The Conquest of Canaan;" and Joel Barlow had attempted to fire the sluggish American intellect by his "Vision of Columbus" in seven thousand lines; yet their readers were few, though select; the popular ear being deaf to the poet's highest flights of song. Joseph Dennie, possessed of a refined and poetic temperament, after graduating from Harvard College and failing to find in Boston an atmosphere congenial to his literary aspirations, had removed to Philadelphia, which he thought more tolerable than any other city of the United States. There, in 1801, he established his "Portfolio," a weekly journal of not a little merit, though severely critical of American social and intellectual conditions. Here with a few kindred spirits, among them Charles Brockden Brown, the first American novelist of note, he nursed his contempt for the plebeian spirit that dominated his countrymen, though through the columns of his paper he tried by criticism, suggestion, and appeal to excite an appreciation of higher things. In 1804 the popular Irish poet, "Tom" Moore, visited the United States and was charmed with the manners and tastes of this little company. "If I did not hate, as I ought," he wrote, "the rabble to which they are opposed, I could not value as I do the spirit with which they defy it; and in learning from them what Americans *can be,* I but see with the more indignation what Americans *are.*" And breaking forth into verse he not only sang of his affection for these friends, but in the last four lines expressed only too clearly the impression which the superficial observer received from a general view of American life.

"Yet, yet forgive me, O you sacred few,
Whom late by Delaware's green banks I knew;
Whom, known and loved, thro' many a social eve
'Twas bliss to live with, and 'twas pain to leave.
Oh, but for *such,* Columbia's days were done!
Rank without ripeness, quickened without sun,
Crude at the surface, rotten at the core,
Her fruits would fall before her spring were o'er."

NOAH WEBSTER.

Perhaps the whole subject of the state of learning and scholarship in the States cannot be better summed up than it was by Noah Webster, who wrote upon the subject in 1800. After claiming for New Englanders a familiarity with theology, law, politics, and light English literature,

he says: "But as to classical learning, history (civil and ecclesiastical), mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, botany, and natural history, excepting here and there a rare instance of a man who is eminent in some one of these branches, we may be said to have no learning at all, or a mere smattering. . . . Our learning is superficial in a shameful degree; our colleges are disgracefully destitute of books and philosophical apparatus; and I am ashamed to own that scarcely a branch of science can be fully investigated in America for want of books, especially original works. This defect of our libraries I have experienced myself in searching for materials for the history of epidemic diseases. . . . As to libraries, we have no such things. There are not more than three or four tolerable libraries in America, and these are extremely imperfect. Great numbers of the most notable authors have not found their way across the Atlantic."

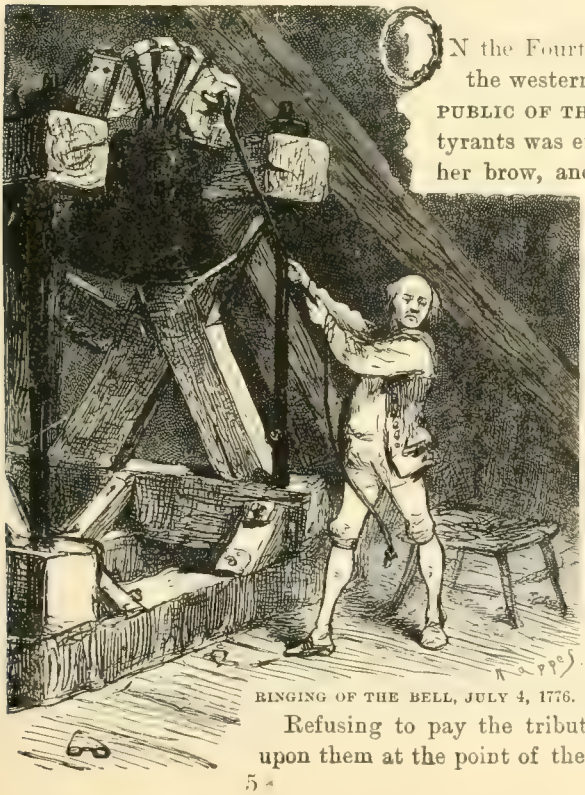
We have endeavored to give as detailed an account as our space would admit of the social, intellectual, moral, and political spirit and conditions that obtained in the United States during the years immediately following the formation of a union by the thirteen Colonies down to the opening of the nineteenth century, which may be considered as the childhood of the nation. It is not altogether a pleasing picture, though it serves to heighten the *glory of the nation's youth,* as manifested in the marvelous development from a stage of comparative poverty to one of immense wealth, from an intellectual apathy and sluggishness to such a state of mental activity and inventive fertility as the world never before has known; and from a prevailing attitude of political jealousy and suspicion, constantly threatening disunion and separation, to one of concord and harmonious action from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Canada to Mexico, under an established constitution, and stable national and state governments. Of the details of this wonderful growth the following chapters will give the salient features and dominant characteristics, which cannot fail to mightily strengthen the faith of the reader in the virtue and permanency of American institutions and ideals.

II.

BIRTH OF THE NEW REPUBLIC.—1776.

Declaration of American Independence and National Sovereignty, July Fourth, 1776.—The Gauntlet of Defiance thrown at the Feet of the British Empire by Her Youngest Colonies.—Vast Disparity, in Power and Resources, between the Contestants.—The whole World looks on Astonished.—Seven Years' Bloody and Desolating War.—The American Cause Triumphant.—Grandest Modern Event. America Resists Unjust Taxation.—Haughty Obstinacy of King George.—Burning Eloquence of Patrick Henry.—His Summons, "We Must Fight."—Washington Endorses this Sentiment.—Determination of the People.—War Preferred to Submission —Momentous Action by Congress.—Separation from England Decreed.—Effect of the Act in America.—Its Reception in England.—Excitement of the King and Court.—Lord Chatham, America's Advocate.—His Passionate Change of Views —Scorching Speech against the Colonies.—He is Struck Dead while Speaking.—Magnanimity of Burke and Fox. —Recognition from France Secured —Her Timely Aid in the Struggle.—Victories over the British Armies.—England Gives Up the Contest.—World-wide Welcome to the New Nation.

"It will be celebrated by succeeding generations, as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of the continent to the other, from this time forth, forevermore."—JOHN ADAMS.



RINGING OF THE BELL, JULY 4, 1776.

ON the Fourth of July, 1776, there was born in the western world a New Nation,—the REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES. Defiance to tyrants was emblazoned in empyreal light upon her brow, and Freedom and Justice were the frontlets between her eyes. Monarchs, crowned with kingly diadems, stood awed at the august manifesto, and at the solemn arraignment of King George before the judgment of mankind, and parliaments and cabinets started in dismay to their feet; but the People, as they descried the eagle of Liberty spreading her wings, and soaring proudly aloft, breathed freer and took stronger heart, as the clear ring of her voice sounded through the air, declaring, with grandly rounded enunciation, that "all men are created equal."

Refusing to pay the tribute of taxation arbitrarily imposed upon them at the point of the bayonet by the British crown,—

failing, too, to move the king and his ministers from their career of haughty and reckless obstinacy,—the thirteen American colonies found themselves reduced to the alternative of abject submission to their so-called royal masters, or of armed resistance. Already there had flashed throughout the country the electric words of Patrick Henry, "We must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us. I repeat it, sir, we must fight!" And as the blood of patriot hearts had now flowed freely and bravely at Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill, Washington declared, in words of solemn emphasis and characteristic brevity, "Nothing short of INDEPENDENCE, it appears to me, can possibly do." He also warmly approved and commended Paine's pamphlet, "Common Sense," written to this end. The sons of liberty shouted their responsive acclaim to this manly summons from the great American soldier—Washington—and, like the sound of many waters, the spirit of national independence which thus possessed the people came upon the continental congress, then in session in the state-house at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

It was in this temple of freedom, wherein was sitting as noble and august a legislative body as the world ever saw, that Richard Henry Lee introduced a resolution, on the 7th of June, 1776, declaring, "That the United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent States, and that their political connection with Great Britain is and ought to be dissolved." Upon this resolution there sprang up at once an earnest and powerful debate. It was opposed, principally, on the ground that it was premature. Some of the best and strongest advocates of colonial rights spoke and voted against the motion, which at last was adopted only by a vote of seven States in its favor to six against. Some of the delegates had not received definite instructions from their constituents, and others had been requested to vote against it. Its further consideration was accordingly postponed until there was a prospect of greater unanimity. On the eleventh of June, therefore, a committee was appointed to draft a formal Declaration; this committee consisting of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston.

On the twenty-eighth of June, the committee made their report, and presented the Declaration which they had drawn up. The first or original draft was penned by Mr. Jefferson, chairman of the committee. On the second of July, congress proceeded to the serious consideration of this momentous paper; the discussion, as to the tone and statements characterizing the document, and the propriety of adopting at that time a measure so decisive, lasted for nearly three days, and was extremely earnest. It was so powerfully opposed by some of the members, that Jefferson compared the opposition to "the ceaseless action of gravity, weighing upon us by night and by day." Its supporters, however, were the leading minds, and urged its adoption with masterly eloquence and ability. John Adams, Jefferson asserts, was "the colossus in that debate," and "fought fearlessly for every word of it." The bond which was formed between those two great men on this occasion seems never to have been completely severed, both of them finally expiring, with a sort of poetic justice, on the fiftieth anniversary of the act which constituted their chief glory.

Well and truly did the mighty patriot Adams characterize this event as the most memorable epoch in the history of America. "I am apt to believe," said he, "that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations, as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forth forevermore!" The result has equaled the great patriot's wishes. Tradition gives a dramatic effect to its announcement. It was known, throughout the city, that the great

event was to be determined that day, by the last formal acts; but the closed doors of congress excluded the populace from witnessing the august assembly or its proceedings, though thousands of anxious citizens had gathered around the building, eager to hear the words of national destiny soon to be officially proclaimed. From the hour when congress came together in the forenoon, all business was suspended throughout the city, and the old bellman steadily remained at his post in the steeple, prepared to sound forth to the waiting multitudes the expected glad tidings. He had even stationed a boy at the door of the hall below, to give immediate signal of the turn of events. This bell, manufactured in England, bore upon its ample curve the now prophetic inscription, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." Hours passed on, and fear began to take the place of hope in many a heart; even the venerable and always cheerful bellman was overheard in his despondent soliloquy, "They will never do it! they will never do it!" Finally, at about two o'clock in the afternoon, the door of the mysterious hall swung open, and a voice exclaimed, "Passed!—it has passed!" The word was caught up by ten thousand glad mouths, and the watch-boy now clapped his hands and shouted, "Ring! Ring!" Seizing the iron tongue of the bell in which he had long felt such a professional pride, the electrified old patriot rung forth such a joyous peal as was never heard before, nor ceased to hurl it backward and forward, till every voice joined in its notes of gladness and triumph. The roar of cannon, and illuminations from every house and hill-top, added to these demonstrations of universal rejoicing.

And this was the type of that exultation which everywhere manifested itself, as the news spread with lightning rapidity from city to city and from State to State. Every American patriot regarded the declaration by congress as the noble performance of an act which had become inevitable; and the paper itself as the complete vindication of America before the bar of public opinion throughout the world. When it was read by the magistrates and other functionaries, in the cities and towns of the whole nation, it was greeted with shouts, bonfires, and processions. It was read to the troops, drawn up under arms, and to the congregations in churches by ministers from the pulpit. Washington hailed the declaration with joy. It is true, it was but a formal recognition of a state of things which had long existed, but it put an end to all those temporizing hopes of reconciliation which had clogged the military action of the country. On the ninth of July, therefore, Washington caused it to be read at six o'clock in the

HALL OF INDEPENDENCE, PHILADELPHIA, 1776.

evening, at the head of each brigade of the army. "The general hopes," said he in his orders, "that this important event will serve as a fresh incentive to every officer and soldier, to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing that now the peace and safety of his country depend, under God, solely on the success of our arms; and that he is now in the service of a State, possessed of sufficient power to reward his merit, and advance him to the highest honors of a free country." The troops listened to the reading of this with eager attention, and at its close broke forth in tumultuous applause.

The excitable populace of New York were not content with the ringing of bells and the other usual manifestations of public joy. There was a leaden equestrian statue of George the Third in the Bowling Green, in front of the fort. Around this kingly effigy the excited multitude, surging hither and thither, unitedly gathered, and pulling it down to the ground, broke it into fragments, which fragments were afterwards conveniently molded into bullets and made to do service against his majesty's troops. Some of the soldiers and officers of the American army having joined in this proceeding, Washington censured it, as having much the appearance of a riot and a want of discipline, and the army was ordered to abstain, in the future, from all irregularities of the kind.

In Boston, that citadel of radical insubordination to "his majesty," the public joy knew no bounds, and even the British prisoners were courteously summoned to witness the spirit with which a brave people, determined to be free, dared to defy the British throne. On the seventeenth of July the British officers on parole received each a card from the governor, requesting the honor of said officer's attendance at a specified hour on the morrow, in the town hall. As rumors were pretty well afloat, however, touching the decided step that had been taken at Philadelphia, the officers were not without a suspicion as to the purport of the meeting, and hesitated for a while as to the consistency of giving the sanction of their presence to a proceeding which they could not but regard as traitorous. Curiosity, however, got the better of these scruples, and it was resolved, after a brief consultation, that the invitation ought to be accepted.

On entering the hall, the king's officers found it occupied by 'rebellious' functionaries, military, civil, and ecclesiastical, and among whom the same good humor and excitement prevailed as among the throng out of doors. The British officials were received with great frankness and cordiality, and were allotted such stations as enabled them to witness the whole ceremony. Exactly as the clock struck one, Colonel Crafts, who occupied the chair, rose, and, silence being obtained, read aloud the declaration, which announced to the world that the tie of allegiance which had so long held Britain and her North American colonies together, was forever separated. This being finished, the gentlemen stood up, and each, repeating the words as they were spoken by an officer, swore to uphold, at the sacrifice of life, the rights of his country. Meanwhile, the town clerk read from a balcony the solemn declaration to the collected multitude; at the close of which, a shout began in the hall and passed like an electric spark to the streets, which now rang with loud huzzas, the slow and measured boom of cannon, and the rattle of musketry. The batteries on Fort Hill, Dorchester Neck, the castle, Nantasket, and Long Island, each saluted with thirteen guns, the artillery in the town fired thirteen rounds, and the infantry scattered into thirteen divisions, poured forth thirteen volleys, — all corresponding to the number of states which formed the Union. There was also a municipal banquet, at which speeches were made and toasts drank; and in the evening a brilliant illumination of the houses.

In Virginia, the proclamation of independence was greeted with that same ardor of enthusiasm which for so many years had characterized the people of that

ancient commonwealth, in the course of political freedom. In South Carolina, too, the declaration was read to the assembled multitudes, amid the greatest rejoicings,—public addresses, military and civic processions, bands of music, firing of cannon, and kindred demonstrations of popular favor. In all the colonies, indeed, the declaration was hailed as the passing away of the old world and the birth of the new.

But the declaration, though it thus solemnly inaugurated a new nation and made the colonies, for the time, the theater of patriotic jubilee, involved startling perils and imposed momentous duties; for it was a defiant challenge to combat thrown by a mere province in the face of the most colossal power in all christendom. This important paper commences with stating that, "When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal stations to which the laws of Nature, and of Nature's God, entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation."

The causes are then stated, and a long enumeration of the oppressions complained of by America is closed by saying that "a prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people." History may be searched in vain for words so bold and scathing, used by a colony against a powerful sovereign.

The fruitless appeals which had been made to the people of Great Britain are also recounted, but "they too," concludes this declaration, "have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends." Then comes the portentous conclusion—

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things, which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

In the whole country, however, between New England and the Potomac, which was now to become the great theater of action, although a vast majority was in favor of independence, there existed an influential number, who not only refused to act with their countrymen, but were ready to give information and aid to the enemy. Most of these tories were wealthy and haughty, and rendered themselves extremely unpopular. Laws passed by the new State authorities had subjected these persons to fines and imprisonments, and their property to confiscation. They endured many outrages, and were treated to "tarrings and featherings" innumerable, by the more violent among the angry populace. To prevent these outrages, congress gave the supervision of tories to committees of inspection. Many of these obnoxious families finally left the country, and in course of time the tory element was eradicated or completely silenced.

Scarcely less interesting and important is the character of the reception which this remarkable document met on its arrival in England. Of the noble band of American patriots who had been chosen to deliberate and act for the best good of the

oppressed colonies, and who, preceding the final act of the declaration of independence, had sent forth the most magnanimous appeals to Britain's sense of justice, —of these men and their works, there had gone forth one of the grandest eulogies from the elder Pitt (Lord Chatham), the greatest of Britain's statesmen, who, in his place in parliament, dared to say—

"I must declare and avow that in all my reading and study—and it has been my favorite study; I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master states of the world—that, for solidity of reasoning, for force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general congress of Philadelphia."

But when, a few years after, it was proposed, by the British prime minister, to conciliate the exasperated colonies by treating them as a people possessing certain independent rights and powers, Pitt showed the exalted estimation in which he held the rebellious colonies as part of the British realm, by opposing such a course, in a speech of almost dramatic power and effect, and from which, owing to the exhaustion it produced in his own shattered system, the great peer and orator almost immediately died.

In France, the declaration of independence by the American colonies was greeted with secret satisfaction by the court and rulers, and aroused to universal gladness the popular heart. Reviewing the scene and its actors, one of the most brilliant and popular orators of that intrepid nation was led to say: "With what grandeur, with what enthusiasm, should I not speak of those generous men who erected this grand edifice by their patience, their wisdom, and their courage! Hancock, Franklin, the two Adamses, were the greatest actors in this affecting scene; but they were not the only ones. Posterity shall know them all. Their honored names shall be transmitted to it by a happier pen than mine. Brass and marble shall show them to remotest ages. In beholding them, shall the friend of freedom feel his heart palpitate with joy—feel his eyes float in delicious tears. Under the bust of one of them has been written, 'He wrested thunder from heaven and the scepter from tyrants.' Of the last words of this eulogy shall all of them partake." Still more pregnant were the words of the great Mirabeau, as, citing the grand principles of the American Declaration, from his place in the National Assembly, "I ask," he said, "if the powers who have formed alliances with the States have dared to read that manifesto, or to interrogate their consciences after the perusal? I ask whether there be at this day one government in Europe—the Helvetic and Batavian confederations and the British isles excepted —which, judged after the principles of the Declaration of Congress on the fourth of July, 1776, is not divested of its rights!"

For more than a year, commissioners from congress, at the head of whom was Dr. Franklin, resided at the court of France, urging upon that government to acknowledge the independence of the United States. But the success of the American struggle was regarded, as yet, too doubtful, for that country to embroil herself in a war with Great Britain. But that great event, the capture of the British army at Saratoga, seemed to increase the probability that the American arms would finally triumph, and decided France to espouse her cause. The aid which France now brought to the Americans was of great importance. It is even doubtful whether the colonies, without her contributions of money, navy, and troops, would have been able to resist Britain with final success; at least, the struggle must have been greatly prolonged. To this intervention, however, France was inclined, be her own hostility to England, whom she delighted to see humbled, especially by a people struggling for independence. Finally, after the surrender of Cornwallis to General Washington, the French court pressed upon congress the propriety of appointing commissioners for negotiating peace with Great Britain. In accordance

with this advice, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, were appointed. The commissioners met Messrs. Fitzherbert and Oswald, on the part of Great Britain, at Paris, and provisional articles of peace between the two countries were there signed, November thirtieth, 1782; the definitive treaty being signed on the third of September, 1783. Holland acknowledged the independence of the United States in 1782; Sweden, in February, 1783; Denmark, in the same month; Spain, in March; Russia, in July. And thus, the REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA became an independent power among the nations of the earth.

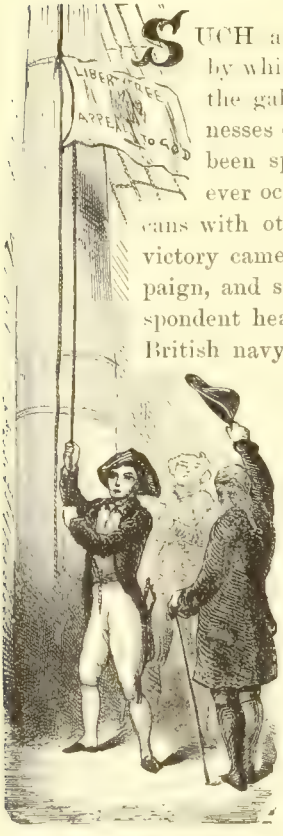
It was not unknown to the wise and venerable enactors of the Declaration, that their signatures to such an instrument would be regarded in England as an act of treason, rendering them liable to the halter or the block. In the full appreciation of all this, every man of them placed his name upon the immortal parchment. The only signature which indicates a trembling hand, is that of Stephen Hopkins, but this was owing to a nervous affection; for, so resolute was he in congress, that, when some of the members suggested a hope of reconciliation, Mr. Hopkins replied, that "the time had come when the strongest arm and the longest sword must decide the contest, and those members who were not prepared for action had better go home." The boldest signature is that of John Hancock, he whom the British had excepted in their offers of pardon, as one "whose offenses are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration but that of condign punishment." The number who signed the Declaration was fifty-six; and the average length of their lives was about sixty-five years. Carpenters'Hall—or Independence Hall—in Philadelphia, where these tremendous scenes transpired, is still one of the places which every American looks upon with patriotic pride; for within that temple was born a Nation, in whose destiny were wrapped the interests of Liberty and Civilization to the end of time.

III.

FIRST AMERICAN NAVAL VICTORY.—1779.

John Paul Jones, Commanding the Bon Homme Richard, Fights and Captures King George's Powerful Ship-of-War, the Serapis, in British Waters.—Crowds of Spectators Line the English Coast.—The Most Sanguinary Battle Ever Fought Between Single Ships.—Jones is Hailed as "The Washington of the Seas."—World-wide Interest of this Combat.—Commodore Jones's Early Career.—Offers his Services to Congress.—Appointed a Naval Lieutenant.—Joins the Continental Fleet.—The First to Hoist its Ensign.—Style and Motto of the Flag.—Sails from France on a Cruise.—Terror Created by his Movements.—Characteristic Anecdotes.—Two British Frigates in Sight.—Jones Ready for Bloody Work.—The Ships Muzzle to Muzzle.—Superiority of the Serapis.—A Most Deadly Contest.—Both Vessels on Fire.— Jones Attacked by Another Foe.—One of his Vessels Treacherous.—Remarkable Scenes.—Britain's Flag Struck to America.—An Act Without Precedent.—Sinking of the Victorious Vessel.

"The most obstinate and bloody battle in the annals of naval warfare."—J. FENIMORE COOPER.



HOISTING FIRST NAVAL FLAG.

SUCH an exploit as that performed by John Paul Jones, in 1779, by which, in plain sight of the English coast, he flung to the breeze the gallant ensign of the United States, and, with Britons as witnesses of his daring, fought, victoriously, a battle which has always been spoken of as the most obstinate and sanguinary combat that ever occurred between single ships, can never be read of by Americans with other than the deepest and most enthusiastic interest. The victory came, too, at one of the darkest hours in the revolutionary campaign, and served to gladden and encourage, for the time being, the despondent hearts of honest patriots. The vaunted invincibleness of the British navy became a by-word of contumely, the world over, from the time Jones nailed his flag to the mast, and, under the calm sky and round harvest moon of September, dealt forth a storm of death and desolation upon the enemies of his adopted country. The action may well be pronounced one of the most terrible on record, from its unusual duration for a naval battle, from the ferocity which the combatants displayed, and from the proximity of the two vessels, the muzzles of the ships' batteries almost reaching into each other's port-holes.

John Paul was born in Scotland, on the sixth day of July, 1747, and the scenery and associations of his birthplace—Arbigland—and its vicinity, doubtless encouraged that restless spirit of adventure and love of change, as well as that ardent enthusiasm in the objects of his pursuit, which so strikingly characterized his career through life. At the age of twelve, he was apprenticed to a merchant of Whitehaven, who carried on a considerable trade with

the American colonies. His first voyage was made before he was thirteen years old, being to Virginia, where his elder brother was established as a planter. He was afterward engaged for a short time in the slave trade, which he left in disgust, and made a number of voyages to the West Indies.

In 1773, John Paul removed to Virginia, to attend to the affairs of his brother, who had died childless and intestate. He now, for some unknown reason, assumed the additional surname of Jones, and which he retained through life. At the commencement of the revolutionary conflict, his feelings became warmly enlisted in the cause of the colonies, and this spirit fully prepared him for the active part he soon undertook in their behalf. An offer of his services, which he made to the colonies, was accepted, and, on the twenty-second of December, 1775, by a resolution of congress, he was appointed lieutenant in the American navy.

It was Lieutenant Jones who hoisted, with his own hands, the first American naval flag on board the American frigate Alfred, the flag-ship, *the national ensign being thus for the first time displayed from a man-of-war.* The circumstances attending this interesting occasion are stated to have been as follows: The Alfred was anchored off the foot of Walnut street, Philadelphia. On a brilliant morning, early in February, 1776, gay streamers were seen fluttering from every mast-head and spar on the river Delaware. At nine o'clock, a full-manned barge thridded its way among the floating ice to the Alfred, bearing the commodore. He was greeted by the thunders of artillery and the shouts of a multitude. When he reached the deck of the flag-ship, Captain Salstonstall gave a signal, and Lieutenant Jones gallantly pulled the ropes which wafted the new flag masthead high. It was of yellow silk, bearing the figure of a pine tree, and the significant device of a rattlesnake in a field of thirteen stripes, with the ominous legend, "*Don't tread on me!*" This memorable act, it was Jones's high honor and privilege to perform when in his twenty-ninth year; an honor, too, of which, as events afterward proved, he was fully worthy.

On the fourteenth of August, 1779, Jones sailed from the roadstead of Groix, France, in command of a small squadron, consisting of the Bon Homme Richard, forty-two guns, the Alliance, thirty-six guns, the Pallas, thirty-two guns, the Cerf, twenty-eight guns, and the Vengeance, twelve guns. Two privateers afterwards joined them, but did not continue with them till the end of the cruise. The efficiency of the expedition was marred by a want of subordination on the part of some of the officers, who do not appear to have been willing to yield prompt obedience to orders. Captain Landais, of the Alliance, habitually disregarded the signals and orders, throughout the cruise, and, towards the close, committed acts of open hostility to his superior. But, notwithstanding the difficulties against which he had to contend, Jones inflicted great damage on the enemy; he coasted Ireland, England, and Scotland, making many prizes, and carrying terror wherever he appeared.

But the action which gave the most distinguishing renown to Jones's brilliant career, and which so early gave prestige to American prowess on the ocean, is that of which a detailed account is given below:

It was about noon, on the twenty-third of September, 1779, a fleet of over forty sail appeared off Flamborough Head, on the coast of Yorkshire, and Jones at once gave up the pursuit of a vessel in whose track he was just then following, with all possible speed, and made signals for a general chase. The sails in sight were a fleet of English merchantmen, under convoy of the ships-of-war Serapis and Scarborough, and as soon as they saw themselves pursued they ran in shore, while their convoys that protected them bore off from the land and prepared for an engagement. The Bon Homme Richard set every stitch of canvas, but did not come into fighting position toward the enemy until about seven o'clock in the evening, at which time, from the darkness having set in somewhat, objects on the water were dimly discerned.

though not with such difficulty as would have been the case had not the moon shone forth with great brightness, and the weather proved serene and beautiful. When within pistol-shot, the hail from the Serapis, "What ship is that?" was answered, "I can't hear you." Captain Pearson says the answer was, "The Princess Royal." A second hail was answered by a thundering broadside from the batteries of the Richard,—a signal that indicated a hot and bloody encounter at hand, as the sequel soon proved.

The American ship, it may here be remarked, was much inferior to her antagonist, being, in fact, an old vessel, clumsy, and unmanageable. She carried six eighteen-pounders on the lower gun deck, fourteen twelve-pounders and fourteen nine-pounders on the middle gun deck, two six-pounders on the quarter-gun deck, two six-pounders on the spar deck, one six-pounder in each gangway, and two six-pounders on the forecastle. She was manned by three hundred and eighty men and boys. The Serapis, on the other hand, was a new ship, built in the best manner, and with a much heavier armament. She mounted twenty eighteen-pounders on her lower gun deck, twenty nine-pounders on her upper gun deck, six six-pounders on her quarter deck, four six-pounders on the forecastle; and she had a crew of some three hundred and twenty men.

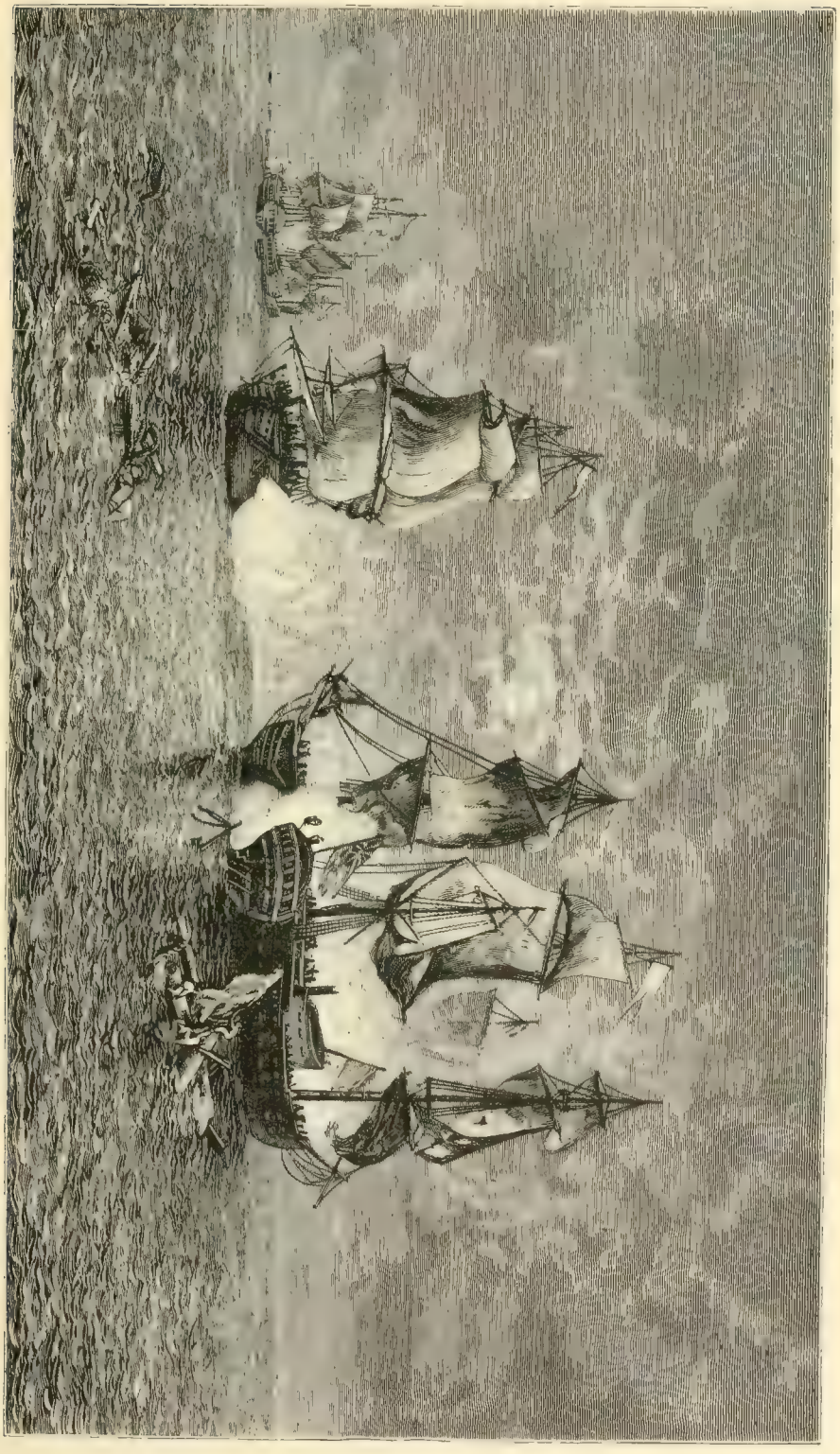
Captain Cottineau, of the Pallas, engaged the Scarborough, and took her, after an hour's action, while the Bon Homme Richard engaged the Serapis.

In the earlier part of the action, the superior sailing qualities of the Serapis enabled her to take several advantageous positions, which the seamanship of Paul Jones, hampered by the unmanageable character of his craft, did not enable him to prevent. Thus he attempted to lay his ship athwart the enemy's bows, but the bowsprit of the Serapis sweeping over the Richard's poop, was grappled and lashed, and her stern swung round to the bow of the Bon Homme Richard by the action of the wind; the vessels lay yard-arm and yard-arm, the muzzles on either side actually touching the enemy. But long before this, many of the eighteen-pound shot of the Serapis had entered the Richard's hull below the water-mark, and she leaked in a threatening manner. Just before they closed, Commodore Pearson hailed his adversary: "Has your ship struck?" "*I haven't begun to fight yet!*" thundered forth the brave Jones, in reply.

A novelty in naval combats was now presented to many witnesses, but few admirers,—says Lieutenant Dale, who participated in the conflict,—the rammers being run into the respective ships to enable the men to load after the lower ports of the Serapis had been blown away, to

John Paul Jones

make room for running out their guns, and in this situation the ships remained until between ten and twelve o'clock, P. M. From the commencement to the termination of the action, there was not a man on board the Richard who was ignorant of the superiority of the Serapis, both in weight of metal, and in the qualities of the crew. The crew of that ship were picked seamen, and the ship itself had been only a few months off the stocks; whereas the crew of the Richard consisted of part Americans, English and French, and a part of Maltese, Portuguese, and Malays, these latter contributing by their want of naval skill and knowledge of the English language, to depress rather than encourage any reasonable hope of success in a combat under such circumstances.



FIRST AMERICAN NAVAL VICTORY.

One of the most disheartening facts in the early part of the action, was the silencing of the battery of twelve-pounders, on which Jones had placed his principal dependence.

Brave and dauntless sailor as he was, Jones stuck to his little battery, and stimulated his men with word and example. While one of the nine-pounders vomited double-headed shot against the mainmast of the Serapis, the two others swept her decks with grape and canister. The fire was so hot from the nine-pound battery and the tops, that not a man could live on the deck of the English ship. But all this while, her lower battery of eighteen-pounders was making an awful ruin of the Richard. The terror of the scene was also soon heightened beyond the power of language to depict, by both vessels taking fire, which required almost superhuman exertion to subdue, and, in the midst of all, Jones and his heroic men were horror stricken to see their consort, the Alliance, commanded by Captain Landais, come up and pour a full broadside into the Richard's stern! The evidence is regarded as most conclusive, that Captain L.'s conduct on this occasion was not due to any mistake on his part in supposing the Richard to be the Serapis, but to his personal hostility to Jones. With jealousy and treason in his heart, his plan was to kill Jones, and, capturing the Serapis, claim the victory as his. But the black-hearted Frenchman failed in his plot. A quantity of cartridges on board the Serapis was set fire to by a grenade from Jones's ship, and blew up, killing or wounding all the officers and men abaft the mainmast. But long after this the fight went on with fury.

At last, the mainmast of the Serapis began to totter to its fall—her fire slackened, and, about half-past ten o'clock, the British flag was struck, and Commodore Pearson surrendered his sword to his really weaker foe. In going through the formalities of this scene, Pearson displayed much irritability, and, addressing Jones as one who fought under no recognized flag, said:

"It is painful to deliver up my sword to a man who has fought with a halter around his neck."

"Sir," replied Jones, good humoredly, as he handed back the weapon, "you have fought like a hero, and I make no doubt but your sovereign will reward you in the most ample manner."

True enough, the gallant Pearson soon received from King George the dignity of knighthood as an acknowledgment of his bravery in this unparalleled battle,—hearing of which honor, Jones is said to have dryly remarked: "Well, he deserved it; and should I have the good fortune to meet with him again, I will make a *lord* of him!"

Another episode occurred in connection with a medical officer,—the surgeon of the Richard,—who ran up from the cock-pit, in great fright and trepidation, and hurriedly accosting the captain, said: "Are you not going to strike the colors? Is not the ship fast *sinking?*" "What! doctor," replied Jones, "would you have me strike to a drop of water? Here, help me get this gun over!" The doctor, as though answering a sudden professional call, was soon retracing his steps to the cock-pit.

So terribly was the Richard cut to pieces (being an old ship), that it was found impossible, after the fight, to get her into port, and, the wounded being removed, she soon after sank.

Jones took his prizes to Holland, and it is no exaggeration to say that the whole world stood astonished at his bravery and success.

A most interesting account of this celebrated battle between the Serapis and Richard was given, soon after its occurrence, by Commodore Jones himself, a portion of which, describing in his own dramatic style, the principal scenes during the engagement, is given below:

On the morning of that day, September twenty-third, the brig from Holland not being in sight, we chased a brigantine that appeared laying to, to windward. About noon, we saw and chased a large ship that appeared coming round Flamborough Head from the northward, and at the same time

I manned and armed one of the pilot boats to send in pursuit of the brigantine, which now appeared to be the vessel that I had forced ashore. Soon after this, a fleet of forty-one sail appeared off Flamborough Head, bearing N. N. E. This induced me to abandon the single ship which had then anchored in Burlington Bay; I also called back the pilot boat, and hoisted a signal for a general chase. When the fleet discovered us bearing down, all the merchant ships crowded sail toward the shore. The two ships-of-war that protected the fleet at the same time steered from the land, and made the disposition for battle. In approaching the enemy, I crowded every possible sail, and made the signal for the line of battle, to which the Alliance paid no attention. Earnest as I was for the action, I could not reach the commodore's ship until seven in the evening, being then within pistol-shot, when he hailed the Bon Homme Richard. We answered him by firing a whole broadside.

The battle being thus begun, was continued with unremitting fury. Every method was practiced on both sides to gain an advantage and rake each other; and I must confess that the enemy's ship, being much more manageable than the Bon Homme Richard, gained thereby several times an advantageous situation, in spite of my best endeavors to prevent it. As I had to deal with an enemy of greatly superior force, I was under the necessity of closing with him, to prevent the advantage which he had over me in point of maneuver. It was my intention to lay the Bon Homme Richard athwart the enemy's bow; but as that operation required great dexterity in the management of both sails and helm, and some of our braces being shot away, it did not exactly succeed to my wish. The enemy's bowsprit, however, came over the Bon Homme Richard's poop, by the mizzenmast, and I made both ships fast together in that situation, which by the action of the wind on the enemy's sails, forced her stern close to the Bon Homme Richard's bow, so that the ships lay square alongside of each other, the yards being all entangled, and the cannon of each ship touching the opponent's.

I directed the fire of one of the three cannon against the mainmast, with double-headed shot, while the other two were exceedingly well served with grape and canister shot, to silence the enemy's musketry and clear her decks, which was at last effected. The enemy were, as I have since understood, on the instant of calling for quarter, when the cowardice or treachery of three of my under-officers induced them to call to the enemy. The English commodore asked me if I demanded quarter, and I, having answered him in the most determined negative, they renewed the battle with double fury. They were unable to stand the deck; but the fire of their cannon, especially the lower battery, which was entirely formed of ten-pounders, was incessant; both ships were set on fire in various places, and the scene was dreadful beyond the reach of language. To account for the timidity of my three under-officers, I mean the gunner, the carpenter, and the master-at-arms, I must observe, that the two first were slightly wounded, and, as the ship had received various shots under the water, and one of the pumps being shot away, the carpenter expressed his fears that she would sink, and the other two concluded that she was sinking, which occasioned the gunner to run aft on the poop, without my knowledge, to strike the colors. Fortunately for me, a cannon-ball had done that before, by carrying away the ensign-staff; he was therefore reduced to the necessity of sinking, as he supposed, or of calling for quarter, and he preferred the latter.

All this time the Bon Homme Richard had sustained the action alone, and the enemy, though much superior in force, would have been very glad to have got clear, as appears by their own acknowledgments, and by their having let go an anchor the instant that I laid them on board, by which means they would have escaped, had I not made them fast to the Bon Homme Richard.

At last, at half-past nine o'clock, the Al-

liance appeared, and I now thought the battle at an end; but, to my utter astonishment, he discharged a broadside full into the stern of the Bon Homme Richard. We called to him for God's sake to forbear firing into the Bon Homme Richard; yet they passed along the off side of the ship, and continued firing. There was no possibility of his mistaking the enemy's ship for the Bon Homme Richard, there being the most essential difference in their appearance and construction. Besides, it was then full moonlight. The Bon Homme Richard received various shots under water from the Alliance; the leak gained on the pumps, and the fire increased much on board both ships. Some officers persuaded me to strike, of whose courage and good sense I entertain a high opinion. My treacherous master-at-arms let loose all my prisoners without my knowledge, and my prospects became gloomy indeed. I would not, however, give up the point. The enemy's mainmast began to shake, their firing decreased fast, ours rather increased, and the British colors were struck at half an hour past ten o'clock.

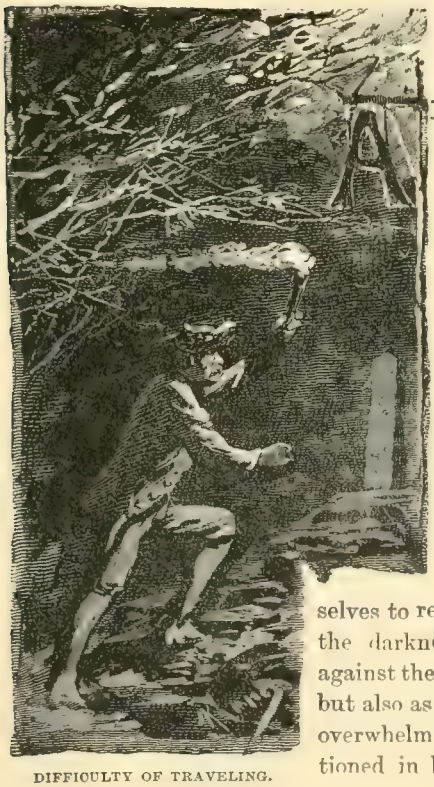
This prize proved to be the British ship-of-war, the Serapis, a new ship of forty-four guns, built on the most approved construction, with two complete batteries, one of them of eighteen-pounders, and commanded by the brave Commodore Richard Pearson.

IV.

THE WONDERFUL DARK DAY.—1780.

The Northern States wrapt in a Dense Black Atmosphere for Fifteen Hours.—The Day of Judgment Supposed to have Come.—Cessation of Labor.—Religious Devotions Resorted to.—The Herds Retire to their Stalls, the Fowls to their Roosts, and the Birds Sing their Evening Songs at Noonday.—Science at Loss to Account for the Mysterious Phenomenon.—One of Nature's Marvels.—Redness of the Sun and Moon.—Approach of a Thick Vapor.—Loud Peals of Thunder.—Sudden and Strange Darkness.—Alarm of the Inhabitants.—End of the World Looked For.—Dismay of the Brute Creation.—An Intensely Deep Gloom.—Difficulty in Attending to Business.—Lights Burning in the Houses.—Vast Extent of the Occurrence.—Condition of the Barometer.—Change in the Color of Objects.—Quick Motion of the Clouds.—Birds Suffocate and Die.—The Sun's Disc Seen in Some Places.—Oily Deposit on the Waters.—Impenetrable Darkness at Night.—Incidents and Anecdotes.—Ignorant Whims and Conjectures.—An Unsolved Mystery.

"The Dark Day in northern America was one of those wonderful phenomena of nature which will always be read of with interest, but which philosophy is at a loss to explain."—HERSCHEL.



DIFFICULTY OF TRAVELING.

ALMOST, if not altogether alone, as the most mysterious and as yet unexplained phenomenon of its kind, in nature's diversified range of events, during the last century, stands the *Dark Day of May Nineteenth*, 1780,—a most unaccountable darkening of the whole visible heavens and atmosphere in New England,—which brought intense alarm and distress to multitudes of minds, as well as dismay to the brute creation, the fowls fleeing, bewildered, to their roosts, and the birds to their nests, and the cattle returning to their stalls. Indeed, thousands of the good people of that day became fully convinced that the end of all things terrestrial had come; many gave up, for the time, their secular pursuits, and betook themselves to religious devotions; while many others regarded the darkness as not only a token of God's indignation against the various iniquities and abominations of the age, but also as an omen of some future destruction that might overwhelm the land—as in the case of the countries mentioned in biblical history,—unless speedy repentance and

reformation took place. The ignorant indulged in vague and wild conjectures as to the cause of the phenomenon; and those profounder minds, even, that could "gauge the heavens and tell the stars," were about equally at loss for any rational explanation of the event. It is related that the Connecticut legislature was in session at this time, and that, so great was the darkness, the members became terrified, and thought that the day of judgment had come; a motion was consequently made to adjourn. At this, Mr. Davenport arose and said: "Mr. Speaker. —It is either the day of judgment, or it is not. If it is not, there is no need of adjourning. If it is, I desire to be found doing my duty. I move that candles be brought, and that we proceed to business."

The time of the commencement of this extraordinary darkness was between the hours of ten and eleven in the forenoon of Friday, of the date already named; and it continued until the middle of the following night, but with different appearances at different places. As to the manner of its approach, it seemed to appear first of all in the south-west. The wind came from that quarter, and the darkness appeared to come on with the clouds that came in that direction. The degree to which the darkness arose varied in different localities. In most parts, it became so dense, that people were unable to read common print distinctly, or accurately determine the time of day by their clocks or watches, or dine, or manage their domestic affairs conveniently, without the light of candles. In some places, the degree of darkness was just about equal to preventing persons seeing to read ordinary print in the open air, for several hours together. The extent of this darkness was also very remarkable. It was observed at the most easterly regions of New England; westward, to the furthest parts of Connecticut, and at Albany; to the southward, it was observed all along the sea coasts; and to the north, as far as the American settlements extended. It probably far exceeded these boundaries, but the exact limits were never positively known. With regard to its duration, it continued in the neighborhood of Boston for at least fourteen or fifteen hours; but it was doubtless longer or shorter in some other places. The appearance and effects were such as tended to make the prospect extremely dull, gloomy, and unnatural. Candles were lighted up in the houses; the birds, in the midst of their blithesome forenoon enjoyments, stopped suddenly, and, singing their evening songs, disappeared, and became silent; the fowls retired to their roosts; the cocks were crowing in their accustomed manner at the break of day; objects could not be distinguished at a comparatively slight distance; and everything bore the aspect and gloom of night,—to say nothing of the effect upon the minds of the people, which, indeed, was quite indescribable.

The above general facts concerning this strange phenomenon were ascertained, after much painstaking inquiry, soon after its occurrence, by Prof. Williams, of Harvard College, who also collected together some of the more particular observations made in different parts of the country, relative to the remarkable event. From these data it appears that, with regard to the state of the atmosphere preceding this uncommon darkness, it was noticed in many sections, for several days before, that the air seemed to be of a smoky and vaporous character. The sun and the moon exhibited an unusual redness in their color, and divested of their usual brightness and lucid aspect; and this obscuration increased as they approached nearer to the horizon. This was ascertained to have been the case in almost all parts of the New England states, for four or five days preceding the nineteenth of May. The winds had been variable, but chiefly from the south-west and north-east. The thermometer indicated from forty to fifty-five degrees. The barometer showed a somewhat higher range than usual. The weather had been fair and cool for the season.

As to the state of the atmosphere when

the darkness came on, it was observable that the weight or gravity of it was gradually decreasing, the greater part of the day. According to the observations made at Cambridge, Mass., the mercury in the barometer was found, at twelve o'clock, to stand at twenty-nine inches, seventy; in half an hour after, the mercury had fallen the one-hundredth part of an inch; at one o'clock, it was twenty-nine inches, sixty-seven; at three o'clock, it was at twenty-nine inches, sixty-five; at eight minutes past eight, it was at twenty-nine inches, sixty-four. A similar course of barometrical observations made, at the same time, in another part of the state, showed as follows: at six o'clock in the morning, the mercury in the barometer was found to be at twenty-nine inches, eighty-two; as soon as the darkness began to appear uncommon, that is, at ten minutes past ten, the mercury was found at twenty-nine inches, sixty-eight; at quarter before eleven—the time of the greatest degree of darkness in that part of the country—the mercury was at twenty-nine inches, sixty-seven, the darkness continuing in the same degree for an hour and a half; at fifteen minutes past twelve, the mercury had fallen to twenty-nine inches, sixty-five, and, in a few minutes after this, the darkness began to abate; the mercury remained in this state during the whole evening, without any sensible alteration. At half-past eight, it seemed to have fallen a little, but so small was the alteration, that it was attended with some uncertainty, nor did it appear to stand any lower three hours later.

From these observations, it is certain that, on the day when the darkness took place, the weight or gravity of the atmosphere was gradually decreasing through the whole day. Both of the barometers in use were instruments of superior workmanship, and consequently to be depended on as to the accuracy of their indications.

The color of objects that day, is another point of interest. It is mentioned, in the record of observations made with reference to this feature of the phenomenon, that the complexion of the clouds was compounded of a faint red, yellow and brown, —that, during the darkness, objects which commonly appear green, were of the deepest green, verging to blue,—and that those which appear white, were highly tinged with yellow. This was the character of the observations, as given by almost every one who made any record of the day's appearance. But Prof. Williams states that, to him, almost every object appeared tinged with yellow, rather than with any other color; and this, whether the thing was near, or remote from the eye.

Another element of peculiarity, in this remarkable scene, was the nature and appearance of the vapors that were then in the atmosphere. Early in the morning, the weather was cloudy; the sun was but just visible through the clouds, and appeared of a deep red, as it had for several days before. In most places thunder was heard a number of times in the morning. The clouds soon began to rise from the south-west, with a gentle breeze, and there were several small showers before eight o'clock; in some places there were showers at other hours, throughout the day. The water that fell was found to have an unusual character, being thick, dark, and sooty. One observer, in the eastern part of Massachusetts, states, in this connection, that the strange appearance and smell of the rain-water which people had saved in tubs, was the subject of universal and wondering remark. On examining the water, there was found a light scum upon it, which, on being rubbed between the thumb and finger, seemed to resemble the black ashes of burnt leaves; the water also gave the same strong, sooty smell, which characterized the air. A similar appearance, in this respect, manifested itself in other localities; it was especially exhibited on the Merrimac river, large quantities of black scum being seen floating upon the surface of that stream, during the day. In the night, the wind veered round to the north-east, and drove this substance towards the south shore; when the tide fell, the matter lay for

many miles along the shore, the width of the deposit being some four or five inches. An examination of a considerable quantity of this substance, in several places, failed to show anything of a sulphurous nature, either in its taste, color, or smell. Prof. Williams states that, being apprehensive as to whether there was not some uncommon ingredient in the air that day, he put out several sheets of clean paper in the air and rain. When they had been out four or five hours, he dried them by the fire. They were much sullied, and became dark in their color, and felt as if they had been rubbed with oil or grease; but, upon burning them, there could not be detected any sulphurous or nitrous particles.

The motion and situation of the currents or bodies of vapor in the atmosphere likewise exhibited some striking peculiarities. In most places, it was very evident that the vapors were descending from the higher parts of the atmosphere towards the surface of the earth. A gentleman who made some special observations bearing upon this point, mentions a very curious circumstance, as to their ascent and situation, namely, that at about nine o'clock in the morning, after a shower, the vapors rose from the springs in the low lands, in great abundance. Notice was taken of one large column that ascended, with great rapidity, to a considerable height above the highest hills, and soon spread into a large cloud, then moved off a little to the westward. A second cloud was formed in the same manner, from the same springs, but did not ascend so high as the first; and a third was formed from the same places, in less than a quarter of an hour after the second. About three-quarters of an hour after nine o'clock, these clouds exhibited a very striking appearance. The upper cloud wore a peculiar reddish hue; the second showed in some places or parts a green, in others a blue, and in others an indigo color; while the surface of the third cloud was almost white.

Of a somewhat singular nature, also, is the fact, as related by another, that, while the darkness continued, the clouds were in quick motion, interrupted, skirted one over another, so as to form—at least to the eye of the beholder—a considerable number of strata, the lower stratum being of an uniform height as far as visible; but this height was conceived to be very slight, from the small extent of the horizon that could be seen, and from this circumstance observed in the evening. A lighted torch, held by a person passing along the street, occasioned a reflection of a faint red or copper-tinged light—similar to a faint aurora borealis,—the apparent height at which the reflection was made, being some twenty to thirty feet. And it was generally remarked, that the hills might be seen at a distance in some directions, while the intermediate spaces were greatly obscured or darkened.

It would thus appear, from the statements now cited, as if the vapors, in some places, were ascending; in most, descending; and, in all, very near to the surface of the earth. To this it may be added, that, during the darkness, objects seemingly cast a shade in every direction, and, in many instances, there were various appearances or corruscations in the atmosphere, not unlike the aurora borealis,—though it is not stated that any uncommon exhibitions of the electric fire were witnessed during the day. In some accounts, however, it is mentioned that a number of small birds were found suffocated by the vapor; some were found dead, and some flew affrighted, or stupefied, into the houses.

In New Haven, Conn., there was a shower of rain, with some lightning and thunder, about daybreak in the morning, the rain continuing, with intervals, until after sunrise. The morning was cloudy and darkish; and the sun, rising towards the zenith, gave no increase of light, as usual, but, on the contrary, the darkness continued to increase until between eleven and twelve o'clock, at which time there was the greatest obscurity in that place. What little motion of the air there was just at this period, was nearly from the

south; though the atmosphere was as calm as the blandest summer morning. There was something more of a luminous appearance in the horizon, than in the hemisphere in general; also, a most marked liveliness of tint to the grass and other green vegetation; and a very noticeable yellowness in the atmosphere, which made clean silver nearly resemble the color of brass. At about twelve o'clock, noon, the singular obscuration ceased; the greatest darkness, at any particular time, was at least as dense as what is commonly called 'candlelighting,' in the evening. In the town of Hartford, and the neighboring villages, the phenomenon was observed with all its distinctive peculiarities; and, by some persons, the disc of the sun was seen, at the time of the greatest deficiency of light

CHANGE OF SCENE AFTER THE DARK DAY.

In Middlesex county, Mass., the peals of thunder were loud and frequent at six o'clock in the morning, attended with heavy rain; at seven o'clock, the rain and thunder had ceased, but the sky continued cloudy. Between nine and ten o'clock, the clouds were observed to thicken, and to receive continual accessions from the low lands. Before ten, the darkness had sensibly increased, till it became difficult to read an almanac in a room having two windows; at eleven o'clock, candles were lighted, and at half-past eleven the darkness was so great in the meeting-house, where a court was then sitting, that it was difficult to distinguish countenances at the smallest distance, notwithstanding the large number of windows usual in such buildings. At twelve, the darkness was greatest, and a little rain fell; in the street, the aspect was like that at the beginning of evening, as lights were seen burning in all the houses. The clouds were thinnest at the north; at the northeast, the clouds were very thick, and so low that hills could not be seen at the distance of half a mile; south-westerly, hills might be clearly seen at the distance of twenty miles, though the intermediate space was so shaded that it was impossible to distinguish woodland from pasture. At half-past twelve, the clouds, having been hitherto detached, began to concentrate at such an height, that all the hills became visible, and the country around exhibited a most beautiful tinted verdure; at one, the clouds became uniformly spread, and the darkness was not greater than is usual on a cloudy day. The same weather continued through the whole afternoon, except that the sun was seen for a few minutes, in some places, about three o'clock. At eight in the evening, the darkness was so impenetrably thick, as to render traveling positively impracticable; and, although the moon rose nearly full about nine o'clock, yet it did not give light enough to enable a person to distinguish between the heavens and the earth.

In the account of this phenomenon given by Dr. Tenney, of New Hampshire, an intelligent observer and writer, are some interesting details, gathered by him while on a journey to Pennsylvania, from the east. He repeats and confirms the state-

ment made by others, that. previously to the commencement of the darkness, the sky was overcast with the common kind of clouds, from which there was, in some places, a moderate fall of rain. Between these and the earth, there intervened another stratum, apparently of great thickness; as this stratum advanced, the darkness commenced, and increased with its progress till it came to its height, which did not take place till the hemisphere was a second time overspread—the uncommon thickness of this second stratum being probably occasioned by two strong currents of wind from the southward and westward, condensing the vapors and drawing them to the north-east.

The result of Dr. Tenney's journey,—during which he made the best use of his opportunities for information,—was, that the darkness appeared to be most gross in Essex county, Massachusetts, the lower part of the state of New Hampshire, and in portions of what was then the province of Maine. In Rhode Island and Connecticut it was not so great, and still less in New York; in New Jersey, the second stratum of clouds was observed, but it was not of any great thickness, nor was the darkness very uncommon; in the lower parts of Pennsylvania, no extraordinary scene was noticed.

Through the whole extent of country referred to, the lower cloud-stratum had an uncommon brassy hue, while the earth and trees were adorned with so enchanting a verdure as could not escape notice, even amidst the unusual atmospheric gloom that accompanied it. The darkness of the following evening was probably as deep and dense as ever had been observed since the Almighty fiat gave birth to light; it wanted only palpability to render it as extraordinary as that which overspread the land of Egypt, in the days of Moses. If every luminous body in the universe had been shrouded in impenetrable shades, or struck out of existence, it was thought the darkness could not have been more complete. A sheet of white paper, held within a few inches of the eyes, was equally invisible with the blackest velvet. And, considering the small quantity of light that was transmitted by the clouds, during the day, it is not surprising that, at night, a sufficient quantity of rays should not be able to penetrate the same strata, brought back by the shifting of the winds, to afford the most obscure prospect even of the best reflecting bodies. The denseness of this evening darkness was a fact universally observed and recorded.

In view of all the information contained in the various accounts of this day, it appears very certain that the atmosphere was charged with an unprecedented quantity of vapor,—from what primary cause has never been satisfactorily determined; and as the weather had been clear, the air heavy, and the winds small and variable for many days, the vapors, instead of dispersing, must have been constantly rising and collecting in the air, until the atmosphere became highly charged with them.

A large quantity of the vapors, thus collected in the atmosphere, on the day in question, was floating near the surface of the earth. Wheresoever the specific gravity of any vapor is less than the specific gravity of the air, such a vapor will, by the law of fluids, ascend in the air; where the specific gravity of a vapor, in the atmosphere, is greater than that of the air, such a vapor will descend; and where the specific gravity of the vapor and air are the same, the vapor will then be at rest,—floating or swimming in the atmosphere, without ascending or descending. From the barometrical observations, it appears that the weight or gravity of the atmosphere was gradually growing less, from the morning of the nineteenth of May, until the evening; and hence the vapors, in most places, were descending from the higher parts of the atmosphere, towards the surface of the earth. According to one of the observations cited, the vapors were noticed to ascend, until they rose to a height where the air was of the same specific gravity—a height not much above the adjacent hills,—and here they in-

stantly spread, and floated in the atmosphere. From these data, the conclusion is drawn, that the place where the vapors were balanced must have been very near the surface of the earth.

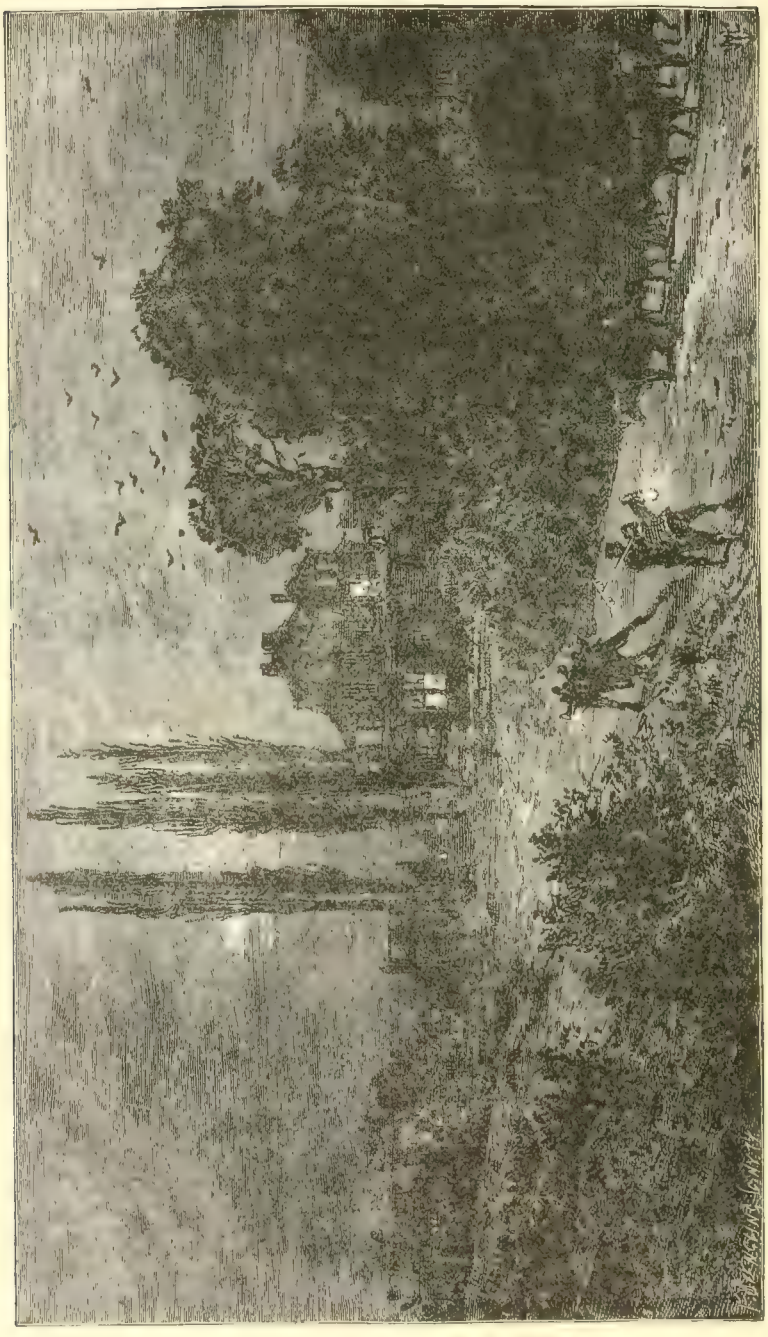
Reasoning from the premises thus set forth, Prof. Williams was of the opinion that such a large quantity of vapor, floating in the atmosphere, near the earth's surface, might be sufficient to produce all the phenomena that made the nineteenth of May, 1780, so memorable. Thus, the direction in which the darkness came on would be determined by the direction of the wind, and this was known to be from the south-west; the degree of the darkness would depend on the density, color, and situation of the clouds and vapor, and the manner in which they would transmit, reflect, refract, or absorb the rays of light; the extent of the darkness would be as great as the extent of the vapor; and the duration of it would continue until the gravity of the air became so altered that the vapors would change their situation, by an ascent or descent;—all of which particulars, it is claimed, agree with the observations that have been mentioned. Nor does the effect of the vapors, in darkening terrestrial objects, when they lay near the surface of the earth, appear to have been greater than it was in darkening the sun and moon, when their situation was higher in the atmosphere.

It being thus evident that the atmosphere was, from some peculiar cause (perhaps great fires in distant woods) charged, in a high degree, with vapors, and that these vapors were of different densities and occupied different heights,—the deduction is, that by this means the rays of light falling on them must have suffered a variety of refractions and reflections, and thereby become weakened, absorbed, or so reflected, as not to fall upon objects on the earth in the usual manner; and as the different vapors were adapted by their nature, situation, or density, to absorb or transmit the different kind of rays, so the colors of objects would appear to be affected by the mixture or prevalency of those rays which were transmitted through so uncommon a medium. This was the explanation suggested by Prof. Williams, though not to the exclusion of other theories.

But there were not wanting those—and a large number they were too—who gave play, in their minds, to the most strange opinions concerning the cause of so marvelous an appearance. It was imagined by some persons, that an eclipse of the sun, produced of course by an interposition of the moon, was the cause of the darkness —others attributed it to a transit of Venus or Mercury upon the disc of the sun—others imputed it to a blazing star, which they thought came between the earth and the sun. So whimsical, indeed, were some of the opinions which possessed men's minds at this time, that even so bare a vagary as that a great mountain obstructed the rays of the sun's light during that day, obtained advocates! Whether they thought that a new mountain was created and placed between the earth and the sun, or that a mountain from this globe had taken flight and perched upon that great luminary, does not appear.

That this darkness was not caused by an eclipse, is manifest by the various positions of the planetary bodies at that time, for the moon was more than one hundred and fifty degrees from the sun all that day, and, according to the accurate calculations made by the most celebrated astronomers, there could not, in the order of nature, be any transit of the planet Venus or Mercury upon the disc of the sun that year; nor could it be a blazing star—much less a mountain,—that darkened the atmosphere, for this would still leave unexplained the deep darkness of the following night. Nor would such excessive nocturnal darkness follow an eclipse of the sun; and as to the moon, she was at that time more than forty hours' motion past her opposition.

One of the theories, looking to a solution of the mysterious occurrence, which found defenders, was as follows: The heat of the sun causes an ascent of numerous particles



WONDERFUL DARK DAY, MAY 19, 1780.

which consist of different qualities, such as aqueous, sulphurous, bituminous, salinous, etc.; hence the waters of the seas, rivers, and ponds; the fumes of burning volcanoes, caused by subterraneous veins of liquid fire; all the other kinds of smoke—fat, combustibles, oily matter from various kinds of earth, the juice of trees, plants and herbs; salinous and nitrous particles from salt, snow water, and kindred sources; —these are exhaled into the regions of the air, where their positions are subject to various mutations or changes by reason of the motion and compression of the air, causing them to be sometimes rarefied and sometimes condensed. It was (according to this theory,) a vast collection of such particles that caused the day of darkness; that is, the particles, after being exhaled, were driven together by certain winds from opposite points of the compass, and condensed to such a degree by the weight of the earth's atmosphere, that they obstructed the appearance of the rays of the sun by day, and those of the moon by night.

Having thus presented the facts and circumstances pertaining to this notable day in the history of the New England or northern states, it may not be amiss to add, that a similar day of mysterious darkness occurred on October 21, 1716; the day was so dark, that people were forced to light candles to dine by,—a darkness which could not proceed from any eclipse, a solar eclipse having taken place on the fourth of that month. There was also a remarkable darkness at Detroit and vicinity, October 19, 1762, being almost total for the greater part of the day. It was dark at day-break, and this continued until nine o'clock, when it cleared up a little, and, for the space of about a quarter of an hour, the body of the sun was visible, it appearing as red as blood, and more than three times as large as usual. The air, all this time, was of a dingy yellowish color. At half-past one o'clock, it was so dark as to necessitate the lighting of candles, in order to attend to domestic duties. At about three in the afternoon, the darkness became more dense, increasing in intensity until half-past three, when the wind breezed up from the southwest and brought on a slight fall of rain, accompanied with a profuse quantity of fine black particles, in appearance much like sulphur, both in smell and quality. A sheet of clean paper, held out in this rain, was rendered quite black wherever the drops fell upon it; but, when held near the fire, it turned to a yellow color, and, when burned, it fizzed on the paper, like wet powder. So black did these powdery particles turn everything upon which they fell, that even the river was covered with a black froth, which, when skimmed off the surface, resembled the lather of soap, with this difference, that it was more greasy, and its color as black as ink. At seven, in the evening, the air was more clear. This phenomenon was observed throughout a vast region of country; and, though various conjectures were indulged in, as to the cause of so extraordinary an occurrence, the same degree of mystery attaches to it as to that of 1780,—confounding the wisdom even of the most learned philosophers and men of science.

It may easily be imagined, that, as the deep and mysterious darkness which covered the land on the memorable nineteenth of May filled all hearts with wonder—and multitudes with fear,—so, the return, at last, of that brightness and beauty characteristic of the month and of the season, brought gladness again to the faces of the young, and composure to the hearts of the aged; for never before did nature appear clothed in so charming an attire of sunshine, sky and verdure.

V.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL TO THE ARMY.—1783.

Affecting Interviews and Parting Words between the Great Chieftain and His Comrades-in-Arms.—Solemn Farewell Audience with Congress.—In Its Presence He Voluntarily Divests Himself of His Supreme Authority, Returns His Victorious Sword, and Becomes a Private Citizen.—History of the Election of a Military Leader.—America's Destiny in His Hands.—Appointment of George Washington.—The Army at Cambridge, Mass.—He Immediately Takes Command.—Is Enthusiastically Greeted.—Leads Its Fortunes Seven Years.—Record of His Generalship.—Ends the War in Triumph.—Scheme to Make Him King.—Indignantly Rebukes the Proposal.—Last Review of His Troops.—His Strong Attachment for Them.—Intention to Leave Public Life.—Congress Informed of this Fact.—Embarkation from New York.—Homage Paid Him Everywhere.—Arrival at Annapolis.—Proceeds to the Halls of Congress.—Impressive Ceremonial There.—Rare Event in Human History.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the theater of action, and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."—WASHINGTON'S RETIREMENT AS REVOLUTIONARY LEADER.

WASHINGTON'S SWORD.

THAT momentous object for which the War of Independence was for seven long years waged, under the supreme leadership of General Washington, having been achieved by the unconditional acknowledgment of that independence on the part of Great Britain, a cessation of hostilities was formally announced by congress to a rejoicing people. Washington's military course having thus honorably and successfully terminated, he, Cincinnatus-like, sheathed his sword, and surrendered his high commission to that power which had invested him with its authority. It will, therefore, not only be appropriate, but of peculiar interest, to link together, in one narrative, the circumstances attending his appointment to the responsible office of commander-in-chief of the revolutionary army, and that last great act—the Return of his Commission—in the stupendous drama of which he was the central figure.

To that sterling old patriot, John Adams, the credit of the wisdom of selecting Washington as military chieftain principally belongs. It was a question, on the decision of which hung the fate of the revolutionary cause; and in all parts of the country, among the people at large as well as in the more immediate circles of congress, by whom the great question was finally to be determined, the discussion as to who should be chosen as the nation's leader in the councils of war and on the battle-field, was universal. Mr. Adams states that in regard to this election, there was in congress a southern party against a northern, and a jealousy against a New England army under the command of a

New England general; but whether this jealousy was sincere, or whether it was mere pride and ambition—the ambition of furnishing a southern general to command the northern army,—was a matter of doubt. The intention, however, was very visible that Colonel Washington was their object.

The military ability which had been displayed, on different occasions, by Colonel Washington, were well understood, and, from the conspicuous positions in which he had thus been placed, and the sagacious judgment which was known to have characterized him in important emergencies, he had, for a long time past, enjoyed a fine reputation throughout the colonies, as a gallant and successful officer. He was only in a moderate sense a partisan, in the difficulties and discussions which had arisen between his own and the mother country; but, from the very first, he exhibited sufficient repugnance to any attitude of vassalage, on the part of his countrymen, to show that he would be no willing subject of coercion, should the pretensions of the British be attempted to be carried out by threats, or by recourse to arms.

When congress had assembled, Mr. John Adams arose in his place, and in as short a speech as the subject would admit represented the state of the colonies, the uncertainty in the minds of the people, their great expectation and anxiety, the distresses of the army, the danger of its dissolution, the difficulty of collecting another; and the probability that the British army would take advantage of these delays, march out of Boston, and spread desolation as far as they could go. He concluded with a motion, in form, that congress would adopt the army at Cambridge, and appoint a general; that though this was not the proper time to nominate a general, yet as there existed reasons for believing this to be the greatest difficulty, he had no hesitation to declare that there was but one gentleman in his mind for that important office, and that was a gentleman from Virginia—one of their own number, and well known to them all,—a gentleman whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents, and excellent general character, would command the approbation of all America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the colonies better than any other person in the Union.

Mr. Washington, who happened to sit near the door, as soon as he heard this allusion to himself, with his usual modesty, darted into the library room.

The subject came under debate, and several gentlemen declared themselves against the appointment of Mr. Washington, not on account of any personal objection against him, but because the army were all from New England, had a general of their own, appeared to be satisfied with him, and had proved themselves able to imprison the British army in Boston. Mr. Pendleton, of Virginia, and Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut, were very explicit in declaring this opinion. Mr. Cushing and others more faintly expressed their opposition, and their fears of discontent in the army and in New England. Mr. Paine expressed a great opinion of General Ward, and a strong friendship for him, having been his classmate at college, or, at least, his contemporary; but gave no opinion on the question. The subject was postponed to a future day. In the meantime, pains were taken out of doors to obtain a unanimity, and the voices were generally so clearly in favor of Washington, that the dissenting members were persuaded to withdraw their opposition, and Mr. Washington was nominated by Mr. Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, unanimously elected, and the army adopted.

His official commission was at once drawn up and presented to him; a copy of which most interesting document is given below:—

"*In Congress.* We the delegates of the United Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina,

To George Washington, Esquire:

We, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, conduct, and fidelity, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be GENERAL and COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces raised or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their services and join the said army for the defense of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. And you are hereby invested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service.

And we do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties.

And we do also enjoin and require you to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline and order to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers are duly exercised and provided with all convenient necessaries.

And you are to regulate your conduct in every respect by the rules and discipline of war, (as herewith given you,) and punctually to observe and follow such directions, from time to time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the said United Colonies, or a Committee of Congress for that purpose appointed.

This commission to continue in force till revoked by this or a future Congress.

By order of Congress.

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

Dated, Philadelphia, June 19, 1775.

Attest, CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary."

On the second day of July, 1775, Washington arrived in Cambridge, Massachusetts, accompanied by Major-General Lee, his next in command, and other officers, establishing his head-quarters at the mansion subsequently occupied by Longfellow, the elegant scholar and poet. At about nine o'clock on the morning of the next day, Washington, attended by a suitable escort, proceeded from his head-quarters to a great elm tree—one of the majestic natives of the forest,—near Harvard College, and where the continental forces were drawn up in military order. Under the shadow of that wide-spreading tree, Washington, moving forward a few paces, drew his sword as commander-in-chief of the American army, declaring that it should

THE WASHINGTON ELM, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

never be sheathed until the liberties of his country were established. The record of his services is the history of the whole war. Joining the army in July, 1775, he compelled the British to evacuate Boston in March, 1776; he then followed the British to New York, fighting the battle of Long Island on the twenty-seventh of August, and that of White Plains on the twenty-eighth of October. On the twenty-fifth of December he made the memorable passage of the Delaware, and soon gained the victories of Trenton and Princeton. The battle of Brandywine was fought on the eleventh of September, 1777, and that of Germantown, October fourth. February twenty-eighth, 1778, witnessed his "glorious and happy day," as he himself termed it, at Monmouth. In 1779 and 1780 he conducted the military operations in the vicinity of New York; after which, in 1781, he marched to Virginia to watch the movements of Lord Cornwallis, whom he forced to surrender at Yorktown, in October, by which great achievement he put an end to the active operations of the revolutionary struggle, and secured peace and independence to his country.

With the return of peace, and the achievement of independent nationality,

the wisdom and patriotism of Washington were to be severely tested, and in a most unexpected manner, in connection with the form of government to be adopted by the United States. The English government was regarded by many of the strongest American minds as, in most respects, a model one; and by many persons the English form of a constitutional monarchy was decided, especially by some of the army officers, to be the most promising, and thus far the most successful, experiment in government, and the one most likely to be adopted by America upon due deliberation. Universal dissatisfaction was felt with the proceedings and conduct of congress as a governing power, and therefore some agency superior to that, and of controlling prerogative, was proposed,—a head, like the English sovereign, with proper safeguards against usurpation. Circumstances, of course, indicated Washington as that head, and the next question naturally arose—under what official title should such a head rule? The officers around Newburgh who were associated in this scheme called a secret meeting, and finally determined on the title of KING, and Washington was informed of the fact. He spurned the gilded bribe of a king's crown, and promptly and sternly rebuked the abettors of the scheme in the following letter addressed to their leader:

"*Sir*,—With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment, I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, sir, no occurrence in the course of this war has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army as you have expressed, and which I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. For the present, the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary. I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of

WASHINGTON'S RESIGNATION.

myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. At the same time, in justice to my own feelings, I must add, that no man possesses a more serious wish to see ample justice done to the army than I do; and, as far as my power and influence, in a constitutional way, extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature."

In perfect keeping with the spirit in which Washington treated the dazzling offer thus so unexpectedly set before him, was the simplicity of his conduct in bidding adieu to his comrades-in-arms, and then presenting himself before congress, there to deliver up his sword, and voluntarily divest himself of the supreme command; — in the serene and thoughtful phraseology of his own words, "to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States, however widely dispersed the individuals who compose them may be, and to bid them an affectionate and a long farewell."

For the last time, he assembled them at Newburgh, when he rode out on the field, and gave them one of those paternal addresses which so eminently characterized his relationship with his army. To the tune of "Roslin Castle," — the soldier's dirge,—his brave comrades passed slowly by their great leader, and filed away to their respective homes. It was a thrilling scene. There were gray-headed soldiers, who had grown old by hardships and exposures, and too old to begin life anew; tears coursed freely the furrowed cheeks of these veterans. Among the thousands passing in review before him were those, also, who had done valorous service when the destiny of the country hung tremblingly in the balance. As Washington looked upon them for the last time, he said, "I am growing old in my country's service, and losing my sight; but I never doubted its justice or gratitude." Even on the rudest and roughest of the soldiery, the effect of his parting language was irresistible.

On the fourth of December, 1783, by Washington's request, his officers in full uniform, assembled in Fraunces's tavern, New York, to take a final leave of their commander-in-chief. On entering the room, and finding himself surrounded by his old companions-in-arms, who had shared with him so many scenes of hardship, difficulty, and danger, his agitated feelings overcame his usual self-command. Every man arose with eyes turned towards him. Filling a glass of wine, and lifting it to his lips, he rested his benignant but saddened countenance upon them, and said,—

"With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous as your former ones have been honorable and glorious." Having drunk, he added, "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you, if each of you will come and take me by the hand." A profound silence followed, as each officer gazed on the countenance of their leader, while the eyes of all were wet with tears. He then expressed again his desire that each of them should come and take him by the hand. The first, being nearest to him, was General Knox, who grasped his hand in silence, and both embraced each other without uttering a word. One after another followed, receiving and returning the affectionate adieu of their commander, after which he left the room in silence, followed by his officers in procession, to embark in the barge that was to convey him to Paulus's Hook, now Jersey City. As he was passing through the light infantry drawn up on either side to receive him, an old soldier, who was by his side on the terrible night of his march to Trenton, stepped out from the ranks, and reaching out his arms, exclaimed, "*Farewell, my dear general, farewell!*" Washington seized his hand most heartily, when

the soldiers forgot all discipline, rushed towards their chief, and bathed him with their tears. The scene was like that of a good patriarch taking leave of his children, and going on a long journey, from whence he might return no more.

Having entered the barge, he turned to the weeping company upon the wharf, and waving his hat, bade them a silent adieu. They stood with heads uncovered, until the barge was hidden from their view, when, in silent and solemn procession, they returned to the place where they had assembled. Congress was at this time in session at Annapolis, Maryland, to which place Washington now proceeded, greeted along his whole route with enthusiastic homage, for the purpose of formally resigning his commission. He arrived on the nineteenth of December, 1783, and the next day he informed congress of the purpose for which he had come, and requested to know whether it would be their pleasure that he should offer his resignation in writing, or at an audience. A committee was appointed by congress, and it was decided that on Tuesday, December twenty-third, the ceremonial should take place as follows:—

The president and members are to be seated and covered, and the secretary to be standing by the side of the president; the arrival of the general to be announced by the messenger to the secretary, who is thereupon to introduce the general, attended by his aids, into the hall of congress; the general, being conducted to a chair by the secretary, is to be seated, with an aid on each side standing, and the secretary is to resume his place. After a proper time for the arrangement of spectators, silence is to be ordered by the secretary, if necessary, and the president is to address the general in the following words: "*Sir*,—The United States in congress assembled are prepared to receive your communications." Whereupon the general is to arise and address congress; after which he is to deliver his commission and a copy of his address to the president. The general having resumed his place, the president is to deliver the answer of congress, which the general is to receive standing; the president having finished, the secretary is to deliver the general a copy of the answer, and the general is then to take his leave. When the general rises to make his address, and also when he retires, he is to bow to congress, which they are to return by uncovering without bowing.

When the hour arrived, the president, General Mifflin, informed him that that body was prepared to receive his communications. With a native dignity, heightened by the solemnity of the occasion, the general rose. In a brief and appropriate speech he offered his congratulations on the termination of the war, and having alluded to his object in appearing thus in that presence,—that he might resign into the hands of congress the trust committed to him, and claim the indulgence of retiring from the public service,—he concluded with those affecting words, which drew tears from the eyes of all in that vast assembly:

"I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping. Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the theater of action, and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

After advancing to the chair, and delivering his commission to the president, he returned to his place, and remained standing, while General Mifflin replied, reviewing the great career thus brought to a close, and saying, in conclusion:

"The glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate the remotest ages. We join with you in commending the interests of our country to Almighty God, beseeching Him to dispose the hearts and

minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you, we address to Him our warmest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all His care, that your days may be as happy as they have been illustrious, and that He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot bestow."

VI.

APPOINTMENT OF THE FIRST MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY, FROM THE NEW REPUBLIC TO THE ENGLISH COURT.—1785.

John Adams, America's Sturdiest Patriot, and the Foremost Enemy of British Tyranny, Fills this High Office —Interview between Him and King George, His Late Sovereign —Their Addresses, Temper, Personal Bearing, and Humorous Conversation.—The Two Men Rightly Matched Against Each Other.—Old Animosities Unhealed —Mutual Charges of False Dealing.—Settlement Demanded by the United States.—What Adams's Mission Involved.—Dismemberment of the British Realm.—Loss of the Fairest Possession.—Bitter Pill for the King.—His Obstinacy Forced to Yield.—Humiliation of the Proud Monarch.—All Europe Watches the Event.—Mr. Adams Presented at Court.—Patriot and King Face to Face.—Official Address by the Minister.—Reply of King George.—His Visible Agitation.—Adams's Presence of Mind.—Pays His Homage to the Queen —Her Majesty's Response.—Civilities by the Royal Family.—Results of this Embassy.—Pitiable Position of George the Third.—Fatal Error of Great Britain.

"I must avow to your majesty, I have no attachment but to my own country."—JOHN ADAMS TO KING GEORGE.
"An honest man will have no other."—THE KING'S INSTANT REPLY.

AMITY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

SO deep-seated and festering were the old animosities between America and the mother country, that, scarcely had the war of the revolution terminated, when the two nations reciprocally charged each other with violating the treaty of peace. The United States were accused of having infringed those articles which contained agreements respecting the payment of debts, the confiscation of property, and prosecution of individuals for the part taken by them during the war. On the other hand, the English were charged with violating that article which stipulated against the destruction or carrying away of any description of American property; the king was also complained of, for still retaining possession of the posts on the American side of the great lakes, thus influencing the Indian tribes to hostility; and, above all other sources and causes of complaint, in the conduct of Great Britain, was her rigorous and restrictive commercial system.

These growing misunderstandings between the two countries, discussed with such angry vehemence on both sides, threatened such serious consequences should their adjustment be much longer delayed, that congress determined upon the important step of

appointing, after the manner of independent nations, *a Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of Great Britain!*

In February, 1785, John Adams was duly accredited ambassador, to represent the United States at that court.

That George the Third was as obstinate a man as ever ruled a kingdom, no historian has ever questioned. Having struck at the rights and liberties of America, in order to add to the riches of his coffers, nothing could turn him from his determin-

ation to rule, or to ruin and destroy. To the suggestion that the king's rule over the colonies might be slightly softened or modified, Lord North despairingly replied: "It is to no purpose the making objections, for the king will have it so." But in no more forcible phrase could the king's arbitrary temper concerning his colonies be shown, that in that which fell from his own lips, in the presence of the new envoy, namely, "*I was the last man in the kingdom, sir, to consent to the independence of America.*"

Of all the opponents of British misrule, in the western world, John Adams was the earliest, ablest, most intrepid and untiring. It was John Adams, who, in 1775, in the memorable continental congress, at Philadelphia, suggested George Washington as commander-in-chief of the army that was to wage war against Great Britain—and, even before this crowning act, had sent across the Atlantic, ringing into the ears of the haughty monarch, the epithets *tyrant* and *usurper*.

The kingly ceremony of acknowledging the colonies independent took place, in conformity with previous arrangements, on the fifth of December, 1782, in the house of lords. The scene was one which drew together an immense and wondering crowd of spectators, conspicuous among whom was the celebrated admiral Lord Howe, who had just returned from a successful relief of Gibraltar, and who had now elbowed himself exactly in front of the throne, to listen, sadly, to his country's humiliation. The ladies of the nobility occupied the lords' seats on the woolsacks, so called, as an emblem of the power and wealth of old England, because it had been mainly derived from wool. The lords were standing here and there promiscuously. It was a dark and foggy day, and the windows being elevated and constructed in the antiquated style, with leaden bars to contain the diamond-cut panes of glass, augmented the gloom. The walls were also hung with dark tapestry, representing the defeat of the great Spanish armada. The celebrated American painters, West and Copley, were in the throng, with some American ladies, also a number of dejected-looking American royalists. After a tedious suspense of nearly two hours, the approach of the king was announced by a tremendous roar of artillery. He entered by a small door on the left of the throne, and immediately seated himself in the chair of state, in a graceful attitude, with his right foot resting on a stool. He was clothed in the magnificent robes of British majesty. Evidently agitated, he drew slowly from his pocket a scroll containing his humbling speech. The commons were

summoned, and, after the bustle of their entrance had subsided, the thrilling moment arrived, when the speech was to be read. After some general remarks, usual on public occasions, he said:

"I lost no time in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting, as my inclination will always lead me to do, with decision and effect, whatever I collect to be the sense of my parliament and my people, I have pointed all my views and measures, in Europe, as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with the colonies. Finding it indispensable to the attainment of this object, I did not hesitate to go to the full length of the power vested in me, and therefore I now declare them"—here he paused, in evident agitation, either embarrassed in reading his speech, by the darkness of the room, or affected by a very natural emotion, but, recovering himself in a moment by a strong convulsive movement, he added—"*free and independent states.* In thus admitting their separation from the crown of this kingdom, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own, to the wishes and opinions of my people. I make it my humble and ardent prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire, and that America may be free from the calamities which have formerly proved, in the mother country, how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interests, and affection may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries."

It was universally remarked of King George, that, though celebrated for reading his speeches in a distinct, composed, and impressive manner, he was on this occasion painfully lacking in his usual self-possession; he hesitated, choked, and executed the high but humbling duties of the occasion, in a manner which showed that he was deeply mortified.

Mr. Adams was at Paris when he received information of his appointment, in 1785, to confront his late king and royal master. In an account given by Mr. Adams himself, of his movements at this time, he says: At Versailles, the Count de Vergennes said he had many felicitations to give me upon my appointment to England. I answered that I did not know but it merited compassion more than felicitation. "Ay, why?" "Because, as you know, it is a species of degradation, in the eyes of Europe, after having been accredited to the king of France, to be sent to any other court."

"But permit me to say," replies the count, "it *is a great thing to be the first ambassador from your country to the country you sprang from.* It is a mark."

One of the foreign ambassadors said to me—

"You have been often in England."

"Never, but once in November and December, 1783."

"You have relations in England, no doubt."

"None at all."

"None, how can that be? you are of English extraction."

"Neither my father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, great grandfather or great grandmother, nor any other relation that I know of, or care a farthing for, has been in England these one hundred and fifty years; so that you see I have not one drop of blood in my veins but what is American."

"Ay, we have seen *proof enough of that.*"

In the month of May, Mr. Adams transferred himself and family to the other side of the channel, prepared to undertake the new duties to which he had been appointed. The first thing to be done was to go through the ceremony of presentation to the sovereign; to stand face to face with the man whom he had for the first forty years of his life habitually regarded as his master, and who never ceased to regard him, and the rest of his countrymen, as no better than successful rebels

against his legitimate authority. In his dispatch to Mr. Jay, then American secretary of foreign affairs, Mr. Adams gave the following very interesting account of this meeting:—

At one o'clock on Wednesday, the first of June, 1785, the master of ceremonies called at my house, and went with me to the secretary of state's office, in Cleveland Row, where the Marquis of Carmarthen received and introduced me to Mr. Frazier, his under secretary, who had been, as his lordship said, uninterruptedly in that office, through all the changes in administration, for thirty years. After a short conversation, Lord Carmarthen invited me to go with him in his coach to court. When we arrived in the ante-chamber, the master of ceremonies introduced him, and attended me while the secretary of state went to take the commands of the king. While I stood in this place, where it seems all ministers stand upon such occasions, always attended by the master of ceremonies, the room was very full of ministers of state, bishops, and all other sorts of courtiers, as well as the next room, which is the king's bed-chamber. You may well suppose I was the focus of all eyes. I was relieved, however, from the embarrassment of it, by the Swedish and Dutch ministers, who came to me and entertained me with a very agreeable conversation during the whole time. Some other gentlemen, whom I had seen before, came to make their compliments to me, until the Marquis of Carmarthen returned and desired me to go with him to his majesty. I went with his lordship through the levee room into the king's closet. The door was shut, and I was left with his majesty and the secretary of state alone. I made the three reverences: one at the door, another about halfway, and another before the presence, according to the usage established at this and all the northern courts of Europe, and

FIRST MINISTER TO ENGLAND. RECEPTION OF JOHN ADAMS.

then I addressed myself to his majesty in the following words:

"SIRE: The United States have appointed me minister plenipotentiary to your majesty, and have directed me to deliver to your majesty this letter, which contains the evidence of it. It is in obe-

John Adams

dience to their express commands, that I have the honor to assure your majesty of their unanimous disposition and desire to cultivate the most friendly and liberal intercourse between your majesty's subjects and their citizens, and of their best wishes for your majesty's health and happiness, and for that of your family.

The appointment of a minister from the United States to your majesty's court will form an epoch in the history of England and America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens, in having the distinguished honor to be the first to stand in your majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character, and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men, if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection; or, in better words, 'the old good nature and the good old humor,' between people who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, a kindred blood. I beg your majesty's permission to add, that, although I have sometimes before been instructed by my country, it was never in my whole life in a manner so agreeable to myself."

The king listened to every word I said, with dignity, it is true, but with apparent emotion. Whether it was my visible agitation, for I felt more than I could express, that touched him, I cannot say; but he was much affected, and answered me with more tremor than I had spoken with, and said—

"SIR: The circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered so justly adapted to the occasion, that I not only receive with pleasure the assurance of the friendly disposition of the United States, but I am glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their minister. I wish you, sir, to believe, that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do, by the duty which I owed my people. I will be frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation; but the separation having become inevitable, I have always said, as I now say, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power. The moment I see such sentiments and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give this country the preference, that moment I shall say, let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood, have their natural, full effect."

The king then asked me whether I came last from France; upon my answering in the affirmative, he put on an air of familiarity, and, smiling, or rather laughing, said—

"There is an opinion among some people that you are not the most attached of all your countrymen to the manners of France."

"That opinion, sir, is not mistaken; *I must avow to your majesty, I have no attachment but to my own country.*"

The king replied as quick as lightning—

"*An honest man will have no other.*"

The king then said a word or two to the

secretary of state, which, being between them, I did not hear, and then turned round and bowed to me, as is customary with all kings and princes when they give the signal to retire. I retreated, stepping backwards, as is the etiquette, and making my last reverence at the door of the chamber.

Mr. Adams was yet to pay his first court of homage to the queen. He was presented to her on the ninth of June, by Lord Allesbury, her lord-chamberlain,—having first been attended to his lordship and introduced to him by the master of the ceremonies. The queen was accompanied by her ladies-in-waiting, and Mr. Adams made his compliments to her majesty in the following words:

"MADAM,—Among the many circumstances which have rendered my mission to his majesty desirable to me, I have ever considered it a principal one, that I should have an opportunity of paying my court to a great queen, whose royal virtues and talents have ever been acknowledged and admired in America, as well as in all the nations of Europe, as an example to princesses and the glory of her sex.

Permit me, madam, to recommend to your majesty's royal goodness a rising empire and an infant virgin world.

Another Europe, madam, is rising in America. To a philosophical mind, like your majesty's, there cannot be a more pleasing contemplation, than the prospect of doubling the human species, and augmenting, at the same time, their prosperity and happiness. It will, in future ages, be the glory of these kingdoms to have peopled that country, and to have sown there those seeds of science, of liberty, of virtue, and permit me, madam, to add, of piety, which alone constitute the prosperity of nations and the happiness of the human race.

After venturing upon such high insinuations to your majesty, it seems to be descending too far, to ask, as I do, your majesty's royal indulgence to a person who is indeed unqualified for courts, and who owes his elevation to this distinguished honor of standing before your majesty, not to any circumstances of illustrious birth, fortune, or abilities, but merely to an ardent devotion to his native country, and some little industry and perseverance in her service."

To this address of Mr. Adams, the queen answered, in the accustomed royal brevity, as follows:

"I thank you, sir, for your civilities to me and my family, and am glad to see you in this country."

The queen then asked Mr. Adams if he had provided himself with a house, to which question answer was made that he had agreed for one that morning. She then made her courtesy, and the envoy made his reverence, retiring at once into the drawing-room, where the king, queen, princess royal, and the younger princess, her sister, all spoke to the new minister very courteously.

But, notwithstanding the memorable historical bearings of this mission of the great American statesman, as first ambassador of the new-born republic, to his late august sovereign,—a mission which riveted the attention of the civilized world,—and although George the Third had submitted with dignity to the painful necessity of such a meeting, the embassy was attended with no permanently favorable result either to America or to Mr. Adams. Indeed, of the many humiliations which befell the unhappy George, perhaps few were felt so bitterly as this almost compulsory interview with the representative of a people, once his subjects, afterwards rebels, and now free. Well and truthfully has the historian said, that, in the conduct of the king, on this occasion, the obvious wisdom of conciliating the young and rising nation on the western side of the Atlantic was forgotten, and the error of supercilious neglect was preferred. Throughout the whole political history of Great Britain this marked fault may be traced in its relations with foreign nations, but it never showed itself in more striking colors than during the first half century after the independence of the United States. The effects of the mistake then committed have been perceptible ever since.

VII.

FIRST ORGANIZED REBELLION IN THE UNITED STATES.—1786.

Daniel Shays, at the Head of an Armed and Desperate Force, Boldly Defies the State and Federal Laws in Massachusetts.—"Taxation and Tyranny" the Alleged Grievances.—Alarming Disaffection Throughout all New England.—Bad Leaders and Furious Mobs.—Rout of the Insurgents, by General Lincoln, in the Dead of Winter.—Patriotic Old Massachusetts in a Ferment.—Causes of Public Discontent.—Total Exhaustion of Credit.—Prostration of Trade.—Ruinous Debts, Heavy Taxation.—Weakness of the Government.—An Excited Populace.—Turbulence and Lawlessness.—All Authority Spurned.—A Bloody Conflict Invited.—Courts of Justice Broken Up.—Indignation of Washington.—Heroism on the Bench.—The National Forces Augmented.—Fears of a General Civil War.—Unscrupulousness of Shays.—Intention to Seize the Capital.—Governor Bowdoin's Defenses.—General Lincoln in Command.—Active Movement of His Troops.—A Terrible Snow-Storm.—Hardships of Shays's Army.—Federal Bayonets Triumphant.

SCENE IN SHAYS'S REBELLION.

"Sirs, I shall sit here as a judge, or die here as a general!"—Reply of General Cobb, a Massachusetts Judge, to a Summons to Dissolve his Court.

ONE of the most noteworthy facts in the history of the early period—the first decade—of the American Republic, is, that in the state of Massachusetts, the state which had been foremost in the war of independence against Great Britain, occurred the first instance of armed and organized rebellion against the situation and conduct of public affairs consequent upon the changed character of the government and its administrators. It will be necessary, however, not only in behalf of the consistency of popular government, but as vindicating the patriotic old commonwealth in question from any imputation of lawless proclivities, to narrate, first, some of the peculiar circumstances which brought distress to a large class of citizens, and provoked political discontent, finally culminating in bloody sedition.

For a considerable period after the people of the United States had secured peace, through British acknowledgment of their independence, was the exhausting effect felt by them, of their exertions in so hard-fought and prolonged a contest. The popular enthusiasm, excited by a victorious termination of the struggle, began to subside, and the sacrifices of the revolution soon became known and felt. The claims of those who toiled, and fought, and suffered in the arduous contest, were strongly urged, and the government had neither resources nor power to satisfy or to silence them. The wealth

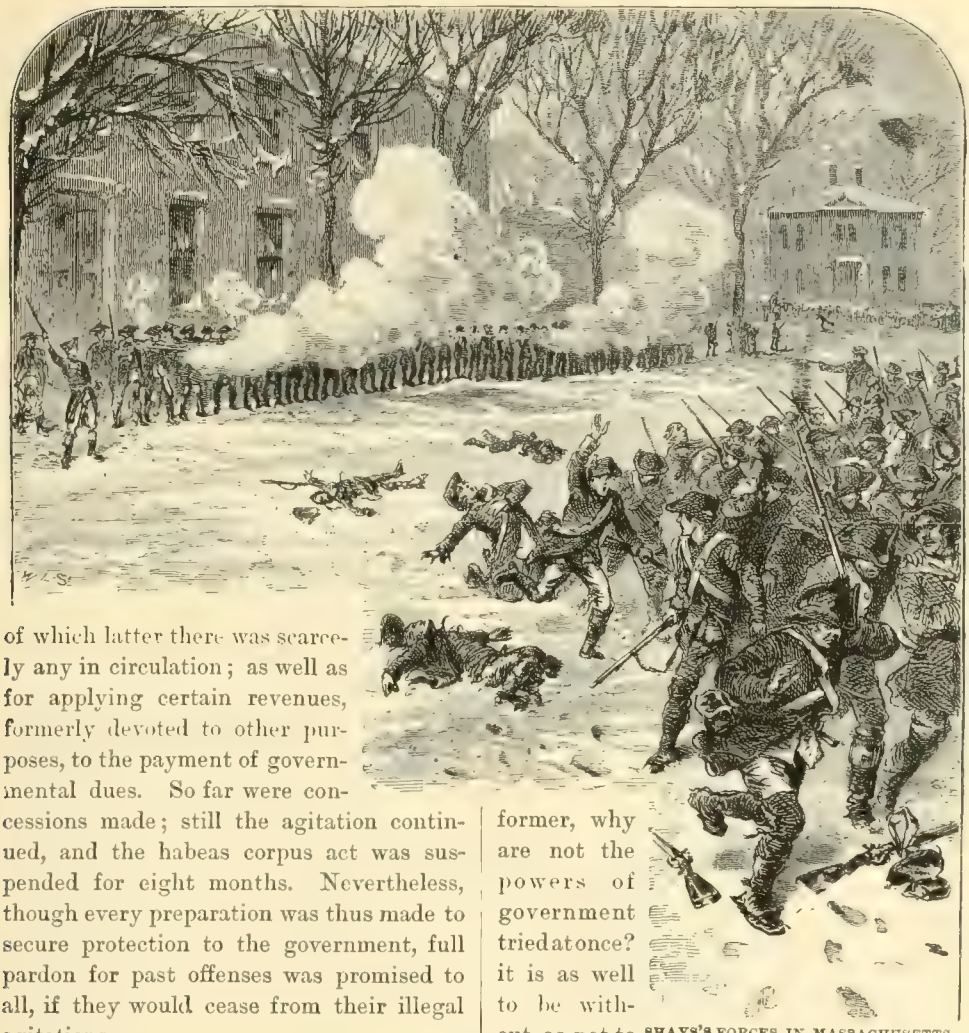
of the country had been totally exhausted during the revolution, and, worse than all, the public credit had become so shaken and prostrated as to be a mere by-word, at home and abroad, no matter what might be the pledges of security proffered. Taxes could not be collected, because—even if for no other reason,—there was no money to represent the value of the little personal property which had not been, and the land which could not be, destroyed; and commerce, though preparing to burst from its thraldom, had not yet had time to restore to the annual produce of the country its exchangeable value. The states owed each a heavy debt for local services rendered during the revolution, for which it was bound to provide, and each had its own domestic government to support.

The causes of discontent which thus existed after the restoration of peace, in every part of the Union, were perhaps nowhere more operative than in New England, growing out of the following circumstances: The great exertions which had been put forth by those states in the course of the war, had accumulated a mass of debt, the taxes for the payment of which were felt as peculiarly burdensome, because the fisheries of this people had become so unproductive. This important branch of industry, which, before the revolutionary war, had in some measure compensated for the want of those rich staples that were possessed by the middle and southern colonies, had been unavoidably neglected during the struggle for independence; and, as a consequence of that independence, had not only been deprived of the encouragements under which it had flourished, but its produce was excluded from markets which had formerly been opened to it. The restlessness produced by the uneasy situation of individuals, together with lax notions concerning public and private faith, and erroneous opinions, tended to confound liberty with an exemption from legal control.

This turbulent spirit was carried out and encouraged, with great effect upon the minds of the populace, by public conventions, which, after voting their own constitutionality, and assuming the name and authority of the people, arrayed themselves against the regular legislative power, and declared in the most exciting language the grievances by which they alleged themselves to be oppressed.

Reckless and desperate, a body of malcontents entered the legislative chamber at Exeter, New Hampshire, and deliberately overpowered and made prisoners the general assembly of the state; the citizens, however, rose and crushed the movement in a few hours.

But the center of this spirit of lawless violence throughout New England, culminated in 1786, in the state of Massachusetts, where, on account of the calamitous interruption of the regular trades and occupations, on land and sea, a vast number of the male population, principally young men, became impoverished, and were thrown upon society. The general court, or legislature, of Massachusetts, had found it necessary to impose taxes which, perhaps, in any case would have been ill-received, but which, in the existing state of feeling and social disorganization, led to general resistance and open rebellion. The discontented, led on by ambitious and unprincipled leaders, provided themselves with arms of every description; they had seen the country free itself from the tyranny of Britain by these means, and now they were about to try the same against what they considered the tyranny of their own government. Things continued to go on in this way for some time, when, the number of the malcontents becoming so large and formidable, the militia were called out to protect the sittings of the courts, which it was the object of the insurgents to prevent; and so conciliatory and considerate was the government, that their grievances were made the subject of repeated and anxious counsel, and as much as possible redressed. Bills were passed for diminishing legal costs, law charges being at that time enormous; and for allowing the payment of taxes and private debts in specific articles instead of coin,



SHAYS'S FORCES IN MASSACHUSETTS.

of which latter there was scarcely any in circulation; as well as for applying certain revenues, formerly devoted to other purposes, to the payment of governmental dues. So far were concessions made; still the agitation continued, and the habeas corpus act was suspended for eight months. Nevertheless, though every preparation was thus made to secure protection to the government, full pardon for past offenses was promised to all, if they would cease from their illegal agitations.

Doubtless, but for the daring and desperation of one man, Daniel Shays, order would have been restored.

Great anxiety filled the minds of the patriotic statesmen throughout the country, at this state of anarchy; and from the bosom of Washington, in especial, there went forth utterances of profound indignation and alarm. "For God's sake tell me," said he in a letter to Colonel Humphreys, "what is the cause of all these commotions? do they proceed from licentiousness, British influence disseminated by the tories, or real grievances which admit of redress? if the latter, why was redress delayed until the public mind had become so much agitated? if the former, why are not the powers of government tried at once? it is as well to be without, as not to exercise them. Commotions of this sort, like snowballs, gather strength as they roll, if there is no opposition in the way to divide and crumble them." Such was Washington's horror of this Massachusetts tumult.

Colonel Humphreys, while acknowledging his inability to give any adequate explanation of the cause and origin of the difficulties, yet gave it as his opinion that they were attributable to all the three causes which Washington had suggested —that, in Massachusetts particularly, there were a few real grievances, and also some wicked agents or emissaries who made it their business to magnify every existing evil, and to foment causeless jeal-

ousies and commotions. Under the influence of such examples, it was plain to see that there had become prevalent among many of the people a licentious spirit, a leveling principle, a desire of change, and a wish to annihilate all debts, both public and private.

The force of this party throughout New England was computed at twelve or fifteen thousand men, chiefly of the young and active part of the community, who were more easily collected than kept together. Many of these were desperate and unprincipled, opposed to all good government and legal discipline, and consequently ready, when any demagogue should light the spark of violence, to commit overt acts of treason and bring on a bloody civil war. This state of things alarmed greatly the friends of law and order, and made them firm in the conviction that there needed to be established, above all things, a government for the people of the United States, which should have the power to protect them in their lawful pursuits, and which would be efficient in cases of internal commotions, or foreign invasions, — a government resting upon liberty, and regulated by laws firmly administered.

Daniel Shays.

The mob spirit grew more and more rampant in Massachusetts, and, in spite of the vigilance which the authorities now put forth, generally succeeded in its demonstrations of violence, and in thwarting the plans of that faithful and energetic chief magistrate, Governor Bowdoin. In one instance, however, at least, their proceedings in this respect were summarily brought to a stand. This was in the town of Taunton, where Judge Cobb, formerly an officer under Washington, and still one of the state-militia generals, was holding a court session at the time. On the arrival of the insurgents at the court-house, General Cobb promptly confronted them, and, after exhorting them to render that obedience to the laws which is binding on every citizen, emphatically declared to them, "*Sirs! I shall sit here as a judge, or die here as a general!*" Knowing him to be a man who knew his rights and would maintain them at any cost, the mob, though more numerous than the force that General Cobb could summon, concluded that the safest course for them to pursue was to disperse.

Ostensibly on account of the danger which threatened the frontiers, but really, it would seem, with a view to the situation of affairs in Massachusetts, congress had agreed to augment the military establishment to a much larger and more effective standard, and had detached the secretary of war, General Knox, to the eastward, with directions to concert measures with the government of the state for the safety of the public arsenals. So unfavorable, indeed, was the aspect of affairs, that fears were seriously entertained that the torch of civil discord, about to be lighted up in Massachusetts, would communicate its flame to all New England, and perhaps spread the conflagration throughout the Union.

A few of the agitators having, at length, been seized and lodged in Boston jail,— the details of which will be found more particularly narrated on a subsequent page, —the exasperation of their associates was greatly increased, and in a short time they organized themselves as an armed force, under the command of Daniel Shays, Luke Day, and Eli Parsons; but some little time elapsed before the state was fully prepared to show its military power, though the riotous interference with the

courts of justice was repeatedly enacted. In the account of these proceedings given by that excellent and most reliable historian, Mr. Lossing, it is stated that, while the legislature was in session, early in November, there were indications that an attempt would be made to interfere with the sittings of the supreme court about to be held in Middlesex county. General Brooks, a gallant officer of the revolution, in command of the militia of that district, was ordered to have a strong force in readiness to march to Cambridge if necessary. Among those summoned, and held in readiness, were three regiments and four artillery companies of Middlesex county, and one company of infantry and one of artillery, in Boston. This formidable display made the Middlesex malcontents invisible and silent at that time. Brooks was a fine officer, and had showed himself a gallant adherent of the commander-in-chief during the conspiracy or mutiny which took place in Newburgh camp at the close of the revolutionary war. Washington requested him to keep his officers within quarters, that they might not attend the insurgent meeting, his reply was—

"Sir, I have *anticipated* your wishes, and my orders are given."

"Colonel Brooks, this is just what I expected from you," was the reply of the chieftain, as he took the gallant colonel by the hand.

The legislature adjourned after a session of six weeks. Their dispersion was the signal for greater activity on the part of the insurgents. They held several meetings in the western counties, and severely censured the measures recently adopted by the legislature. They resolved, by acclamation, to resist the execution of the laws of the state; and everywhere, among unprincipled men, the most lawless and alarming spirit was manifested. The leniency of the governor was called cowardice. The acts of the legislature were denounced as instruments of tyranny. The people were excited by inflammatory appeals. They were incited to acts of violence, and the courts of justice were again interfered with. Toward the close of November, the sitting of the general court of sessions at Worcester was prevented by an armed mob, who, taught by demagogues, and believing that they owed no other obedience to government but in so far as they might approve its measures, declared that they had the right, if they chose, to dispense with all laws which were obnoxious to them, and that they intended to set the state authorities at defiance. In Hampshire and Middlesex counties, similar bold demonstrations were made. Governor Bowdoin perceived that the time for argument and persuasion was at an end, and that the safety of the commonwealth, now really in danger, must be secured by energetic measures. He accordingly issued a general order for the major-generals throughout the state to see that the militia, under their respective commands, were equipped, and ready to respond to any sudden demand for their services. This order inflamed the leaders of the malcontents and their deluded followers, and the insurrection now began to assume the alarming form of a rebellion. The leaders, expecting severe punishment in the event of failure, became desperate, and were ready to employ desperate measures for the accomplishment of their wicked scheme. They also hoped to secure a sufficient number of adherents or defenders to procure the governor's pardon in the event of their failure. They were doomed to be disappointed.

In December, a large number of the insurgents assembled at Concord, expecting to be joined by others from Bristol, Worcester, and Hampshire counties. Their object was to prevent the sitting of the court at Cambridge, the dictation of measures to the governor, and the suspension, for a time at least, of the usual processes of law. It is evident, that, while these objects were acknowledged, they intended, if possible, to seize the capital, take possession of the archives, and proclaim a provisional government. But the project failed, and three of the leading

traitors of Middlesex soon found themselves within the walls of a Boston jail. The sheriff, in the execution of his warrant for their arrest, was accompanied by a number of influential gentlemen and a company of Boston cavalry, who volunteered their services.

Shays and his followers, desperate but determined,—for success or utter ruin was the alternative presented,—turned their faces westward, and marched upon Springfield for the purpose of interfering with the sitting of the court appointed for the twenty-sixth of December, and, if strong enough, to seize the continental arsenal at that place. They arrived there on the twenty-fifth, took possession of the courthouse, and presented to the judges a written declaration that the court should not transact business. The powerless judges were compelled to submit.

Finding that the lenient measures which had thus far been taken by the legislature to subdue the violence of the insurgents only enlarged their demands,—that the pardon proffered to those who would return to their duty was rejected with scorn,—that the conciliating efforts of government only increased their audacity,—and that they were proceeding with more and more energy to marshal their military forces for an aggressive movement,—Governor Bowdoin, who had probably been restrained by the temper of the house of representatives from an earlier resort to the final extremity, at length determined, with the advice of council, on a vigorous exertion of all the powers he possessed, for the protection and defense of the commonwealth. Upwards of four thousand militia were ordered into service, and were placed under the command of the veteran General Lincoln, whose gallant military reputation, and well-balanced judgment, rendered him doubly capacitated for so critical and important a trust.

It was in the depth of an unusually severe winter, and which caused bitter suffering, that the troops thus raised in the eastern part of the state assembled near Boston, and marched towards the scene of action. Those from the western counties met in arms under General Shepard, an officer who had served with honor during the war of the revolution, and took close possession of the federal arsenal at Spring-

field. Before the arrival of Lincoln, a party of the insurgents presented themselves before the arsenal and demanded its surrender. Attempting to carry out their demand, General Shepard, after warning and entreating them to retire, fired upon them. The first discharge was over their heads; they took no notice of it. The second was into the ranks; a cry of "Murder!" arose, and all fled in confusion, leaving three men dead on the field and one wounded. Urging his march with the utmost celerity, Lincoln soon came up, and pressing the insurgent army, endeavored by a succession of rapid movements, in which the ardor of his troops triumphed over the extreme severity of the season, to disperse or bring it to action. But the insurgents fled to Pelham, where they posted themselves upon two hills, rendered almost inaccessible by the great fall of snow. They used all their address to produce a suspension of hostilities until an accommodation might be negotiated with the legislature,—believing, as they did, that, if they could keep up their influence until another choice of legislature and governor came around, matters might be molded to their liking. Shays now offered to lay down his arms on condition of general pardon, which Lincoln, however, was not empowered to grant. At length,

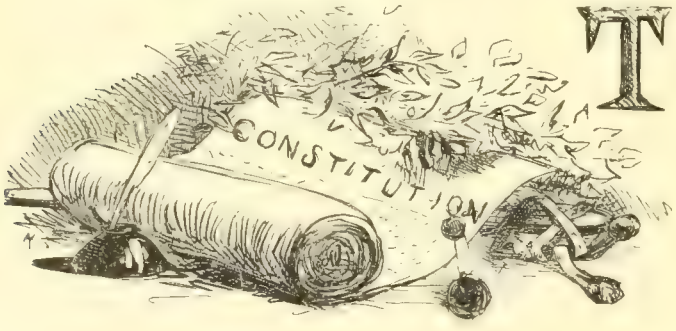
sorely pressed for food, a sudden retreat was made to Petersham. Discovering this, Lincoln set off at six in the evening, and marching all night, forty miles, through intense cold and a driving storm, reached Petersham by daybreak, to the astonishment of the rebels, who had not the least idea of this movement, and accordingly fled in dismay or were taken prisoners.

VIII.

FORMATION AND ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.—1787.

The United States no Longer a People Without a Government.—Establishment of the Republic on a Permanent Foundation of Unity, Organic Law and National Polity.—Dignity, Learning, and Eloquence of the Delegates.—Sublime Scene on Signing the Instrument.—Extraordinary Character of the Whole Transaction.—State of Things After the War.—Financial Embarrassment.—Despondency of the People.—Grave Crisis in Public Affairs.—A Grand Movement Initiated.—Plan of Government to be Framed.—All the States in Convention.—Washington Chosen to Preside.—Statesmen and Sages in Council.—The Old Compact Abrogated.—New Basis of Union Proposed.—Various Schemes Discussed.—Jealousy of the Smaller States.—Angry Debates, Sectional Threats.—Bad Prospects of the Convention.—Its Dissolution Imminent.—Franklin's Impressive Appeal.—Compromise and Conciliation.—Final System Agreed Upon.—Patriotism Rules all Hearts.—Ratification by the States.—National Joy at the Decision.

"Should the states reject this excellent Constitution, the probability is that an opportunity will never again be offered to cancel another in peace—the next will be drawn in blood."—REMARK OF WASHINGTON ON SIGNING THE CONSTITUTION.



ENROLLING THE CONSTITUTION.

THOUGH the close of the war of independence resulted in the establishment of a free nationality, it nevertheless brought anxious solicitude to every patriot's mind, and this state of apprehension and disquietude increased with each succeeding year. The state debts which had been incurred in anticipation of prosperous times, operated severely, after a while, on all classes in the community; to meet the payment of these debts, at maturity, was impossible, and every relief-act only added to the difficulty. This, and kindred troubles, financial and governmental, impressed the people with the gloomy conviction that the great work of independence, as contemplated in the revolutionary struggle, was only half done. It was felt that, above all things, a definite and organic form of government—reflecting the will of the people—should be fixed upon, to give energy to national power, and success to individual and public enterprise. So portentous a crisis as this formed another epoch for the display of the intellectual and political attainments of American statesmen, and the ordeal was one through which they passed with the highest honor, and with ever-enduring fame, at home and abroad. New men appeared on the stage of legislative council and action, and it was found that the quan-

tity of talent and information necessary in the formation period of a new republic had greatly increased in the various states. But, in especial, the great minds that achieved the revolution beheld with deep concern their country impoverished and distracted at home, and of no consideration among the family of nations.

A change was now to be wrought, the grandeur of which would be acknowledged throughout all lands, and its importance reach forward to the setting of the sun of time. The same hall which had resounded with words of patriotic defiance that shook the throne of King George and proclaimed to an astonished world the Declaration of Independence,—that same hall in which congress had continued to sit during the greater part of the momentous period intervening,—in the state house at Philadelphia, was soon to witness the assembling of such a body of men as, in point of intellectual talent, personal integrity, and lofty purpose, had perhaps never before been brought together. The curious student of this page in modern history has sometimes plausibly but speciously attributed to mere chance—instead of to that Providence which rules in the affairs of men—this timely and grand event. Thus, General Washington, having contemplated with great interest a plan for uniting the Potomac and the Ohio rivers, and by this means connecting the eastern and western waters, made a journey of six hundred and eighty miles on horseback, taking minute notes of everything which could be subservient to this project. His influence, and the real importance of the design, induced the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland to send commissioners to Alexandria to deliberate on the subject. They met in March, 1785, and having spent some time at Mount Vernon, determined to recommend another commission, which might establish a general tariff on imports. The Virginia legislature not only agreed, but invited the other states to send deputies to meet at Annapolis. In September, 1786, they had arrived from five only, and with too limited powers. A number of able statesmen, however, were thus assembled, who, feeling deeply the depressed and distracted state of the country, became sensible that something on a much greater scale was necessary to raise her to prosperity, and give her a due place among the nations. They therefore drew up a report and address to all the states, strongly representing the inefficiency of the present federal government, and earnestly urging them to send delegates to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787. Congress responded to this proceeding in February, by the passage of resolutions recommending the proposed measure,—but of which, perhaps, they did not then contemplate all the momentous results.

On the day appointed for the meeting of the convention, May fourteenth, 1787, only a small number of the delegates had arrived in Philadelphia. The deliberations did not commence, therefore, until May twenty-fifth, when there were present twenty-nine members, representing nine states. Others soon after came in, till the whole number amounted to fifty-five. Never, perhaps, had any body of men combined for so great a purpose—to form a constitution which was to rule so numerous a people, and probably during so many generations. The members, consisting of the very ablest men in America, were not unworthy of, nor unequal to, so high a trust.

Towering above all these men of might, in his world-wide fame and in the genius of his personal ascendency, was Washington, intrusted by the commonwealth of Virginia with the work of cementing together the sisterhood of states in one indissoluble bond of mutual interest, co-operation, and renown. And there was Rufus King, from Massachusetts, young in years, but mature in wisdom and brilliant in oratory; Langdon, from New Hampshire, strong in his understanding and readily mastering the most intricate details; Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, exhibiting the utmost zeal and fidelity in the performance of his official duties; Caleb Strong, from the same state, plain in his

CONVENTION AT PHILADELPHIA, 1787.

appearance, but calm, firm, intelligent, and well-balanced; Ellsworth, from Connecticut, elegant in his manners, and distinguished for his energy of mind, clear reasoning powers, and effective eloquence; Sherman, his colleague, a statesman and jurist whose fame has extended far beyond the western world; Hamilton, from New York, spare and fragile in person, but keen, active, laborious, transcendent in his abilities and of unsullied integrity; Livingston, from New Jersey, of scholarly tastes, uncompromisingly republican in his politics, and fearless in the expression of his opinions; Franklin, from Pennsylvania, one of the profoundest philosophers in the world, and, though now rising of fourscore years, capable of grasping and throwing light upon the most recondite questions relating to the science of government; Robert Morris, from Pennsylvania, the great financier, of whom it has been said, and with much truth, that 'the Americans owed, and still owe, as much acknowledgment to the financial operations of Robert Morris, as to the negotiations of Benjamin Franklin, or even to the arms of George Washington;' Gouverneur Morris, from the same state, conspicuous for his accomplishments in learning, his fluent conversation, and sterling abilities in debate; Clymer, distinguished among the sons of Pennsylvania, as one of the first to raise a defiant voice against the arbitrary acts of the mother country; Mifflin, another delegate from the land of Penn, ardent almost beyond discretion, in zeal for his country's rights and liberties; Dickinson, from New Jersey, a patriot, who, though the only member of the continental congress opposed to the Declaration of Independence, on the ground of its being premature, was nevertheless the only member of that body who immediately shouldered his musket and went forth to face the enemy; Wythe, from Virginia, wise, grave, deeply versed in the law, and undaunted in the defense of liberty for the the people; Madison, also from Virginia, talented, thoughtful, penetrating, one of the brightest ornaments of his state and nation; Martin, from Maryland, a jurist

of vast attainments and commanding powers; Davie, from North Carolina, of splendid physique, one of the master-minds of the country; Rutledge, from South Carolina, pronounced by Washington to be the finest orator in the continental congress; Pinckney, from the same state, a soldier and lawyer of unrivaled abilities;—and thus the record might go on, until it embraced all the names of this eminent assemblage of America's noblest patriots and most illustrious historic characters, "all, all, honorable men."

On proceeding with the organization of the convention, George Washington was nominated by Robert Morris to preside over its deliberations, and was unanimously elected. The standing rules were then adopted, one of these being that nothing spoken in the house be printed or otherwise published, or made known in any manner, without special permission. And in this connection, the following little episode, which has come to light, will doubtless be read as a refreshing reminiscence of the "secret" doings among those grave old worthies:

One of the members of the Georgia delegation was Mr. ——, a gentleman, the zeal of whose legislative mind and efforts sometimes quite ate up his attention to mere extraneous matters. Like all the rest of his associates in the assembly, he had been furnished with a schedule of the principal points of debate, or subjects of consideration, which were to be brought before the convention as constituting its business, and, in accordance with the parliamentary usage of secrecy, this programme of the convention's duties and deliberations was with especial care to be kept from disclosure during the period of its sittings. It happened, however, that one of the delegates unfortunately lost his copy of this official schedule or orders of the day. General Mifflin, one of the delegates from Pennsylvania, by good chance discovered the stray document, and, explaining the circumstances to Washington, placed it in the latter's hands, who, in silence and gravity, deposited it among his own papers. At the close of that day's proceedings, and just previously to the convention's rising, Washington, as presiding officer, called the attention of the assembly to the matter in question, in the following characteristic remarks:

"Gentlemen, I am sorry to find that some one member of this body has been so neglectful of the secrets of this convention, as to drop in the state house a copy of their proceedings—which, by accident, was picked up and delivered to me this morning. I must entreat gentlemen to be more careful, lest our transactions get into the newspapers, and disturb the public repose by premature speculations. I know not whose paper it is, but there it is (throwing it down on the table); let him who owns it take it."

But to proceed with the historical sketch of this most august body of modern legislators.

They had been appointed merely with a view to the revision or improvement of the old articles of confederation, which still held them precariously together as a nation; yet they had not deliberated long, when they determined that the existing compact or system of government must be swept away. The question, however, as to what should be substituted in its place, was one of extreme difficulty. Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, opened the great discussion by a speech in which he laid bare the defects of the confederation, and then submitted a series of resolutions embodying the substance of a plan of government—the same, in character, as that contained in letters written by Mr. Madison to Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Randolph, and General Washington, a few months previous.

The plan in question proposed the formation of a general government, constituted as follows: The national legislature to consist of two branches—the members of the first branch to be elected by the people of the several states, and the members of the second branch to be elected by the first branch, out of a proper number nominated by the state legislatures; the national legislature to have a negative on

all the state laws contravening the articles of union, and to have power to legislate in all cases where the states were incompetent; the right of suffrage in the legislature to be proportioned to the quota of contribution, or to the number of free inhabitants; a national executive to be chosen by the national legislature; a national judiciary, to consist of one or more supreme tribunals and inferior ones, the judges to be chosen by the national legislature; the executive, and a convenient number of the national judiciary, to compose a council of revision to examine every act of the national legislature before it should operate, and every act of a particular legislature before a negative thereon should be final; provision to be made for the admission of new states to the Union; a republican form of government to be administered in each state; provision to be made for amendments to the articles of union; the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers, or officials, of the several states, to be bound by oath to support the articles of union.

FRANKLIN PLEADING FOR PACIFICATION.

A good degree of favor was shown to Mr. Randolph's plan, but not sufficient to prevent other projects, conspicuous among these being one by Mr. Patterson, of New Jersey, and another by Alexander Hamilton, from being brought forward and urged by their respective friends,—all of these being republican in their general features, but differing in their details.

For some days, angry debates occurred which, but for *the timely and healing wisdom of Dr. Franklin,* the Mentor of the convention, would have ended in the breaking up of the body. As soon as there was an opening for him to speak, the doctor rose, and in a most impressive manner, said, among other things:

"It is to be feared that the members of this convention are not in a temper, at this moment, to approach the subject on which we differ, in a candid spirit. I would therefore propose, Mr. President, that, without proceeding further in this business at this time, the convention shall adjourn for three days, in order to let the present ferment pass off, and to afford time for a more full, free, and dispassionate investigation of the subject; and I would earnestly recommend to the members of this convention, that they spend the time of this recess, not in associating with their own party, and devising new arguments to fortify themselves in their old opinions, but that they mix with members of opposite sentiments, lend a patient ear to their reasonings, and candidly allow them all the weight to which they may be entitled; and when we assemble again, I hope it will be with a determination to form a constitution; if not such an one as we can individually, and in all respects, approve, yet the best which, under existing circumstances, can be obtained." (Here the countenance of Washington brightened, and a cheering ray seemed to break in upon the gloom of the assembly.) The doctor continued:

"Before I sit down, Mr. President, I will suggest another matter; and I am really surprised that it has not been proposed by some other member, at an earlier period of our deliberations. I will suggest, Mr. President, the propriety of nominating and appointing, before we separate, a chaplain to this convention, whose duty it shall be uniformly to assemble with us, and introduce the business of each day by imploring the assistance of Heaven, and its blessing upon our deliberations."

The doctor sat down, and never did a countenance appear at once so dignified and so delighted as that of Washington, at the close of this address. The motion for appointing a chaplain was instantly seconded and carried. The convention also chose a committee, by ballot, consisting of one from each state, to sit during the recess, and then adjourned for three days.

The three days were spent in the manner advised by Doctor Franklin. On re-assembling, the chaplain appeared and led the devotions of the assembly, and the minutes of the last sitting were read. All eyes were now turned to the venerable doctor. He rose, and in a few words stated, that during the recess he had listened attentively to all the arguments, *pro* and *con*, which had been urged by both sides of the house; that he had himself said much, and thought more, on the subject; he saw difficulties and objections, which might be urged by individual states, against every scheme which had been proposed; and he was now, more than ever, convinced that the constitution which they were about to form, in order to be just and equal, must be formed on the basis of compromise and mutual concession. With such views and feelings, he would now move a reconsideration of the vote last taken on the organization of the senate. The motion was seconded, the vote carried, the former vote rescinded, and by a successive motion and resolution, the senate was organized on the present plan.

On the seventeenth of September, the final debate closed, the last amendment was adopted, and the result of the convention's labors was the formation of a constitution establishing a national government on the following prescribed principles: That the affairs of the people of the United States were thenceforth to be administered, not by a confederacy, or mere league of friendship between the sovereign states, but by a government, distributed into the three great departments — legislative, judicial, and executive; that the powers of government should be limited to concerns pertaining to the whole people, leaving the internal administration of each state, in time of peace, to its own constitution and laws, provided that they should be republican, and interfering with them as little as possible in case of war; that the legislative power of this government should be divided between the two assemblies, one representing directly the people of the separate states, and the other their legislatures; that the executive power of this government should be vested in one person chosen for four years, with certain qualifications of age and nativity, and invested with a qualified negative upon the enactment of the laws; and that the judicial power should consist of tribunals inferior and supreme, to be instituted and organized by congress, the judges removable only by impeachment.

Thus, finally amended, the constitution was signed by all the members present, except by Messrs. Randolph and Mason, of Virginia, and Gerry, of Massachusetts. The scene is described as one of historic solemnity, rising almost to the sublime. When Washington, whose turn came first, was about to sign the instrument ordained to be henceforth—if ratified by the several states—the palladium of his country's national existence, and the formation of which he had watched over with such anxious solicitude, he rose from his seat, and holding the pen in his hand, after a short pause, pronounced these words:

"*Should the states reject this excellent Constitution, the probability is that an opportunity will never again be offered to cancel another in peace—the next will be drawn in blood.*"

And when, following the example of their illustrious leader, the other members of the convention appended their signatures, Doctor Franklin, with his eye fixed upon the presiding officer's seat, in the rear of which was the picture of a halo or sun, made the characteristic remark:

"I have often and often, in the course of the session, and in the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the president, without being able to tell whether it was rising or sinking; at length I have the happiness to know it is a rising and not a setting sun."

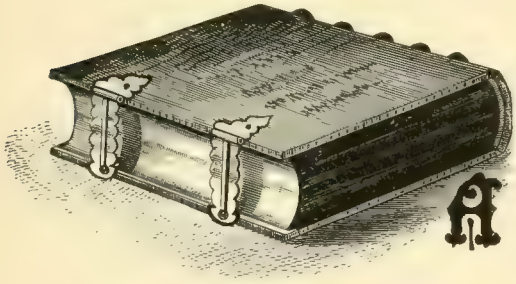
The convention, however, which framed the constitution, was not clothed with legislative power, nor was the congress of the confederation competent to accept it or reject the new form of government. It was referred by them to the several states, represented by conventions of the people; and it was provided in the instrument itself, that it should become the supreme law of the land, when adopted by nine states. It was not till the summer of 1788 that the ratification of nine states was obtained, beginning with Delaware, some by large, and some by very small majorities. The violence of the opposition party was in some sections very great, resulting, in New York, in tumultuous riots. Of the thirteen original states, Rhode Island was the last to accept the constitution, which she did in May, 1790.

The year of suspense, while the American people were debating the great question whether to accept or reject the constitution offered them by Washington and his associate compatriots, was, on the announcement of the result, succeeded by a national jubilee.

IX.

FIRST ELECTION AND INAUGURATION OF A PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.—1789.

Washington, "First in War, First in Peace, and First in the Hearts of his Countrymen," the Nation's Spontaneous, Unanimous Choice —His Triumphal Progress from Home, and Solemn Induction into Office —Jubilee throughout the Republic, over the August Event.—Auspicious Commencement of the National Executive Government —Requirements of the Constitution —A President to be Chosen. —Four Years the Term of Service.—All Eyes Fixed Upon Washington.—His Reluctance to Accept. —Reasons Given for this Course.—Urgent Appeals to Him.—The Result of the Election — One Voice and One Mind —He Bows to the People's Will.—Joy Produced by His Decision.—Departs at Once from Mount Vernon.—Farewell Visits to His Mother. - Inauguration Appointed for March Fourth.—Postponement to April Thirtieth.—Order of Ceremonies —New Spectacle in the Western World —Distinguished Celebrities Present.—Washington's Elegant Appearance.—Dignity when Taking the Oath —Reverentially Kisses the Bible.—Curious Customs Initiated.



WASHINGTON'S INAUGURATION BIBLE.

"Where shall the eye rest, weary of gazing on the great, where find a glory that is not criminal a pomp that is not contemptible? Yes, there is a man, the first, the last, the best of all, the Cincinnatus of the West, whom envy itself does not hate. The name of Washington is bequeathed to us to make humanity blush that such a man is alone in history."—LORD BYRON.

ACCORDING to the terms of the new federal constitution, which had now been assented to and ratified by the requisite number of states, a President of the United States was required to be elected for a term of four years; and, amidst all the discordances of political opinion respecting the merits of the constitution itself, there was but one sentiment throughout the country as to the man who should administer the affairs of the government. *All eyes were directed to* WASHINGTON, and at an early period his correspondents endeavored to prepare his mind to gratify the expectations of the people. Mr. Johnson, a distinguished patriot of Maryland, wrote him, "We can not do without you." Indeed, he alone was believed to fill so pre-eminent a place in the public esteem, that he might be called to the head of the nation without exciting envy; and he alone possessed in so unlimited a degree the confidence of the masses, that, under his auspices, the friends of the new political system might hope to see it introduced with a degree of firmness which would enable it to resist the open assaults and secret plots of its many enemies.

By almost all who were on terms of intimacy with Washington, fears were entertained that his earnest desire for private life and the improvement of his vast and long-neglected plantations, would prevail over the wishes of the public,—an acquiescence in which wishes was believed to be absolutely essential to the completion of that great work, the Constitution, on which the grandeur and happiness of America was deemed to

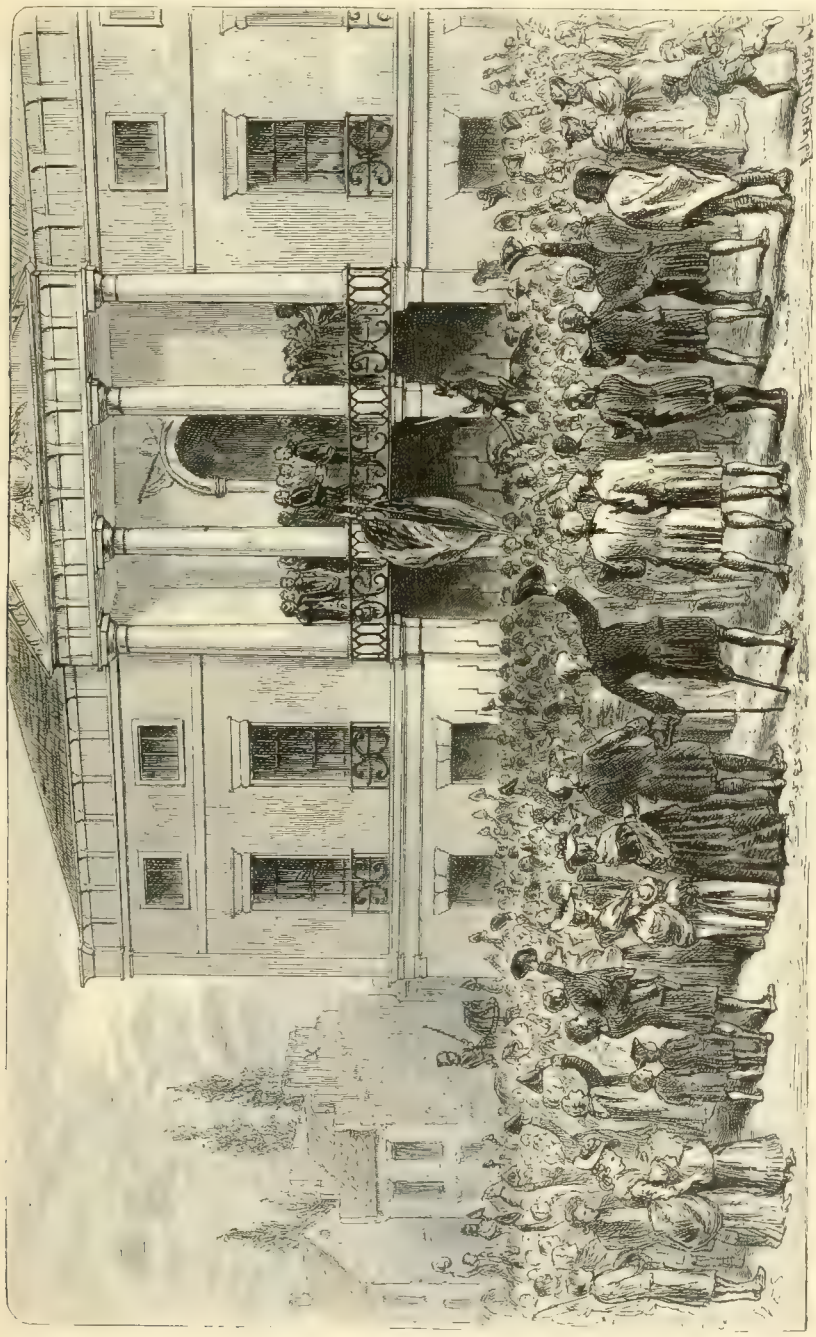
depend. The struggle, on his part, between inclination and duty, was long and severe, as is evident by the letters which he wrote on the subject, in response to the appeals and importunities constantly made by his friends. Colonel Lee, then a distinguished member of congress, communicating to Washington the measures which that body were adopting to introduce the government just ordained, thus alludes to the presidency: "Without you, the government can have but little chance of success; and the people, of that happiness which its prosperity must yield." So, also, Mr. Gouverneur Morris, a patriot who had been one of the most valuable members of congress during a great part of the war, and who had performed a splendid part in the general convention, wrote: "I have ever thought, and have ever said that you must be the president; no other man can fill that office." The great Hamilton likewise urged him to accept the office, and thus yield to the general call of the country in relation to its new and untried government. "You will permit me to say," wrote Hamilton, "that it is indispensable you should lend yourself to its first operations. It is to little purpose to have introduced a system, if the weightiest influence is not given to its firm establishment at the outset." Such arguments and entreaties as these poured in upon Washington from all quarters of the broad land, that he should consent to assume the presidential chair.

But the election had taken place, in obedience to the fundamental law; and at length, the votes for the president and vice-president of the United States were, as prescribed in the constitution, opened and counted in the senate. The result showed, that neither the animosity of parties, nor the activity of the enemies of the newly-formed government, could deprive General Washington of a single vote in the electoral college. By the voluntary and spontaneous voice of a great people, he was called to the chief magistracy of the nation. The second number of votes was given to Mr. John Adams, of Massachusetts. George Washington and John Adams were therefore declared to be duly elected president and vice-president of the United States, to serve for four years from the fourth of March, 1789.

At Mount Vernon, on the fourteenth of April, 1789, the appointment of General Washington as supreme executive of the republic was officially announced to him. This commission was performed by Mr. Charles Thomson, secretary of the late congress, who presented to him a certificate signed by John Langdon, president *pro tempore* of the senate, stating that he was unanimously elected.

Accustomed to respect the wishes of his fellow-citizens, Washington did not think himself at liberty to decline an office conferred upon him by the unsought suffrage of an entire people. His acceptance of it, and the expressions of gratitude he indulged in for this fresh proof of the esteem and confidence of his country, were mingled with declarations of extreme diffidence in himself. "I wish," he said, "that there may not be reason for regretting the choice, for, indeed, all I can promise is, to accomplish that which can be done by an honest zeal." In this spirit of devoted self-sacrifice, and realizing that the urgency of public affairs must require the immediate attendance of the president at the seat of government, he hastened his departure; on the sixteenth of April, therefore,—the second day after receiving the certificate of his election,—he bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity, and, in company with Mr. Thomson and Colonel Humphreys, proceeded to New York, where congress was then in session, to assume the administration of the new government. But, notwithstanding the weight of anxiety upon his mind concerning the public business, he did not omit to pay a parting visit to his venerable mother. Embracing his mother, Washington bowed his head upon her shoulder and wept, murmuring at the same time something of a hope that they should meet again. "No, George," she replied, "this is our last parting; my

days to come are few. But go, fulfill your high duties, and may God bless and keep you." She was then afflicted with a cancer, of which she died in her eighty-second year.



FIRST INAUGURATION OF A PRESIDENT.

Leaving Alexandria, he was accompanied by a throng of citizens to Georgetown, where the whole population turned out to do him honor. And thus it was, that, notwithstanding Washington wished to make a private journey, his desire could not be gratified. The public feelings were too strong to be suppressed. Crowds flocked around him enthusiastically wher-

ever he stopped; and corps of militia, and processions of citizens, attended him through their respective states. At Philadelphia, he was received by a concourse of the most distinguished personages of the city and state, and followed by thousands of people to a grand banquet, prepared for the occasion, where addresses and sentiments were interchanged, while the air was filled with the shouts of popular exultation, and with one universal acclaim, invoking blessings upon him. As he crossed the Schuylkill, a civic crown of laurel was, unperceived by him, let down upon his head by a youth who was concealed in the arch of evergreen which decorated the bridge. At night, the whole town was brilliantly illuminated, and all classes and ages spontaneously united in the happy festivities.

The next day, at Trenton, he was welcomed in a manner exceedingly novel and touching. In addition to the usual demonstrations of respect and attachment, which were given by the discharge of cannon, by military corps, and by private persons of distinction, the gentler sex prepared, in their own taste, a most unique tribute of their regard, indicative of the grateful recollection in which they held their deliverance twelve years before from an insulting enemy. On the bridge extending across the stream which passes through the town,—the place where Washington, at one time, made so gallant a surprise on the enemy of his country, and at another, so important a stand, and a retreat worth more than a victory,—a triumphal arch was erected, with evergreen and floral adornments, and supported by thirteen pillars similarly enwreathed. On the front was inscribed, in large golden letters: 'The Defender of the Mothers will be the Protector of the Daughters.' Over this, in the center of the arch, above the inscription, was a dome or cupola of evergreens and flowers encircling the dates of two memorable events, one of these being the bold and judicious stand made by the American troops, by which the progress of the British army was arrested on the evening preceding the battle of Princeton; the other was the date of Washington's glorious victory at Trenton, when nine hundred Hessians were made prisoners, and the horizon of American affairs was illumined by a radiance which never again wholly forsook it. On the summit of the arch a large sun-flower, as always pointing to the sun, was designed to express this motto,—'To You Alone.' The ladies had arranged themselves on the side of the street, between the arch and the town, with their daughters in front, to a very considerable number, all dressed in white, and decorated with floral wreaths and chaplets. Six of these held baskets of flowers in their hands, and, as soon as the general had passed under the arch, the beautiful choristers advanced, singing a sonnet composed for the occasion; as they sung the last lines they strewed the flowers before the general.

At Brunswick, he was joined by Governor William Livingston, of New Jersey, who accompanied him to Elizabethtown Point. On the road, the committee of congress received and attended him with much military parade to the point where he was to embark for New York. The embarkation took place in a magnificently-decorated barge, manned and rowed by thirteen branch pilots, attired in white. There were also other barges, filled with eminent dignitaries from all parts of the land.

Arriving at New York, the president was received by the governor of the state, and by an immense concourse of citizens, headed by the military. Multitudes of his old and faithful officers and fellow-patriots pressed around him to offer their congratulations, and to express the joy which glowed in their bosoms at seeing the man in whom all confided, at the head of the nation's affairs.

Thus it appears that the president's first arrival at the seat of government was a national ovation which showed, by its spontaneousness, enthusiasm, and unanimity, that all hearts and voices were united

in his favor. It was an occasion which excited the great heart of the people beyond all powers of description; the hand of industry was suspended, and the various pleasures of the capital were centered in a single and universal enjoyment. Many aged patriots were heard to say that they should now die contented, having had a sight of the Father of his Country.

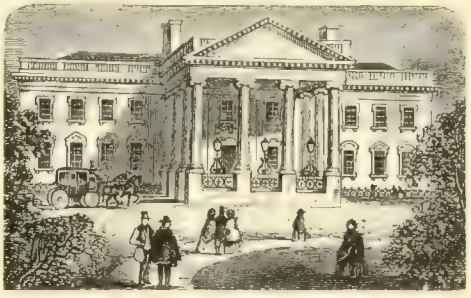
PRESIDENTIAL MANSION, 1789.

The fourth of March was the day which had been appointed for the new national government to commence operations, but so many impediments occurred that it was not until the thirtieth of April that this took place.

Vice-president Adams arrived in New York, escorted by a troop of horse, on the twenty-first of April, and, two days before Washington's arrival, took his seat as the constitutional presiding officer of the senate. On doing this, he addressed that body in a dignified speech adapted to the occasion, and warmly eulogistic of the new-born republic and its illustrious chief magistrate.

On Thursday, the thirtieth of April, 1789, the ceremony of Inaugurating the First President of the United States took place in New York, which at that time was the federal capital. Long before the hour arrived, the town swarmed with people; every tavern and boarding-house was full, and private residences teemed with guests and lodgers. Many persons are said to have slept in tents on 'the Common.' The Hudson was studded with boats bearing visitors, and long caravans of carts began to arrive before daybreak, from Westchester, Long Island, and the Jerseys. The ceremony of the day was ushered in by a salute fired from the battery. This was about six o'clock in the morning, and, even at this early hour, the streets were fast filling up. At nine, the church bells rang out a merry peal; at ten they summoned the worshipers to church, each pastor devoting the occasion to imploring Heaven's blessing upon the nation and the first president. General Washington had now been in the city a week, having arrived on the twenty-third. He was living in a private house, the property of Mr. Osgood, on the corner of Cherry street and Franklin square; but his household arrangements had not yet been perfected, as Mrs. Washington did not arrive for some little time, remaining at Mount Vernon until affairs were in a state of readiness for her presence at the new presidential mansion.

At eight o'clock, on this memorable morning, the sky was overcast, and the appearance was that of a gathering storm. Everybody noticed, however, that the moment the bells began to ring the sky cleared, and by the close of divine service the weather was serene and beautiful. At noon, the procession that was to conduct the president to Federal hall assembled in due style opposite his residence in Cherry street. There were the usual military companies—a troop of horse, one or two companies of grenadiers, a company of Highlanders, in kilts,—all the chief municipal officers, the congressional commit-



PRESIDENTIAL MANSION, 1876.

tees, and the new cabinet,—multitudes of distinguished citizens bringing up the rear. By this assemblage the new president was escorted to Federal hall, which stood at the head of Broad street, in Wall,

where the custom-house was subsequently built. The old building had been put in repair at a considerable expense, but it was still so rickety that cautious persons looked forward to the ceremony with uneasiness. The procession having arrived, and the hall occupied according to the programme, nothing remained but to proceed with the solemn formalities; and, when it is remembered that there was no precedent in history for the inauguration of a republican president, one can not but admire the striking dignity which characterized the whole occasion. At the door of the senate chamber, to which the eyes of the whole vast multitude were intensely directed, the vice-president met General Washington, and with consummate but unaffected ease and grace of manner said—

"*Sir, the senate and house of representatives of the United States are ready to attend you to take the oath required by the Constitution, which will be administered to you by the chancellor of the state of New York.*"

"*I am ready to proceed,*" was Washington's reply, made with his accustomed elegant dignity.

The vice-president now led the way to the outside gallery; the president followed, with as many of the high functionaries as could find room, and all were presently gathered on the balcony fronting on Wall street. Of the group, perhaps the most striking person was Chancellor Livingston, in a full suit of black, and, like Washington, one of the finest-looking men anywhere to be seen. Secretary Otis carried the Bible on a crimson cushion, and near him were Generals Knox and St. Clair, Roger Sherman, Hamilton, and other noted persons of revolutionary fame. At the proper moment, the chancellor administered the oath, with great deliberation and emphasis, to Washington, who, bowing down, seized the book, kissed it, and exclaimed, with closed eyes and much emotion—

"*I swear, so help me God!*"

"*It is done,*" the chancellor declared, and, turning to the crowd exclaimed, "*Long live George Washington, President of the United States!*"

This last-named declaration, on the part of the chancellor, was in imitation of monarchical custom. The error of this practice was, however, soon exposed and abandoned; but at this time, the crowd thought of nothing but the exciting solemnity of the scene, and many who demonstratively waved their hats were too overcome by emotion to join in the huzzas.

Of course, Washington was the observed of all observers in that mighty crowd, and his grandly-commanding figure made this both natural and easy, and so too did the construction of the balcony, conspicuously fronting the edifice, where the remarkable ceremony was performed. He was dressed in a complete suit of dark brown broadcloth, of American production, white silk long stockings, silver shoe-buckles upon his polished shoes, a steel-hilted dress sword, and his hair dressed and powdered according to the style then in vogue, and gathered up in a bag. This attire, it may be remarked, was Washington's personal choice. On the occasion of his second inauguration, however, Washington was dressed precisely as Stuart has painted him in Lord Lansdowne's full-length portrait—in a full suit of the richest black velvet, with diamond knee-buckles, and square silver buckles set upon shoes japanned with the most scrupulous neatness, black silk stockings, his shirt ruffled at the breast and wrists, a light dress-sword; his hair profusely powdered, fully dressed, so as to project at the sides, and gathered behind in a silk bag, ornamented with a large rose of black ribbon. He held his cocked hat, which had a large black cockade on one side of it, in his hand, while standing, but laid it on the table when he sat down.

Washington, on taking the oath, as administered by Chancellor Livingston, is said to have laid his hand upon that page of the Bible containing the fiftieth chapter of Genesis, opposite to which were two illustrations of the text, one being a picture of 'The Blessing of Zebulon,' and the

other of 'The Prophecy of Issachar.' That memorable volume, of such peculiar historical associations, now belongs to one of the masonic lodges in New York. Upon each of the two outside surfaces of the volume, there is engraved in golden letters a commemorative record of the interesting circumstances attaching to it; and on the inside, beautifully written upon parchment, in ornamental style, surmounted by an engraved portrait of Washington, is the following statement:

'On this Sacred Volume, on the 30th day of April, 1789, in the city of New York, was administered to GEORGE WASHINGTON the first President of the United States of America, the oath to support the Constitution of the United States. This important ceremony was performed by the Most Worshipful Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons of the state of New York, the Honorable Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of the state.'

The inaugural address delivered by Washington, and which, like all the early inaugurals, possessed the merit of brevity, was pronounced in the senate chamber. It was considered, in those days, a speech to congress and not to the people; and both houses felt it incumbent on them—following the usage of monarchies,—to present replies to the president, at his residence.

From the senate chamber, the president was escorted to St. Paul's church, where he heard an appropriate religious service, conducted by Dr. Prevost; and thence home to his house. In the evening the whole city was one blaze of illumination, all classes participating in this attractive feature of the general jubilee. Many of the illuminations were very beautiful—none more so than those of the French and Spanish ministers, who both lived in Broadway, near the Bowling Green; and the whole scene was unique, animated, and enchanting. General Washington himself went 'down town,' that is to say, toward the Battery, to see the spectacle, of which he expressed the warmest admiration; returning about ten o'clock on foot, the crowd being too dense for a carriage to pass.

As the supreme head of the nation, President Washington at once endeavored to acquaint himself fully with the state of public affairs, and for this purpose, he called upon those who had been the heads of departments under the confederation, to report to him the situation of their respective concerns. He also, having consulted with his friends, adopted a system for the order of his own household, for the regulation of his hours of business, and of intercourse with those who, in a formal manner, visited him as the chief magistrate of the nation. But he publicly announced that neither visits of business nor of ceremony would be expected on Sunday, as he wished to reserve that day sacredly to himself. One of the most important and delicate of the president's duties was to fill those departments which congress at an early day had established to aid the executive in the administration of the government. His judgment and prudence were consistently exhibited in this respect, by his selecting such able men for his cabinet.

X.

WHITNEY'S EXTRAORDINARY COTTON-GIN INVENTION.—1793.

Amazing Impetus Given to the Culture, Uses and Consumption of Cotton.—Revolution in the Industrial Prospects and Political Power of the South.—How Cotton Became "King."—Its Relation to the Great Themes and Events in American History.—Ingratitude to Whitney.—His Brilliant Change of Fortune in Another Sphere.—Whitney's Obscure Circumstances.—His Early Mechanical Genius.—Determined to Get an Education.—Goes to the South as a Teacher.—Change of Pursuits.—Befriended by General Greene's Widow.—Amateur Inventive Efforts.—Low State of Southern Industry.—Objection to Cotton-Raising.—Mrs. Greene's Apt Suggestion.—Whitney's Characteristic Resolve.—Secret and Persevering Toil.—Exciting Rumors as to His Purpose.—Great Expectations Entertained.—Triumphant Success.—Enthusiasm of the Cotton-Growers.—His Machine Stolen from Him.—Infringements upon His Patent.—Law-Suits, but no Redress for Him.—His Pathetic Letter to Fulton.—He Invents a Valuable Firearm.—Southern Strides in Wealth.

RESULTS OF THE COTTON-GIN.

"What Peter the Great did to make Russia dominant, Eli Whitney's invention of the Cotton-Gin has more than equaled in its relation to the progress and power of the United States."—LORD MACAULAY.

BEYOND all doubt or question, the invention of the cotton-gin, just at the close of the eighteenth century, was an event which most wonderfully accelerated the high career of the United States, in an industrial point of view, and, indeed, revolutionized, by an extraordinary impetus, the manufactures and commerce of the world. It may be regarded, in a word, as the first key which was applied to the unlocking of those wondrous natural capabilities of the new-born republic, the continued development of which has given her such a foremost place, in respect to material and political power, among the nations of the earth. So direct is its identity with the facts and causes which have led to the country's prodigious progress during the hundred years of its national history, that he who would trace to their primary source—with even ordinary philosophical acuteness of judgment—those momentous events, whether material, political, military, or social, which have distinguished the greater part of that century, may well pause longest and take his latitude at this point. Such, indeed, is the great national consequence accorded by historians to this machine, that, of

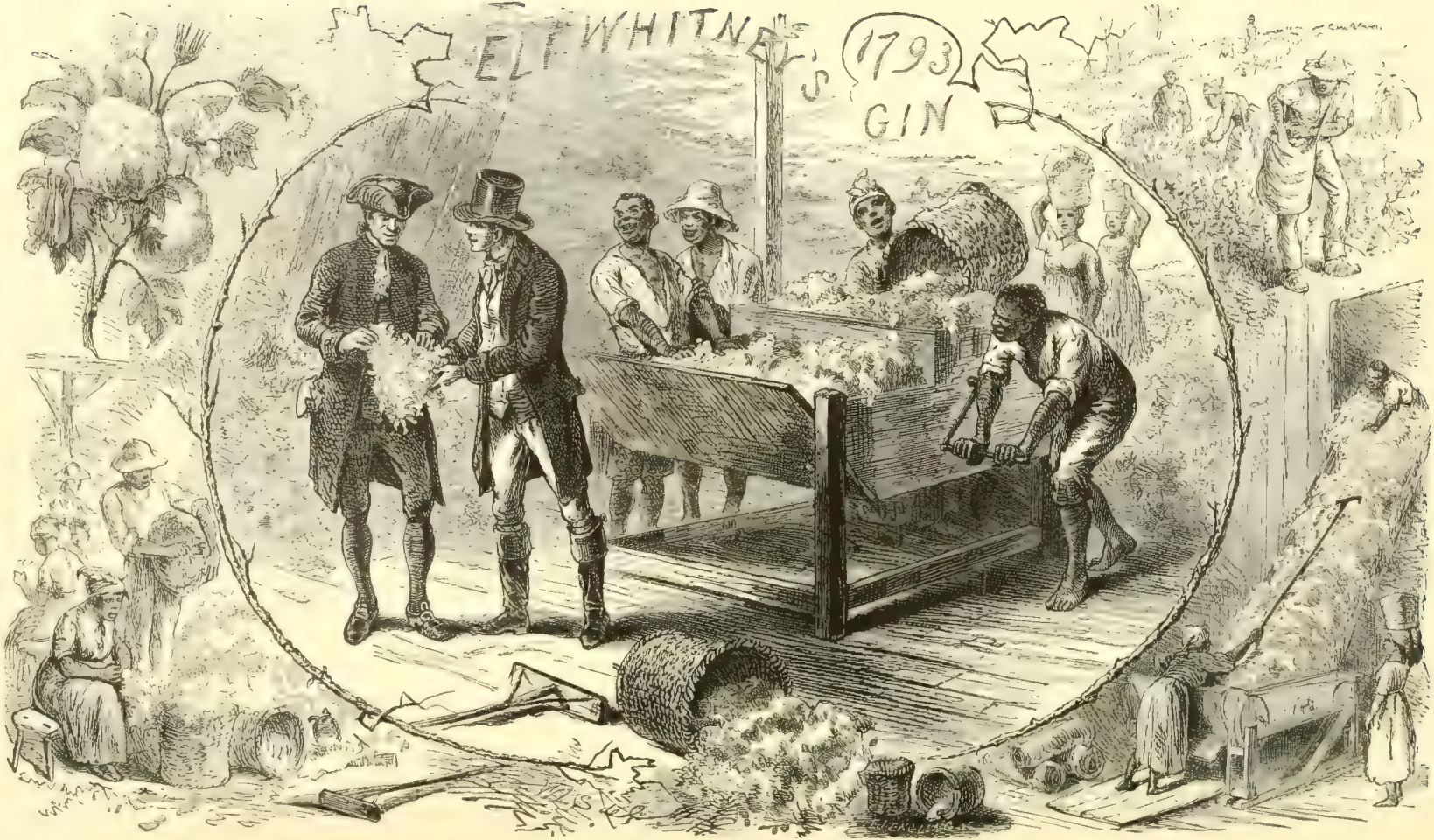
the thousands upon thousands of inventions and discoveries recorded in the patent office at Washington, many of them, of course, of almost incalculable value, only some half a dozen, or less, are comprised in the 'chronology of important dates,' in the New American Cyclopedia,—that marvelous portrayal of man and civilization during the known ages. First among the triumphs of American ingenuity thus made conspicuously historical, is the invention and introduction of the cotton-gin, in 1793, which is the subject of this article. That it should have a place among the few of its kind capable of coming within the plan and scope of this volume, will be at once apparent.

Before entering into the more elaborate details pertaining to this remarkable machine and its bearing upon American industry and commerce, it may be useful to give, in the first place, a sketch in brief of the career of Eli Whitney, whose genius gave to his country, and to mankind, this great boon. At an early age, he gave indications of that mechanical and inventive talent, for which he was afterwards so greatly celebrated. His father was a farmer in Westborough, Massachusetts, a village where only the ordinary advantages of a common-school education were available. But Mr. Whitney was desirous of the benefits of a more complete course of instruction, and at the age of twenty-three entered the college in New Haven. He received the honors of this institution in 1792, and soon after went to Georgia, in the expectation of opening a private school, and devoting himself to that profession. In this expectation he was disappointed, for, on arriving at the place of his destination, he was informed that another tutor was already filling the station he expected to occupy.

Having traveled from the north, to Savannah, in company with Mrs. Greene, the widow of the revolutionary general and hero of that name, he received from that lady a courteous invitation to make her house his home, while engaged in his course of studies preparatory to entering the legal profession. This most favorable offer, so timely in view of his shattered health and scanty means, he gratefully availed himself of.

It was on the occasion of a social gathering of some neighbors and others, one afternoon, at the residence of Mrs. Greene, —a party including several planters of distinction, a few of whom had served as officers under General Greene's command, —that Whitney first resolved to rouse his genius to its utmost accomplishment. Among other remarks made by the gentlemen present, on the occasion referred to, was one in regard to the depressed condition of the agricultural interests of Georgia, namely, that since all the lands in that region, not suitable for the cultivation of rice, were eminently favorable for the production of heavy cotton-crops, it was exceedingly to be regretted that no means existed of cleansing the green seed-cotton, or of separating it from its seed, in a manner sufficiently thorough to make it profitable,—it being almost useless, in the absence of such a method or contrivance, to undertake to grow cotton-crops for sale, because only a pound of this green seed-cotton could be cleaned and made merchantable, per day, by a single laborer, and the price obtainable for it, when thus prepared, was but a few cents per pound.

In response to these suggestions, Mrs. Greene, with true womanly perceptions, and knowing Whitney's ingenious turn of mind in the sphere of mechanics, naively remarked, "Well, gentlemen, apply to my young friend, Mr. Whitney,—he can make anything;" and, suiting the action to the word, she led them into the room where her tambour or embroidery-frame was kept, together with some other ingenious contrivances, and exhibited them to the company as evidences of Whitney's singular skill. On being introduced to these gentlemen, and entering into conversation with them on the subject, Mr. Whitney was obliged to inform them that he had never seen cotton nor cotton-seed in his life!


ELI WHITNEY'S
1793
GIN

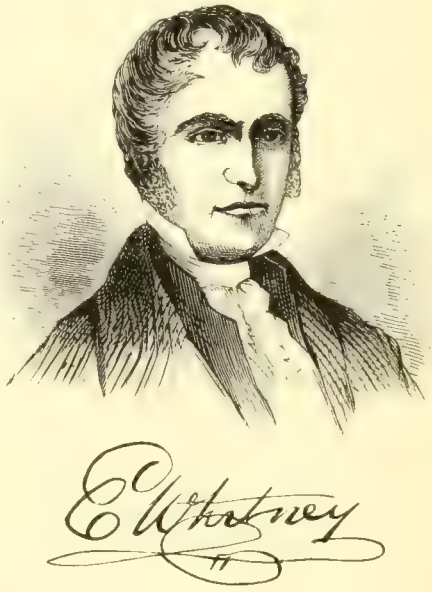
In a few months, he had advanced so far and so successfully with his machine, as to leave no doubt of his having achieved a complete triumph. In acknowledgment of Mrs. Greene's many and valued attentions to him during his labors, and her steadfast interest in his fortunes, the gratifying privilege was accorded her, on a day duly appointed, of exhibiting to an invited assembly of guests, principally planters, a model of the saw-gin that was to produce such a mighty change. Their astonishment was almost unbounded, when, on examining the principle and working of the instrument, they found that more cotton could be separated from the seed in one day by the labor of a single hand, than could be done, in the usual manner, in many months. Enthusiasm over such a result, and in view of such a prospect, was very natural.

The report of Mr. Whitney's invention spread very rapidly throughout the South, exciting intense interest, and the planters in especial were eager to see a machine that promised such incalculable benefits to themselves and to the nation. For a time, however, Whitney declined showing the gin, as it was not entirely perfected, and because it might be imitated by others, and he be deprived in that way of his right to a patent. But, so great was the excitement to which the people had been wrought up, and so tempting was the chance which presented itself to the unprincipled, to appropriate to themselves the fruits of other men's toils, that the building in which Whitney carried on his labors was actually broken into, one night, by a party of lawless individuals, and the instrument secretly carried off. Thus it was that several machines were constructed on the basis of Whitney's invention, and indeed varying but little from the original, though it was artfully attempted to have the deviation sufficiently obvious to escape the penalties of imitation.

It may well be supposed that the various lawsuits growing out of the infringements upon his rights, was an exhausting draft upon Mr. Whitney's funds. But, in addition to this drawback upon his enterprise, there befell him the successive calamities of prolonged sickness, the destruction of his manufacturing establishment by fire, and, worse than all, the assertion on the part of certain unfriendly persons, that the use of the machine ought to be abandoned, because it greatly injured the fiber of the cotton. The testimony of some of the British manufacturers was industriously circulated, to the effect that the old roller-gin, which ground the seed to impalpability, was preferable to that which separated the seed from the staple, at the sacrifice of its quality! And here it may be of interest to state, that, in order to overcome the difficulty of separating the seed from the wool by hand, a rude hand-mill, or roller-gin, was at an early period substituted, in some parts of India and China, by which from forty to sixty-five pounds could be cleaned in a day. After this, the cotton was further cleaned from dirt and knots by 'bowing.' A large bow being placed in a heap of cotton, the string was made to vibrate powerfully, thus dispersing and cleaning the heap. These means, employed from remote times in eastern countries, were also formerly used by American growers. Much of the sea-island cotton is still separated from its seeds by rollers constructed on a large scale, and worked by horses, steam, or water. These rollers are of wood, and revolve rapidly in contact with each other; as they do so, a sort of comb with iron teeth acts on the cotton as it passes between them, and detaches the seeds, which fly off like sparks in all directions. Particles of seeds which escape and pass through with the cotton, are removed by hand. The cotton is then whisked about in a light wheel, and, when well winnowed, it is conveyed to the packing-house, and forced into bags by means of screws, until each bag contains the requisite number of pounds. But short-stapled cotton cannot be properly cleaned by this process; the seeds are so firmly attached to the wool, that a more powerful machine is needed,—*and here the utilty of the saw-*

gin over the roller-contrivance is manifest. The cotton is put into a long and narrow hopper, one side of which is formed by a grating of strong parallel wires, one-eighth of an inch apart. Close to the hopper is a roller set with circular saws, an inch and a half apart. These, as they revolve, pass within the grating of the hopper to a certain depth, and seize by their teeth on the locks of cotton, dragging them through the wires, which are not wide enough apart to allow the seeds to pass also. The cotton is afterwards swept from the saws by a revolving cylindrical brush. Thus the separation is effected in a cheap, easy, and rapid manner. At first, Whitney used bent wires or teeth, like those of the common card, but much larger and stronger, and these were placed in rows on a revolving cylinder. The cotton was separated from this cylinder by a frame of parallel wires; as the cylinder revolved, the teeth extending through the wire-frame caught the cotton and drew it through the grating, but the seeds being too large to pass between the wires, were of course separated from the fiber. These teeth, however, being found too weak to pull the cotton from the seed without becoming bent or broken, Whitney substituted a circular saw in their place. The teeth of the saw being large, and shaped like the beak of a bird, had more strength and were equally effective.

So serious an objection as that brought by the British manufacturers, namely, that the operation of this machine injured the quality of the cotton, was a most disheartening one to Mr. Whitney and his partner, Mr. Miller, for, on its truth or falsity, their fortune and fate depended. For a time, the process of patent ginning was quite at a stand; and, indeed, little was heard of it by the originators, except the condolence of a few real friends, who expressed their regret that so promising an invention had entirely failed. Of the inventor's state of mind, as well as the condition of his purse, at this time, some idea may be formed from a letter written by Whitney, in the autumn of 1797, in which he says: 'The extreme embarrassments which have for a long time been accumulating upon me are now become so great that it will be impossible for me to struggle against them many days longer. It has required my utmost exertions *to exist,*



without making the least progress in our business. I have labored hard against the strong current of disappointment, which has been threatening to carry us down the cataract; but I have labored with a shattered oar, and struggled in vain, unless some speedy relief is obtained. Life is but short, at best, and six or seven years out of the midst of it is, to him who makes it, an immense sacrifice. My most unremitted attention has been directed to our business. I have sacrificed to it other objects, from which, before this time, I might certainly have gained twenty or thirty thousand dollars. My whole prospects have been embarked in it, with the expectation that I should, before this time, have realized something from it.' Against all opposition, the machine finally became appreciated according to its merits, and, though the country was flooded with imitations,—against the manufacturers of which, it seemed almost impossible to obtain any redress or protection in the courts of law,—a large demand set in, and

Whitney's golden visions appeared likely to be realized.

At the suggestion made to them by some of their business friends, Miller and Whitney were induced, in view of the public benefit that would accrue to the cotton-growing states, by the general and inexpensive introduction of the saw-gin, to offer the exclusive disposal of the machine in South Carolina to the legislature of that state, which offer was finally accepted; the sum paid to the inventors, for this privilege, being fifty thousand dollars. Though this sum was only one-half of that which had originally been fixed upon by the patentees, it seems to have given quite a zest to Mr. Whitney's feelings and anticipations, for he wrote in relation to the new arrangement: 'The use of the machine here (in South Carolina) is amazingly extensive, and the value of it beyond all calculation. It may, without exaggeration, be said to have raised the value of seven-eighths of all the three southern states from fifty to one hundred per cent. We get but a song for it in comparison with the worth of the thing; but it is *securing* something. It will enable Miller and Whitney to pay all their debts, and divide something between them. It establishes a precedent that will be valuable as respects our collections in other states, and I think there is now a fair prospect that I shall in the event realize property enough to render me comfortable, and, in some measure, independent.' It was not, however, without much trouble and litigation, that Whitney realized the fulfillment of this contract.

But the expense involved in numerous suits at law against the encroachers upon his patent, was more than the profits yielded by the sales, and these struggles and expenditures, and constantly-recurring discouragements, sent Mr. Miller to a premature grave, at the close of 1803. In the year 1812, Mr. Whitney applied to congress for a renewal of his patent, in the hope of still receiving some substantial benefit from his invention. But the southern delegation generally — though with some honorable exceptions—were opposed to it; which was of course the more unexpected, as well as wounding, in view of the immense advantage of the machine to that part of the United States. In regard to this last-mentioned point, no testimony could be more weighty or emphatic in the affirmative than that by Judge Johnson, an eminent South Carolinian, and, at the time of speaking, a judge of the United States supreme court:—'The whole interior of the southern states (these are the words of Judge Johnson, as judicially uttered) was languishing, and its inhabitants emigrating for want of some object to engage their attention, and employ their industry, when the invention of this machine at once opened views to them which set the whole country in active motion. From childhood to age, it has presented to us a lucrative employment. Individuals who were depressed with poverty, and sunk in idleness, have suddenly risen to wealth and respectability. Our debts have been paid off. Our capitals have increased, and our lands trebled themselves in value. We cannot express the weight of the obligation which the country owes to this invention. The extent of it cannot now be seen. Some faint presentiment may be formed from the reflection that cotton is rapidly supplanting wool, flax, silk, and even furs, in manufactures, and may one day profitably supply the use of specie in our East India trade. Our sister states also participate in the benefits of this invention; for, beside affording the raw material for their manufacturers, the bulkiness and quantity of the article afford a valuable employment for their shipping.'

Such was the testimony borne by the highest possible authority, in regard to the wonderful value and effect of this invention. And yet, though full a dozen years had elapsed since Whitney had staked his all upon the machine, and was even now pleading for redress against the piracies committed upon his rights and property, he was actually a poor man, struggling against remorseless fate. Mr.

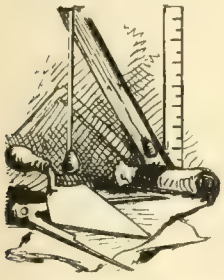
Whitney, in a letter almost pathetic in its rehearsal of his wrongs, addressed to Robert Fulton, the inventor of the first successful steamboat, remarks, that 'the difficulties with which he had to contend originated, principally, in the want of a disposition in mankind to do justice. The invention was new and distinct from every other; it stood alone. It was not interwoven with anything before known; and it can seldom happen that an invention is so strongly marked, and can be so clearly and specifically identified; and I have always believed that I should have had no difficulty in causing my rights to be respected, if it had been less valuable, and been used only by a small portion of the community. But the use of this machine being immensely profitable to almost every planter in the cotton districts, all were interested in trespassing upon the patent right, and each kept the other in countenance. Demagogues made themselves popular by misrepresentation and unfounded clamors, both against the right, and the law made for its protection. Hence there arose associations and combinations to oppose both. At one time, few men in Georgia dared to come into court and testify to the most simple facts within their knowledge, relative to the use of the machine. In one instance, I had great difficulty in proving that the machine *had been used in Georgia*, although, at the same moment, there were three separate sets of this machinery in motion within fifty yards of the building in which the court sat, and all so near that the rattling of the wheels was distinctly heard on the steps of the court-house.' Surely, few men of genius have rendered so great benefits to their country, by means of an invention, who have been so heartlessly treated and so poorly remunerated. Despairing of ever realizing an adequate return, therefore, for his cotton-gin, Whitney applied his inventive skill to the improved manufacture of firearms, in which he was very successful, and, having obtained valuable contracts from the government for his improved muskets, he ultimately acquired a fortune,—a strange but most deserved sequel to his hitherto checkered career.

The progress and value of the cotton production in the United States, under the impetus given to it by Whitney's invention, may be characterized as simply prodigious; and, in the mind of the philosophic statesman and student, the story of the cotton-gin will forever weave itself, most intimately and wonderfully, with those great themes and events which make up the nation's history.

XI.

FOUNDING AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.—1799.

Bitter Sectional Contest in Deciding the Location.—First "Compromise" in Congress between the North and the South.—Final Removal of the Government and its Archives to Washington.—Official Observance of the Event.—Magnificent Site and Plan of the City.—Splendor of its Public Buildings.—Congress First Sits in Philadelphia.—Need of a Permanent Capital.—National Dignity Involved.—Violent Agitation of the Subject.—Philadelphia and New York Proposed.—They are Objected to by the South.—Northern Disunion Threats.—Schemes of Conciliation.—How the Question was Settled.—Sweetening Two Bitter Pills.—Jefferson's Graphic Account.—General Washington's Preference.—His Site on the Potomac Adopted.—Some Rather Personal Anecdotes.—Work of Laying Out the City.—Its Original Aspect and Condition.—Early Trials of the President's Wife.—Construction of the Capitol.—Its Corner-Stone Laid by Washington.—Congress in its New Halls.—Growth of the Metropolis.—The New Corner-Stone of 1851.



"Where peered the hut the palace towers;
Where skimmed the bark the war-ship lowers;
Joy gaily carols where was silence rude;
And cultured thousands throng the solitude.

NEXT in importance to the founding of a free and independent nationality, and the inauguration of a supreme legislative and executive government, was the act of establishing a permanent capital,—one on a scale, and of a character, commensurate with the dignity and prospects of the new republic. Indeed, from as early a period as June, 1783, when congress was virtually driven from its halls in Philadelphia by the mutiny of a part of the Pennsylvania line, the necessity was very evident of some place being fixed upon where the government of the Union might at least be secure from violence and insult. As this remarkable and untoward circumstance was, perhaps, one of the most notable in its bearing upon subsequent events, in this connection, it may be worth while to recite some of its chief features. While the patriot army, encamped under the eye of Washington, bore their hardships and privations without flinching, and, at the close of the struggle, in 1783, returned quietly, though poor and unpaid, to their homes, some of the newly-recruited soldiers of Pennsylvania, stationed at Lancaster, suddenly mutinied and set off in a body for Philadelphia, to demand redress of fancied grievances from the legislature of the state. Arriving at that city, they were joined by a force from the barracks, and proceeded on the second of June with beat of drum and fixed bayonets to the state house, where congress and the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania were both holding their sessions. After placing sentinels at all the doors, they sent in a written message, threatening the president and the council of the state to let loose an enraged soldiery upon them, if their demands were not acceded to in twenty minutes. Although the resentments of this banditti were not directed par-

ticularly against congress, the government of the Union was grossly insulted, and those who administered it were blockaded for several hours in the discharge of their duties, by an armed band. Fearing lest the authorities of Pennsylvania might not be able to furnish adequate protection, it adjourned to meet within a few days at Princeton,—sending information, in the meantime, to Washington, of this outbreak. The latter immediately sent fifteen hundred men under General Howe to suppress the mutiny; but before the detachment could reach Philadelphia, the mutiny was in a great degree subdued, and fortunately without bloodshed.

When once the subject of definitely fixing upon a location for the seat of government was before congress and the people, the question seemed to overshadow all others. Being in session at Princeton, under the circumstances above narrated, it was resolved by congress that a building for the national legislature be erected near the Falls of the Delaware.

The commissioners to lay out a town on the Delaware reported their proceedings to congress, but no further steps were taken to carry the resolution into effect. Some were very strenuous for New York, others proposed some convenient place on the banks of the Susquehanna. To the latter proposition, southern members, among whom was Mr. Madison, were unalterably opposed. All admitted the importance of the step to be taken, involving, perhaps, the perpetuity of the government itself.

At length, a compact respecting the temporary and permanent seat of government was entered into between the friends of Philadelphia, and the Potomac, whereby it was stipulated that congress should hold its sessions in Philadelphia, for ten years, during which time, buildings for the accommodation of the government should be erected at some place, to be selected, on the Potomac, and which latter should become, on the expiration of the ten years, the permanent capital of the nation. This compromise having united the representatives of Pennsylvania and Delaware with the friends of the Potomac, in favor both of the temporary and permanent locality which had been mutually agreed on between them, a majority was thus finally secured in favor of the project, and a bill which was brought into the senate in conformity with this arrangement, passed both houses by small majorities, though, according to Judge Marshall, these majorities would have been larger, if necessary.

But, as the final compromise briefly recorded above shows, the die *was* cast, at last, to mutual satisfaction. How this was brought about, Jefferson's graphic, and, it may be, highly-colored portraiture of the closing hour and result of the struggle will give some idea: 'The eastern members particularly, who, with Smith from South Carolina, were the principal gamblers in these scenes, threatened *secession and dissolution*. Hamilton was in despair. As I was going to the president's, one day, I met him in the street. He walked me backwards and forwards before the president's door for half an hour. He painted pathetically the temper into which the legislature had been wrought; the disgust of those who were called the creditor states; the danger of the secession of their members, and the separation of the states. He observed that the members of the administration ought to act in concert; that though this question was not of my department, yet a common duty should make it a common concern; that the president was the center on which all administration questions ultimately rested, and that all of us should rally around him, and support, with joint efforts, measures approved by him; and that the question having been lost by a small majority only, it was probable that an appeal from me to the judgment and discretion of some of my friends, might effect a change in the vote, and the machine of government, now suspended, might be again set into motion. I told him that I was really a stranger to the whole subject; that not having yet informed myself of the system of finance adopted, I

knew not how far this was a necessary sequence; that undoubtedly, if its rejection endangered a dissolution of our Union at this incipient stage, I should deem that the most unfortunate of all consequences, to avert which all partial and temporary evils should be yielded. I proposed to him, however, to dine with me the next day, and I would invite another friend or two, bring them into conference together, and I thought it impossible that reasonable men, consulting together coolly, could fail, by some mutual sacrifices of opinion, to form a compromise which was to save the Union. The discussion took place. I could take no part in it but an exhortatory one, because I was a stranger to the circumstances which should govern it. But it was finally agreed, that whatever importance had been attached to the rejection of this proposition, the preservation of the Union and of concord among the states, was more important, and that, therefore, it would be better that the vote of rejection should be rescinded, to effect which some members should change their votes. But it was observed that this pill would be peculiarly *bitter* to the southern states, and that some concomitant measure should be adopted to *sweeten* it a little to them. There had before been projects to fix the seat of government either at Philadelphia, or at Georgetown on the Potomac; and it was thought that, by giving it to Philadelphia for ten years, and to Georgetown permanently afterwards, this might, as an anodyne, calm in some degree the ferment which might be excited by the other measure alone. So two of the Potomac members (White and Lee, but White with a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive) agreed to change their votes, and Hamilton undertook to carry the other point. In doing this, the influence he had established over the eastern members, with the agency of Robert Morris with those of the middle states, effected his side of the engagement.' Thus it was that the assumption-bill was passed, and thus it was that the far more important measure was enacted, which provided—

"That a district of territory on the river Potomac, at some place between the mouths of the eastern branch and the Connogocheague, be, and the same is hereby, accepted, for the permanent seat of the government of the United States." In enduring honor of the father of his country, the name given to the projected city was WASHINGTON.

From the beginning, General Washington advocated the site which was finally fixed upon, and its establishment there was due in a large measure to his counsels and influence. It is related, though somewhat questionable, that during the hot and angry discussion on the subject, in congress, pending the determination of a locality, a person who was in company with Washington remarked, one day,—

"I know very well where the federal city ought to be."

"Where then would you put it, sir?" was the serene inquiry of Washington.

"It ought to be located in Philadelphia," was the reply.

"Why are you sure it should be there?"

"For the most satisfactory of all reasons," was the sinister answer; "because nearly the whole of my property lies there and in the neighborhood."

In stern silence did Washington fasten his eye upon the man who thus dared the insolent insinuation that the president favored the location of the capital in its present site because it was near his Mount Vernon estates; and the offender soon vanished out of sight.

Another little anecdote in this connection will be here given, as showing that "no sea is free from ripples." It was for many years traditional in the federal capital, that one man was found not awed by the presence of the great founder of that city. While the president was procuring the ground which was to be the seat of government, he had but little difficulty in obtaining the necessary releases, except in one instance. Mr. James Byrnes was the owner of a lot or tract which it was advisable should be included in the plan. The general had various conferences with Mr.

Byrnes, who was especially obstinate, and, highly prizing, as he did, the tract in question, flatly resisted all the reasonings and persuasions of the great man. Unused to opposition, Washington at last turned upon him and said, as only he could say it,—

"Mr. James Byrnes! what would your land have been worth if I had not placed this city on the Potomac?"

Byrnes was not at all crushed by this peculiar flanking argument on the part of the general; but, undismayed, coolly turned to him and said,—

"George Washington, what would *you* have been worth if you had not married the widow Custis?"

It will not do to judge of the nation's metropolis at that day by what it is now. At that time it was desolate in the extreme, with its long unimproved avenues and streets, its deep morasses, and its vast area covered with trees instead of houses. Mrs. Adams, the wife of President John Adams, who first occupied the White House, in writing to a friend regarding the city and the presidential mansion at that period, says: 'In the city are buildings enough, if they were compact and finished, to accommodate congress and those attached to it, but as they are, I see no great comfort in them. The river, which runs up to Alexandria, is in full view of my window, and I can see the vessels as they pass and re-pass. The house is upon a grand and superb scale, requiring about thirty servants to attend and keep the apartments in proper order, and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables; an establishment very well proportioned to the president's salary. The lighting the apartments, from the kitchen to the parlors and chambers, is a tax indeed; and the fires we are obliged to keep, to secure us from daily agues, is another very cheering comfort. To assist us in this great castle, and render less attendance necessary, bells are wholly wanting, not one being hung through the whole house, and promises are all we can obtain. This is so great an inconvenience that I know not what to do, or how to do. If they will put me up some bells, and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design to be pleased. I could content myself anywhere three months, but surrounded by forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people can not be found to cut and cart it? Briesler entered into a contract with a man to supply him with wood. A small part, a few cords only, has he been able to get. Most of that was expended to dry the walls of the house before we came in, and yesterday the man told him it was impossible for him to procure it to be cut and carted. He has had recourse to coals; but we can not get grates made and set. We have indeed come into a *new country*.' These and kindred inconveniences were naturally incident to the new order of things; they were only temporary.

As has already appeared, it was reserved to Washington's immediate successor in the presidential office, to be the first occupant of the executive mansion. Nevertheless, the superintending mind and hand of Washington are broadly identified with the conception not only of that elegant building, but of the capitol and other government structures. On the fifteenth day of April, 1791, the Hon. Daniel Carroll and Dr. David Stewart superintended the fixing of the first corner-stone of the District of Columbia, at Jones's Point, near Alexandria; it was laid with all the usual masonic ceremonies, an address being also delivered on the occasion by Rev. James Muir. "May this stone," said the orator, "long commemorate the goodness of God in those uncommon events which have given America a name among nations. Under this stone may jealousy and selfishness be forever buried. From this stone may a superstructure arise whose glory, whose magnificence, whose stability, shall astonish the world." The south-east corner-stone of the capitol was laid by President Washington, September eighteenth, 1793, with appropriate services, principal among which was the act of the commissioners, in their official capacity,

WASHINGTON, D. C., IN 1876.

when they delivered to President Washington, who deposited it in the stone, a silver plate, inscribed as follows:—

"This south-east corner-stone of the Capitol of the United States of America, in the city of Washington, was laid on the 18th day of September, 1793, in the eighteenth year of American Independence, in the first year of the second term of the presidency of George Washington, whose virtues in the civil administration of his country have been as conspicuous and beneficial as his military valor and prudence have been useful in establishing her liberties, and in the year of Masonry 5793, by the President of the United States, in concert with the Grand Lodge of Maryland, several lodges under its jurisdiction, and Lodge No. 22 from Alexandria, Virginia."

In the summer of 1800, the archives of the government were removed from Philadelphia to Washington, and, the ensuing November, the north wing of the capitol was ready for the first sitting of congress in the new metropolis. John Cotton Smith, a distinguished member of this congress from Connecticut, speaking of the new city on his arrival there, says: 'I can not sufficiently express my admiration of its local position.'

It was at this session that formal recognition was made of the great national event of the founding and establishment of the national capital, by mutual congratulatory addresses between the chief magistrate of the republic on the one part, and the senate and house of representatives on the other.

A more beautiful site for a large city could scarcely have been selected. On a level plain some three miles in length, and varying from a quarter to two miles wide, and extending from the banks of the Potomac to a range of hills bounding the plain on the east, the new city was laid out. The idea of General Washington was that the capitol should be the center of the city, and that avenues should radiate from it at equi-distant points. To complete his plan, the metropolis should have a million of inhabitants, instead of

its present very moderate fraction of that number. Though not a seven-hilled city, Washington has, as well as Rome, its Capitoline Hill, commanding views scarcely

NATIONAL CAPITOL IN 1876.

less striking than those of the Eternal City. The general altitude of the city-plot is forty feet above the river, but this is diversified by irregular elevations, which serve to give variety and commanding sites for the public buildings. The plot is slightly amphitheatrical, the president's house on the west standing on one of the sides, and the capitol on the other, while the space between verges towards a point near the river. The president's house and the capitol stand centrally with regard to the whole, though situated at the distance of one mile from each other, the former forty-four feet above the Potomac, and the latter seventy-two feet. All the public buildings are on a scale of magnificence worthy of a great nation; and the munificence of congress in this respect, as well as in regard to all that pertains to the city, as the seat of government of the United States, is evident on every side. This is as it should be, and betokens the destined splendor, in point of architecture, avenues and parks, institutions of art, science and education, of the federal capital.

Starting from the capitol, the streets run from north to south and from east to west, their width varying from ninety to one hundred and ten feet. There are beside twenty avenues, named after the older states of the Union, which cross the streets at various angles and connect the most important points of the city, forming at their intersection with the streets and with each other numerous open spaces. These grand avenues are from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and sixty feet uniform width; the principal of these is called in honor of the state of Pennsylvania, and extends from Georgetown to the Anacostia, a distance of four miles. It forms the main avenue of communication between the capitol and the president's house and the chief offices of government. The capitol commands Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maine, and Missouri avenues; the president's house, Pennsylvania, New York, Vermont, and Connecticut avenues. The effect of this arrangement, taken in connection with the natural advantages of the site, is exceedingly fine—one of the finest in the world, for a city. From the hill, in especial, on which stands the capitol, the

SYMBOLIC STATUE OF AMERICA SURMOUNTING THE U. S. CAPITOL.

most noble view presents itself to the eye of the beholder that the imagination can conceive. On the fourth of July, 1851,

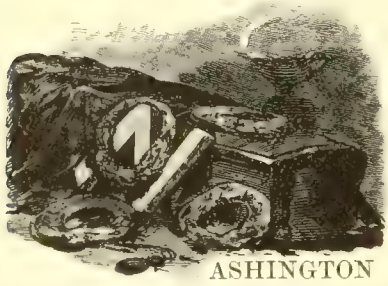
the corner-stone of that magnificent extension of the capitol which has rendered it the most superb structure of its kind in the world, was laid with splendid ceremonial, including a commemorative oration by President Fillmore, assisted by Daniel Webster, secretary of state. In the stone was also deposited a record of the event, with the following impressive statement and invocation :—

"If, therefore, it shall be hereafter the will of God that this structure shall fall from its base, that its foundation be upturned, and this deposit brought to the eyes of men, be it then known that on this day the union of the United States of America stands firm, that their Constitution still exists unimpaired and with all its original usefulness and glory, growing every day stronger and stronger in the affections of the great body of the American people, and attracting more and more the admiration of the world. And all here assembled, whether belonging to public life or to private life, with hearts devoutly thankful to Almighty God for the preservation of the liberty and happiness of the country, unite in sincere and fervent prayer that this deposit, and the walls and arches, the domes and towers, the columns and entablatures, now to be erected over it, may endure forever! God Save the United States of America!"

XII.

DEATH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.—1799.

His Sudden and Brief Illness, Last Hours, and Dying Words —Fortitude and Serenity Through all His Sufferings.—He Calmly Announces His Approaching Dissolution Without a Murmur —The Whole World Does Honor, by Eulogy and Lamentations, to His Exalted Worth and Immortal Fame. —He Anticipated an Early Death.—His Invariably Good Health —Exposure in a Snow-Storm — Takes a Fatal Cold.—Last Letter Written by His Hand.—Reads the Papers in the Evening.—Characteristic Reply to His Wife.—Passes a Restless Night —Alarming Condition the Next Day.—Medical Treatment of no Avail —Calls for His Two Wills, Burns One.—Affecting Scene at His Bedside. —Last Words, "'Tis Well!"—Only One Day's Sickness. —Acute Laryngitis His Disease.—Burial in the Old Family Vault.—Tidings of His Death.—Tributes from Peoples and Kings.—A Man Without a Parallel —Last Page in His Journal.—Re-entombment in 1837.—Appearance of His Remains.



"Posterity will talk of Washington with reverence, as the founder of a great empire, when my name shall be lost in the vortex of revolution."—NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

"WASHINGTON is dead!" were the appalling words which, with the fading out of the eighteenth century, brought home to every American heart the solemn lesson of the flight of time, and that "*all* men are mortal." Totally unprepared as was his idolizing country for such an event,—no intelligence of the slightest illness of the great chieftain having preceded the bald announcement of his death and burial,—the tidings moved the nation's heart to profound amazement and sorrow, and deep answered unto deep, in the universal wail of a bereaved and stricken republic. If a nation's prayers could have prevailed, Washington—Columbia's most honored, venerated, and renowned son,—would have been immortal on earth. But the ordinance of divine wisdom is, that the great boon of immortality shall be attained by man only through the portals of the grave, and to this decree the illustrious and the humble are alike subject. Thus it was that Washington, the great Christian warrior and statesman—the greatest of good men and the best of great men—paid the debt of nature when he had scarcely reached the allotted period of three-score years and ten.

The last end of so illustrious a personage as Washington, is fraught with an interest so profound and memorable, as never to lose its freshness and value to successive generations. It appeared to be the will of heaven that, so soon as the circumstances of his country enabled it to dispense with the services of the man who, above all others, was its founder and leading head, he should be summoned away from the scenes of earth. That he was one who was accustomed to consider the brevity of life and the uncertainty of human affairs, is evident from the tenor of his conduct and conversation, and from occasional passages in his correspondence. Thus, to the Hon. James M'Henry, secretary of war, he wrote, but a few months prior to his decease: "My greatest anxiety is to have all these concerns in such a clear and distinct

form, that no reproach may attach itself to me when I have taken my departure for the land of spirits." He had also been making arrangements, just before the attack of illness which terminated in his death, for the construction of an improved family tomb, and in speaking of his plans to a relative at his side, he remarked, "This change, I shall make the first of all, for I may require it before the rest." He had also been heard to say, "I am of a short-lived family, and cannot expect to remain very long upon the earth."

The month of December, 1799, found him in the enjoyment of excellent health. Indeed, Major Lewis, his nephew, writing of him as he appeared to himself and a friend at that time, says, "The clear and healthy flush on his cheek and his sprightly manner brought the remark from both of us, that we had never seen the general look so well." On the tenth of December, he completed the draught of an elaborate plan for the management of his lands, laying down the rotation of the crops for a succession of years in advance. The morning of that day was clear and calm, but the afternoon was lowering. The next day, the eleventh, was blustering and rainy; and at night, as Washington recorded in his diary, "there was a large circle round the moon." The morning of the twelfth was overcast. Washington's last letter was written that morning—it was to Hamilton, and principally on the subject of a military academy. The events of that day, and of the two days following, are most minutely narrated by an eye-witness—Mr. Tobias Lear,—who was Washington's private secretary as well as valued friend; and with Mr. Lear's statement, are incorporated some facts from the pen of Washington's favorite kinsman, Mr. Custis:—

On Thursday, December twelfth, the general rode out to his farms about ten o'clock, and did not return home till past three. Soon after he went out, the weather became very bad, rain, hail, snow falling alternately, with a cold wind. When he came in, I carried some letters to him to frank, intending to send them to the post-office in the evening. He franked the letters, but said the weather was too bad to send a servant to the office that evening. I observed to him, that I was afraid he had got wet. He said, No, his great coat had kept him dry. But his neck appeared to be wet, and the snow was hanging upon his hair. He came to dinner, which had been waiting for him, without changing his dress. In the evening he appeared as well as usual.

A heavy fall of snow took place on Friday, which prevented the general from riding out as usual. He had taken cold, undoubtedly from being so much exposed the day before, and complained of a sore throat. He, however, went out in the afternoon into the ground between the house and the river to mark some trees, which were to be cut down in the improvement of that spot. As was usual with him, he carried his own compass, noted his observations, and marked the ground. He had a hoarseness, which increased in the evening, but he made light of it.

Between two and three o'clock, on Saturday morning, December fourteenth, he awoke Mrs. Washington, and told her that he was very unwell, and had had an ague. She observed that he could scarcely speak,

Mr. Washington

and breathed with difficulty, and would have got up to call a servant. But he would not permit her, lest she should take a cold. As soon as the day appeared, the

woman (Caroline) went into the room to make a fire, and Mrs. Washington sent her immediately to call me. I got up, put on my clothes as quickly as possible, and went to his chamber. Mrs. Washington was then up, and related to me his being ill as before stated. I found the general breathing with difficulty, and hardly able to utter a word intelligibly. He desired Mr. Rawlins (one of the overseers) might be sent for, to bleed him before the doctor could arrive. I dispatched a servant instantly for Rawlins, and another for Dr. Craik, and returned again to the general's chamber, where I found him in the same situation as I had left him.

A mixture of molasses, vinegar, and butter, was prepared, to try its effects in the throat; but he could not swallow a drop. Whenever he attempted it, he appeared to be distressed, convulsed, and almost suffocated. Rawlins came in soon after sunrise, and prepared to bleed him. When the arm was ready, the general, observing that Rawlins appeared to be agitated, said, as well as he could speak, "Don't be afraid." And when the incision was made, he observed, "The orifice is not large enough." However, the blood ran pretty freely. Mrs. Washington, not knowing whether bleeding was proper or not in the general's situation, begged that much might not be taken from him, lest it should be injurious, and desired me to stop it; but, when I was about to untie the string, the general put up his hand to prevent it, and, as soon as he could speak, he said, "More, more." Mrs. Washington being still very uneasy, lest too much blood should be taken, it was stopped after taking about half a pint. Finding that no relief was obtained from bleeding, and that nothing would go down the throat, I proposed bathing it externally with *sal volatile*, which was done, and in the operation, which was with the hand, and in the gentlest manner, he observed, "It is very sore." A piece of flannel dipped in *sal volatile* was put around his neck, and his feet bathed in warm water, but without affording any relief.

In the meantime, before Dr. Craik arrived, Mrs. Washington desired me to send for Dr. Brown, of Port Tobacco, whom Dr. Craik had recommended to be called, if any case should ever occur that was seriously alarming.

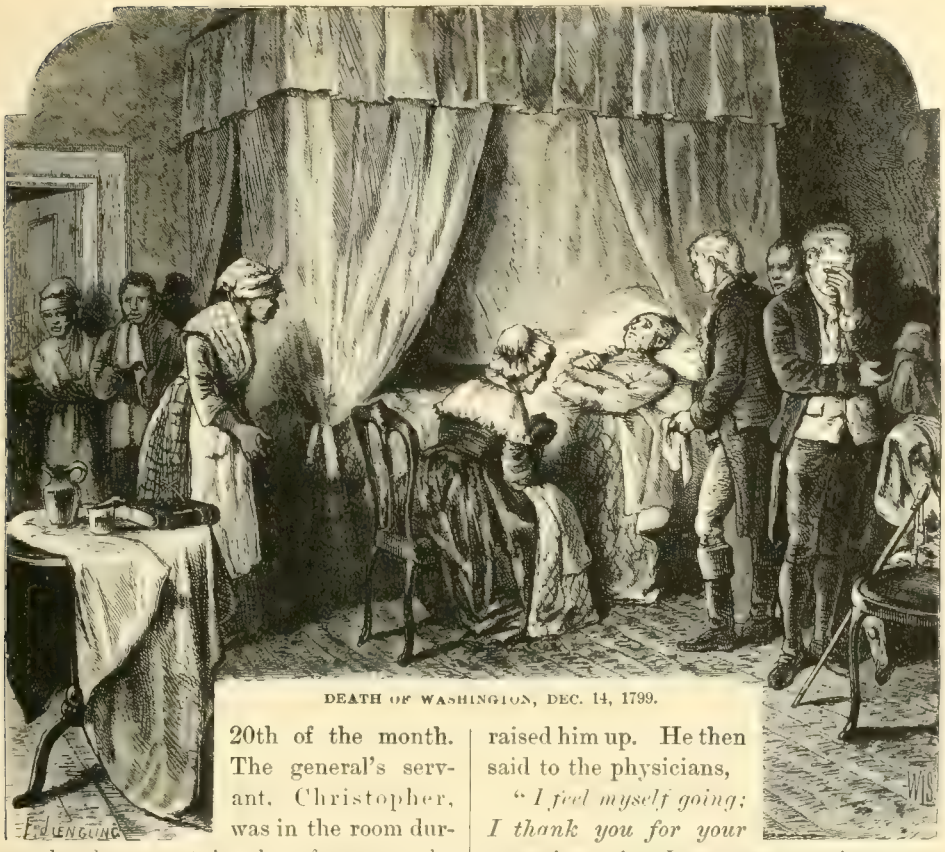
Dr. Dick came about three o'clock, and Dr. Brown arrived soon after. Upon Dr. Dick's seeing the general, and consulting a few minutes with Dr. Craik, he was bled again. The blood came very slow, was thick, and did not produce any symptoms of fainting. Dr. Brown came into the chamber soon after, and upon feeling the general's pulse, the physicians went out together. Dr. Craik returned soon after The general could now swallow a little. Calomel and tartar emetic were administered, but without any effect.

The weather became severely cold, while the group gathered nearer to the couch of the sufferer. He spoke but little. To the respectful and affectionate inquiries of an old family servant, as she smoothed down his pillow, how he felt himself, he answered, "I am very ill." To Mrs Washington he said, "Go to my desk, and in the private drawer you will find two papers — bring them to me." They were brought. Upon looking at them he observed, "These are my wills— preserve this one and burn the other;" which was accordingly done.

In the course of the afternoon he appeared to be in great pain and distress, from the difficulty of breathing, and frequently changed his posture in the bed. On these occasions I lay upon the bed and endeavored to raise him, and turn him with as much ease as possible. He appeared penetrated with gratitude for my attentions, and often said, "I am afraid I shall fatigue you too much;" and upon my assuring him that I could feel nothing but a wish to give him ease, he replied,

"Well, it is a debt we must pay to each other, and I hope, when you want aid of this kind, you will find it."

He asked when Mr. Lewis and Washington Custis would return. (They were then in New Kent.) I told him about the



DEATH OF WASHINGTON, DEC. 14, 1799.

20th of the month. The general's servant, Christopher, was in the room during the day; and in the afternoon, the general directed him to sit down, as he had been standing almost the whole day. He did so. About eight o'clock in the morning, he had expressed a desire to get up. His clothes were put on, and he was led to a chair by the fire; he found no relief from that position, and lay down again about ten o'clock. About five o'clock, Dr. Craik came again into the room, and, upon going to the bedside, the general said to him,

"Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. I believed, from my first attack, that I should not survive it. My breath can not last long."

The doctor pressed his hand, but could not utter a word. He retired from the bedside, and sat by the fire absorbed in grief. Between five and six o'clock, Dr. Dick and Dr. Brown came into the room, and with Dr. Craik went to the bed, when Dr. Craik asked him if he could sit up in the bed. He held out his hand, and I raised him up. He then said to the physicians,

"*I feel myself going; I thank you for your attentions; but I pray you to take no more trouble about me. Let me go off quietly. I cannot last long.*"

About ten o'clock he made several attempts to speak to me before he could effect it. At length he said,

"I am just going. Have me decently buried; and do not let my body be put into the vault in less than three days after I am dead."

I bowed assent, for I could not speak. He then looked at me again and said,

"Do you understand me?"

"Yes," I replied.

"'Tis WELL," said he; the last words which he ever uttered on earth.

With surprising self-possession he prepared to die—composing his form at full length, and folding his arms on his bosom.

About ten minutes before he expired (which was between ten and eleven o'clock Saturday evening), his breathing became easier. He lay quietly; he withdrew his hand from mine, and felt his own pulse.

I saw his countenance change. I spoke to Dr. Craik, who sat by the fire. He came to the bedside. The general's hand fell from his wrist. I took it in mine, and pressed it to my bosom. Dr. Craik put his hands over his eyes, and he expired without a struggle or a sigh, December fourteenth, 1799, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, after an illness of twenty-four hours.

While we were fixed in silent grief, Mrs. Washington, who was sitting at the foot of the bed, asked with a firm and collected voice, "Is he gone?" I could not speak, but held up my hand as a signal that he was no more. "'Tis well," said she, in the same voice, "all is now over; I shall soon follow him; I have no more trials to pass through."

The disease of which Washington died was what is now technically called "acute laryngitis," a disease of very rare occurrence.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, AS COLONEL.

About twelve o'clock, the body was carried down stairs, and laid out in the large drawing-room; the burial taking place the next Wednesday, December 18th, his mortal remains being deposited in the family vault at Mount Vernon. The sudden tidings of his death fell like a domestic sorrow upon the hearts of the people; lamentations and solemn obsequies filled the land,—and, throughout the whole world, the event was heard with the deepest emotion.

Nearly forty years after Washington's death and burial, his remains, together with those of his wife, were re-entombed, in order to their being placed in the marble coffins which had been generously offered for that purpose by a patriotic citizen of Philadelphia, to the legal representatives of the departed chieftain. This was in 1837. At the time of Washington's interment, December 18, 1799, his body was placed in a mahogany coffin lined with lead, soldered at the joints, with a cover of lead to be soldered on after the body should be in the vault. The coffin was put into a case, lined and covered with black cloth.

On entering the tomb and examining the coffin, on the occasion in question, it was found that the lid had become displaced and broken, and the silver shield which had originally surmounted the lid had dropped down into the case. At the request of Major Lewis, who was one of the family group to witness the re-entombment, the fractured part of the lid was turned over on the lower part, exposing to view a head and breast of large dimensions, which appeared, by the dim light of the candles, to have suffered but little from the effects of time. The eye-sockets were large and deep, and the breadth across the temples, together with the forehead, appeared of unusual size. There was no appearance of grave-clothes; the chest was broad, the color was dark, and there was the appearance of dried flesh and skin adhering closely to the bones.

The ancient family vault, in which Washington's remains first reposed, was situated under the shade of a small grove of forest trees, a short distance from the family mansion of Mount Vernon, and near the brow of the precipitous bank of the Potomac. Diminutive and unadorned, this humble sepulchre stood in a most romantic and picturesque spot, and, on account of its prominent locality, could be distinctly seen by travelers, as they passed in steamboats up and down the river.

But the ashes of the father of his country were in course of time removed from that place, to a lot near the corner of a

beautiful enclosure, where the river is concealed from view. This site was selected by Washington himself, in the later years of his life, for a tomb.

It is scarcely necessary to cite the opinions held by the illustrious men of America concerning Washington. Those opinions, held and shared by all, from the highest to the humblest citizen, may all be summed up in that grand apotheosis of eulogy, namely, that he was "First in War, First in Peace, First in the Hearts of His Countrymen." It will be of interest, however, in this place, to glance at the estimate of Washington held by some of the great historic characters of the old world,—kings, queens, nobles, and orators.

When Napoleon was about to embark for Egypt, some American gentlemen who happened to be at Toulon, being anxious for an interview with the mighty Corsican, obtained an introduction to him. Scarcely were the customary salutations exchanged, when he eagerly asked—

"How fares your countryman, the great Washington?"

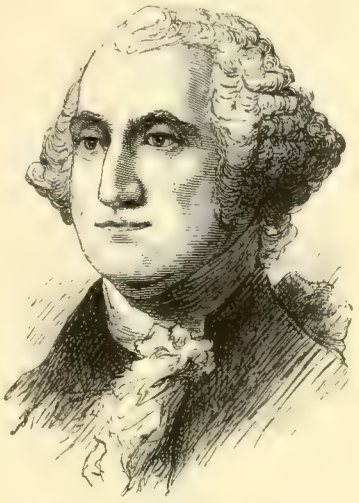
"He was very well, general, when we left America," replied the travelers.

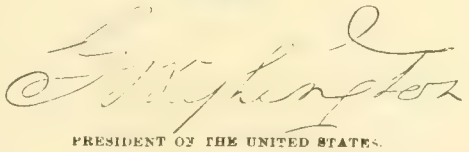
"Ah, gentlemen," rejoined the man of destiny, "Washington can never be otherwise than well. The measure of his fame

GEORGE WASHINGTON, GENERAL U. S. A.

is full. Posterity will talk of him with reverence as the founder of a great empire, when my name shall be lost in the vortex of revolutions."

Marie Antoinette, queen of France, was a great admirer of the heroism and personal character of Washington, though not in sympathy with his political principles. Wishing to send to him a royal





PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

gift in token of her appreciation of his great merits, she consulted Lafayette as to the form of presentation, citing the terms used on similar occasions, in addressing kings and other monarchs. Lafayette mildly objected to those terms, as being not altogether suitable in the present case, saying: "They, madam, were only kings. Washington is the General of a free nation,"—a sentiment to which the gentle-mannered queen at once yielded a most gracious assent, in deference to the acknowledged pre-eminence of Washington.

Lord Erskine, in writing to Washington from London, said: "I have taken the liberty to introduce your august and immortal name in a short sentence, which is to be found in a book I send you. I have a large acquaintance among the most valuable and exalted classes of men; but you are the only human being for whom I have ever felt an awful reverence. I sincerely pray God to grant you a long and serene evening to a life so gloriously devoted to the universal happiness of the world."

In the year 1780, Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, presented General Washington with a picture of his majesty taken to the life, and inscribed underneath with the words—

"*From the oldest general in Europe, to the greatest general on earth.*"

Charles James Fox, the renowned British premier, declared of Washington, in the presence of parliament: "How infinitely wiser must appear the spirit and principles manifested in his late addresses to congress than the policy of modern European courts! Illustrious man! deriving honor less from the splendor of his situation than from the dignity of his mind; before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance, and all the potentates of Europe—excepting the members of our own royal family—become little and contemptible. I can not, indeed, help admiring the wisdom and fortune of this great man. A character, of virtues so happily tempered by one another, and so wholly unalloyed by any vices, is hardly to be found on the pages of history. For him it has been reserved to run the race of glory, without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career."

When the news of Washington's death reached France, Napoleon announced the event to his army, and ordered black crape to be suspended from all the flags and standards in the French service for ten days; and, on the eighth of February, 1800, M. DeFontanes, by direction of Napoleon, pronounced a funeral oration in honor of Washington, in the presence of Bonaparte and the great dignitaries of the realm, in which oration the illustrious deceased was declared to be "a character worthy the best days of antiquity."

Of Washington's personal appearance, little further need be remarked than that it comported entirely with the solid grandeur of his character. In respect to *physique*, no man could have been better formed for command. A stature somewhat exceeding six feet, a full but admirably-proportioned frame, calculated to sustain fatigue, without that heaviness which generally attends great muscular strength and abates active exertion, displayed bodily power of no mean standard. A light gray eye and full, firm forehead, Roman nose; his mouth was peculiar of its

TOMB OF WASHINGTON.

class—the lips firm, and the under jaw seeming to grasp the upper with force, as if its muscles were in full action when he sat still. It was Washington's habit to fasten his eyes calmly and steadily upon those who were ushered into his presence, whether friend or foe, nor was it a slight ordeal thus to meet his penetrating gaze. His limbs were long, large, and sinewy, and his frame was of equal breadth from the shoulders to the hips; his joints were large, as were also his feet, and the great size of his hand never failed to attract attention. His gait and tread was that of a practiced soldier; his deportment invariably grave and reserved; his speech sparing and deliberate. At home he wore the usual dress of a citizen; on state occasions, he dressed in a full suit of the richest black velvet, with diamond knee-buckles, and square silver buckles set

upon shoes japanned with the most scrupulous neatness, black silk stockings, his shirt ruffled at the breast and wrists, a light dress sword, his hair profusely powdered, fully dressed, so as to project at the sides, and gathered behind in a silk bag, ornamented with a large rose of black ribbon. In the prime of life, Washington stood six feet two inches, and weighed nearly two hundred and twenty pounds; he measured precisely six feet when attired for the grave.

XIII.

FATAL DUEL BETWEEN MR. BURR AND GENERAL ALEXANDER HAMILTON.—1804.

Fall of Hamilton at First Fire.—His Death in Thirty Hours —Profound Sensation and Solemn Obsequies in all Parts of the Land.—Mourned as one of the Founders of the Republic.—Indictment of the Assassin for the Crime of Murder.—Hamilton's Brilliant Public Life.—Washington's Right-hand Man.—Champion of the Federalists.—Burr's Career in the Revolution.—His Notorious Debauchery.—Finally Dismissed by Washington —Becomes Vice-President in 1800 —Deadly Personal Hatreds.—Criticisms on Burr by His Opponents.—Challenge Sent to Hamilton —Pacific Explanations Spurned.—Forced to Meet Burr.—Makes His Will in Anticipation —Sings at a Banquet the Day Before.—Arrival of the Fatal Hour —Hamilton's Mortal Wound.—What He Said of the Event.—Conversation Before Dying —Partakes of the Communion.—His Testimony Against Dueling.—Heartless Conduct of Burr.—A Fugitive and an Outlaw.

Cæsar to Antony: "Let the old ruffian know
I have many other ways to die; meantime,
Laugh at his challenge."—ANT. & CLEO., ACT. 4, SC. 1.

MONUMENT TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

BY far the most exciting personal transaction that occurred among the first generation of American statesmen and politicians, was the duel fought in July, 1804, between Colonel Aaron Burr, at that time vice-president of the United States, and General Alexander Hamilton, formerly secretary of the treasury, during the administration of Washington; and in which duel Hamilton fell mortally wounded, his country being thus deprived of its most brilliant ornament.

Of transcendent abilities and unsullied official integrity, it may be said of the victim in this murderous tragedy, that no one labored more efficiently than he, in the organization of the present federal government. At the age of nineteen he entered the revolutionary army, and in 1777 was appointed aid-de-camp of General Washington, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In this capacity he served during the remainder of the war, and at the siege of Yorktown led in person the detachment that carried by assault one of the British outworks. When his military services were no longer required, he commenced the study of the law, entered into its prac-

tice in New York, and soon rose to distinction. In 1782, he was chosen a member of congress; in 1787, a member of the convention that framed the federal constitution. Of this work, as profound as any, and more generally intelligible than most, that have been written on the science of government, the larger portion proceeded from the pen of Hamilton. In political life, he was one of the strongest champions of the party which had Washington at its head. In 1789, he was placed in the cabinet, as secretary of the treasury, and while in this position rendered the most efficient service to his country, by the establishment of an admirable system of national finance. During the insurrection in Pennsylvania, when the people of the western counties took up arms against the general government, Hamilton was placed at the head of the government force destined to act against them; the disturbances being quelled without bloodshed, he resigned his post. His last appearance in military character was again by the side

of Washington, in 1798, as second in command of the army, which was to be called into service in case of hostilities with France.

Aaron Burr was one year the senior of Hamilton, in point of age. His father was the Rev. Aaron Burr, the learned and devout president of Princeton college, and

his mother the daughter of that eminent divine, Jonathan Edwards. Before Burr had reached his third year, however, he was an orphan. When twelve years of age he entered college, graduating at sixteen with the highest reputation. In 1775, while a student of law, he joined the American army under Washington, and such was his ardor in his country's cause, that he joined Arnold as a volunteer in the expedition against Quebec. After his arrival there he was appointed aid-de-camp to Montgomery, and was by the side of that brave officer when he fell. Subsequently, in 1776, he was received by Washington as one of his military family, but was soon cast off by that stern moralist in consequence of his debauchery. This act of Washington, Burr never forgave. His unquestioned military talents, however, secured for him the high position of lieutenant-colonel in 1777, which he retained until 1779, when he was obliged to relinquish it on account of ill-health. Devoting himself to law, he early became one of the greatest lawyers in New York, of which state he was made attorney-general in 1789. From 1791 to 1797, he was a United States senator. In 1800, he was a

candidate for the presidency, and received the same number of votes as Thomas Jefferson; the choice thus went to congress, which, on the thirty-sixth ballot, elected Jefferson president and Burr vice-president. In his personal appearance, Burr is described as having been, in the prime of his manhood, a small but well-formed, fair-complexioned, fascinating man; his face was handsome, by some described as striking, and eyes jet-black and uncommonly brilliant and piercing. In public he had an air of eminent authority, but in the drawing-room his manner was singularly graceful, gentle, and winning. He was a wit, a beau, a good scholar, a polished gentleman, an unscrupulous lawyer and politician, and a libertine in morals. But whoever would read, in all its varied detail, the life of this wonderful man, must consult the biographies of him by Parton and Davis.

The animosity between Burr and Hamilton, as the leaders, respectively, of the two great political parties, was very bitter. The history of this quarrel, in its immediate bearing upon the fatal rencontre in which it finally culminated, is somewhat differently characterized by various biographers, and perhaps not always impartially. Reviewing the matter from the date of Washington's death, the fact is brought to notice, that such was the number of seceders from the federal party after that unlooked-for event, that their opponents resolved to adopt the bold policy of running two presidential candidates, in order thus to secure at least the election of a vice-president, and in this way, although a choice by the electoral colleges was not effected, the two candidates of the democratic party were brought before the house of representatives with claims apparently equal. In the vote of this body by states, it soon appeared that the federal members had it in their power to determine which of the two, Jefferson or Burr, should be president. Many violent federal partisans were inclined to throw a brand of discord into the republican party, by conferring the dignity on Burr; and he is accused of intriguing with them for the purpose.

It is believed that Burr, from this time forth, became Hamilton's mortal foe, and watched for an occasion to get rid of such a rival. In the careful account given by Hildreth, of the subsequent progress of this feud,—a portion of which is here cited,—he mentions, primarily, the two well-known letters written by Dr. Cooper, a zealous partisan, in one of which it is alleged that Hamilton had spoken of Burr as a dangerous man, who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government. In the other letter, after repeating the above statement, Cooper added that he could detail a still more despicable opinion which General Hamilton had expressed of Mr. Burr.

Upon this latter passage, the historian asserts, Burr seized as the means of forcing Hamilton into a duel. For his agent and assistant therein he selected William P. Van Ness, a young lawyer, one of his most attached partisans, and not less dark, designing, cool, and implacable than himself. Van Ness was sent to Hamilton with a copy of Cooper's printed letter, and a note from Burr, insisting upon a prompt and unqualified acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expressions which would warrant Cooper's assertions.

Hamilton expressed a perfect readiness to avow or disavow any specific opinion which he might be charged with having uttered; but added that he never would consent to be interrogated generally as to whether he had ever said anything in the course of fifteen years of political competition to justify inferences which others might have drawn, thus exposing his candor and sincerity to injurious imputations on the part of all who might have misapprehended him.

"More than this," said Hamilton in the conclusion of his letter to Burr, "can not fitly be expected of me; especially, it can not be reasonably expected that I shall enter into any explanations upon a basis so vague as that you have adopted. I trust, on more reflection, you will see the matter in the same light. If not, I can

only regret the circumstance, and must abide the consequences."

Burr's curt, rude, and offensive reply began with intimating that Hamilton's letter was greatly deficient in that sincerity and delicacy which he professed so much to value. The epithet in question, in the common understanding of it, implied dishonor. It having been affixed to Burr's name upon Hamilton's authority, he was bound to say whether he had authorized it, either directly, or by uttering expressions or opinions derogatory to Burr's honor.

It was apparent from this letter, and it was subsequently distinctly stated by Van Ness, that what Burr required was a general disavowal on the part of Hamilton, of any intention, in any conversation he might ever have held, to convey impressions derogatory to the honor of Burr. Desirous to deprive Burr of any possible excuse for persisting in his murderous designs, Hamilton caused a paper to be transmitted to him, through Pendleton, a brother lawyer, who acted as his friend in this matter, to the effect that, if properly addressed—for Burr's second letter was considered too insulting to admit of a reply —he should be willing to state that the conversation alluded to by Dr. Cooper, so far as he could recall it, was wholly in relation to politics, and did not touch upon Burr's private character; nor should he hesitate to make an equally prompt avowal or disavowal as to any other particular and specific conversation concerning which he might be questioned.

But as Burr's only object was to find a pretext for a challenge,—since he never could have expected the general disavowal he demanded, this offer was pronounced unsatisfactory and evasive; and again, a second time, disavowing in the same breath the charge made against him of predetermined hostility, Burr requested Van Ness to deliver a challenge.

The eleventh of July, at seven in the morning, was the time mutually agreed upon for the duel; the place, Weehawken, New Jersey, opposite the city of New York; the weapons to be pistols, and the distance ten paces. In the meantime, Hamilton and Burr met once more at the convivial board, namely, at the annual banquet of the Society of the Cincinnati, of which Hamilton was president and Burr a member. It is related that on this occasion Hamilton was cheerful, and at times merry. He was urged, as the feast wore away, to sing the only song he ever sang or knew, the famous old ballad of "The Drum." It was thought afterward, that he was more reluctant than usual to comply with the company's request; but after some delay, he said, "Well, you shall have it," and sang it in his best manner, greatly to the delight of the old soldiers by whom he was surrounded. Burr, on the contrary, was reserved, and mingled little with the company, and held no intercourse whatever with the president. He was never a fluent man, and was generally, in the society of men, more a listener than a talker. On this occasion, his silence was, therefore, the less remarked; yet it was remarked. It was observed, too, that he paid no attention to Hamilton's conversation, nor, indeed, looked toward him, until he struck up his song, when Burr turned toward him, and, leaning upon the table, looked at the singer until the song was done.

The fatal morning came. Colonel Burr arrived first on the ground, as had been previously agreed. He deliberately took off his coat, surveyed the ground, and then cleared away the bushes, limbs of trees, etc. When General Hamilton arrived, the parties exchanged salutations, and the seconds proceeded to make their arrangements. They measured the distance, full ten paces, and cast lots for the choice of position, as also to determine by whom the word should be given, both of which fell to the seconds of Hamilton. They then proceeded to load the pistols in each other's presence, after which the parties took their stations.

The gentleman who was to give the word now explained to the parties the rules which were to govern them in firing,

SCENE OF THE BURR AND HAMILTON DUEL, WEEHAWKEN.

which were as follows: 'The parties being placed at their stations, the second who gives the word shall ask them whether they are ready; being answered in the affirmative, he shall say *Present*; after this, the parties shall present and fire *when they please*. If one fires before the other, the opposite second shall say, One, two, three, fire;—and he shall then fire, or lose his fire.' He then asked if they were prepared; being answered in the affirmative, he gave the word *Present*, as had been agreed on, and both parties presented and fired in succession. The fire of Burr took effect; Hamilton sprang upon his toes with a convulsive movement, reeled a little toward the heights, at which moment he involuntarily discharged his pistol, and then fell headlong upon his face, and remained motionless upon the ground. His ball rustled among the branches, seven feet above the head of his antagonist, and four feet wide of him. Burr heard it, looked up, and saw where it had severed a twig. Looking at Hamilton, he beheld him falling, and advanced towards him with a manner and gesture that appeared to be expressive of regret, but without speaking turned about and withdrew, being urged from the field by his friend. No further communication took place between the principals, and the barge that

carried Colonel Burr immediately left the Jersey shore for New York.

Hamilton was at once borne away tenderly in the arms of Pendleton, and his necessities ministered to by Dr. Hosack. He had, at this moment, just strength enough to say, "This is a mortal wound, doctor;" when he sank away, and became to all appearance lifeless. "My vision is indistinct," were his first words. Soon after recovering his sight, he happened to cast his eye upon the case of pistols, and observing the one he had used lying on the outside, he said:

"Take care of that pistol; it is undischarged, and still cocked; it may go off and do harm;—Pendleton knows (attempting to turn his head towards him) that I did not intend to fire at him."

"Yes, I have already made Dr. Hosack acquainted with your determination as to that," replied Pendleton.

On approaching the shore, he said, "Let Mrs. Hamilton be immediately sent for; let the event be gradually broken to her; but give her hopes." His friend, Mr. Bayard, stood on the wharf in great agitation, and, on seeing Hamilton lying in the bottom of the boat, he threw up his arms and burst into a flood of tears and lamentation. Hamilton alone appeared tranquil and composed. On being put to bed, a consultation of physicians was held, who united in the opinion that there was no chance of his recovery. General Key, the French consul, also had the goodness to invite the surgeons of the French frigates then in New York harbor, as they had had much experience in gun-shot wounds, to render their assistance. They immediately came, but their opinion was unanimous as to the hopelessness of the case. The ball had struck the second or third false rib, and fractured it about the middle; it then passed through the liver and the diaphragm, and as far as was subsequently ascertained, lodged in the first or second lumbar vertebra, the latter being considerably splintered, so that the spiculæ were perceptible to the touch of the finger.

The news of Hamilton's fall, and probably speedy death, by a duel with the vice-president of the United States, paralyzed the whole nation, as the shocking intelligence sped itself over the country. In New York, especially, bulletins, hourly changed, kept the city in agitation. All the circumstances of the catastrophe were told, and re-told, at every corner. The thrilling scenes that were passing at the bedside of the dying man, the consultation of the physicians, the arrival of the stricken family, Mrs. Hamilton's overwhelming sorrow, the resignation and calm dignity of the illustrious sufferer, his broken slumbers during the night, the piteous spectacle of the seven children entering together the awful apartment,—all these produced an impression on the public that can only be imagined.

At General Hamilton's request, Bishop Moore and Rev. Dr. Mason visited him at his bedside. To the former he said: "My dear sir, you perceive my unfortunate situation, and no doubt have been made acquainted with the circumstances which led to it. It is my desire to receive the communion at your hands. I hope you will not conceive there is any impropriety in my request. It has for some time past been the wish of my heart, and it was my intention to take an early opportunity of uniting myself to the church by the reception of that holy ordinance." Bishop Moore observed to him, that he must be very sensible of the delicate and trying situation in which, as a minister, he was then placed; that however desirous he might be to afford consolation to a fellow mortal in distress, still it was his duty as an ambassador of the gospel, to hold up the law of God as paramount to all other law, and that, therefore, he must unequivocally condemn the practice which had brought him to his present unhappy condition. Hamilton acknowledged the propriety of these sentiments, and added, "*I have no ill-will against Colonel Burr. I met him with a fixed determination to do him no harm. I forgive all that happened.*" After some other religious conversation

incident to the occasion, he received the sacrament with great devotion, expressing strong confidence in divine mercy. In his interview with Dr. Mason, he exhibited the same spiritual conviction, and repeated the emphatic testimony he had given to Bishop Moore, against the barbarous custom of dueling.

The next day, Thursday, at eleven o'clock, being about thirty hours after receiving the fatal wound, Hamilton embraced his wife for the last time, then calmly composed himself to die, and expired without a shudder or a groan, in the prime of his manhood, being forty-seven years of age.

The death of this most illustrious statesman was universally deplored, as a national calamity second only to the death of Washington himself; and, indeed, on account of the tragical circumstances under which the great patriot was brought to his end, the excitement produced throughout the country was, if possible, more startling and profound than that which followed the announcement of Washington's decease. In the city of New York, the most imposing funeral ceremony ever witnessed in America revealed the unexampled grief that burdened the public mind. All business was suspended, the bells tolled in solemn requiem, public meetings of the various societies were held, the ships in the harbor hoisted their flags at half-mast, and sorrow was depicted on every countenance.

The indignation against Burr knew no bounds. His fixed determination to bring Hamilton within range of his pistol, feeling "sure of being able to kill him," caused his act to be branded as willful murder, and an indictment was duly found against him; but in a few days he fled, an outlaw and an outcast, and thus eluded justice. Burr's execrable heartlessness may be judged of, by the note written by him to Mr. Allston, his son-in-law, in which he said: "General Hamilton died yesterday. The malignant federalists or tories, and the embittered Clintonians, unite in endeavoring to excite public sympathy in his favor and indignation against his antagonist. Thousands of absurd falsehoods are circulated with industry. The most illiberal means are practiced in order to produce excitement, and for the moment with effect."

One week before the time fixed upon for the duel, Hamilton prepared a letter to his wife, to be handed to her in case of his death. In this affecting epistle, he assures her that he had striven by all honorable means to avoid the meeting, and expects to fall in it; he entreats her forgiveness for the calamity his death would bring upon her, and conjures her to meet the blow in calm submission to providence.

Hamilton's widow, a woman of rare excellence and dignity, survived him some fifty years. Once only did she see her husband's murderer, the circumstances of this occasion being related as follows: In the year 1822, she was traveling from New York to Albany, on one of the boats plying the Hudson. The company had been summoned to dinner. When Mrs. Hamilton had almost reached her seat in the dining-saloon, on raising her eyes she perceived Aaron Burr standing directly opposite to her, with only the narrow width of the table between them. The shock was too much for her system,—she uttered a loud scream, fell, and was carried in a fainting state from the apartment. As soon as she recovered, she insisted on being set on shore at the first landing-place, refusing to journey further in the same vessel with Burr. It is said, that, after the removal of Mrs. Hamilton from the dining saloon, Burr deliberately sat down and ate a hearty dinner with the utmost composure. This story, however, wears an air of improbability.

XIV.

FULTON'S TRIUMPHANT APPLICATION OF STEAM TO NAVIGATION.—1807.

First Steam-boat Voyage on American Waters Under His Direction.—Astonishment Produced by the Exhibition.—Great Era in National Development.—The World at Large Indebted to American Ingenuity and Enterprise for this Mighty Revolutionary Agent in Human Progress and Power.—The Whole Scale of Civilization Enlarged.—Fulton's Early Mechanisms.—His Inventive Projects Abroad.—Steam Propulsion the End Sought.—Various Experiments and Trials.—Livingston's Valued Co-operation.—Studying the Principle Involved.—Its Discovery at Last.—Legislative Encouragement Asked.—Public Ridicule of the Scheme.—Construction of a Steamboat.—The "Queer-Looking Craft."—Incidents at the Launch.—Undaunted Confidence of Fulton.—Sailing of the "New-Fangled Craft."—Demonstrations Along the Route.—Complete Success of the Trip.—First Passage-Money.—That Bottle of Wine.—Opposition Lines, and Racing.—First Steam-boat at the West.—Amazing Subsequent Increase.—Fulton's Checkered Fortunes.

"It is to the undaunted perseverance and exertions of the American FULTON that is due the everlasting honor of having produced this revolution, both in naval architecture and navigation."—JURY REPORT OF THE EXHIBITION OF ALL NATIONS, LONDON, 1851.

FIRST STEAM-BOAT ON THE HUDSON.

STEAM, in its application to the purposes of navigation, was first successfully employed by Robert Fulton, a native of Little Britain, Pennsylvania. His peculiar genius manifested itself at an early age, in an irrepressible taste for producing drawings and various mechanisms. At the age of twenty-one he was intimate with Franklin. He had previously painted portraits and landscapes in Philadelphia, and derived considerable profit from the occupation. He subsequently sailed for England, with the view of seeking Mr. West's aid in the prosecution of his art. That great painter took him into his family, at once. In 1793, Mr. Fulton was actively engaged in a project to improve inland navigation. Even at that time he had conceived the idea of propelling vessels by steam. In 1804 he had acquired much valuable information upon the subject, and written it down, as well as much concerning his own life, and sent many manuscripts from Paris to this country, but the vessel was wrecked and most of the papers destroyed. About this period, the subject of canals seems to have been the principal object of his attention, although not exclusively. In 1806, Mr. Fulton left Europe for New York, and on his arrival in this country, he immediately commenced his arduous exertions in the cause of practical science. The fertility of his mind in this direction may be understood, when it is stated that, in 1794, he had been engaged by the Duke of Bridgewater in

canal projects, had adopted and patented the system of inclined planes as a substitute for locks, and had written a treatise on canals. He also invented a mill for sawing marble, patented several methods of spinning flax and making ropes, and constructed a torpedo to be used in war, for the destruction of an enemy's vessels.

At what time Mr. Fulton's mind was first directed to steam navigation, is not definitely known; but even in 1793, he had matured a plan in which he reposed great confidence. No one, previously to Mr. Fulton, had constructed a steam-boat

Robert Fulton

in any other way, or with any other result, than as an unsuccessful experiment; and although many have disputed his right to the honor of the discovery, none have done so with any semblance of justice. Miller's experiments, which simply proved the practicability of the principle of propelling vessels by steam, were made in 1787, in Scotland; but Fulton's boat, which began to navigate the Hudson in 1807, was certainly the first practical demonstration of this application of steam, being five years prior to the success of Henry Bell on the Clyde, and nearly ten years preceding the first attempts on the Thames river, under Brunel's direction. The incompleteness of Fitch's plan is matter of history, though his inventive ingenuity was very great.

Among those of Fulton's own countrymen who had previously made unsuccessful attempts to render the force of steam subservient to practical and useful purposes, was Chancellor Livingston, of New York. As early as 1798, he believed that he had accomplished his object, and represented to the legislature of the state of New York, that he possessed a mode of applying the steam engine so as to propel a boat on new and advantageous principles; but he was deterred from carrying it into effect, by the uncertainty and hazard of a very expensive experiment, unless he could be assured of an exclusive advantage from it, should it be found successful.

The legislature in March, 1798, passed an act vesting Mr. Livingston with the exclusive right and privilege of navigating all kinds of boats which might be propelled by the force of fire or steam, on all the waters within the territory or jurisdiction of the state of New York, for a term of twenty years from the passing of the act, —upon condition that he should within a twelvemonth build such a boat, the mean of whose progress should not be less than four miles an hour.

The bill was introduced into the house of assembly by Dr. Mitchell, upon which occasion the wags and the lawyers united their powers in opposition to the bill in such a manner that the good doctor had to encounter all their jokes, and parry all their blows.

According to Mr. Livingston's own account of these most interesting circumstances, it appears that, when residing as minister plenipotentiary of the United States in France, he there met with Mr. Fulton, and they formed that friendship and connection with each other, to which a similarity of pursuits naturally gives birth. He communicated to Mr. Fulton his views of the importance of steam-boats to their common country; informed him of what had been attempted in America, and of his resolution to resume the pursuit on

his return; and advised him to turn his attention to the subject. It was agreed between them to embark in the enterprise, and immediately to make such experiments as would enable them to determine how far, in spite of former failures, the object was attainable. The principal direction of these experiments was left to Mr. Fulton.

On the arrival at New York of Mr. Fulton, which was not till 1806, they immediately engaged in building a boat of—as was then thought—very considerable dimensions, for navigating the Hudson. This boat, named the Clermont, was of one hundred and sixty tons burden, one hundred and thirty feet long, eighteen feet wide, and seven feet deep. The diameter of the paddle-wheels was fifteen feet, the boards four feet long and dipping two feet in the water. She was a queer-looking craft, and, while on the stocks, excited much attention and no small amount of ridicule. When she was launched, and the steam engine placed in her, that also was looked upon as being of a piece with the boat built to float it. A few had seen one at work raising the Manhattan water into the reservoir back of the almshouse; but, to the people at large, the whole thing was a hidden mystery. Curiosity was greatly excited. Nor will the reader be at all surprised at the statement made by an eye-witness and narrator of these events, that, when it was announced in the New York papers that the boat would start from Cortlandt street at six and a half o'clock on Friday morning, the fourth of August, and take passengers to Albany, there was a broad smile on every face, as the inquiry was made, if any one would be fool enough to go? One friend was heard to accost another in the street with—

"John, will thee risk thy life in such a concern? I tell thee she is the most fearful wild fowl living, and thy father ought to restrain thee!"

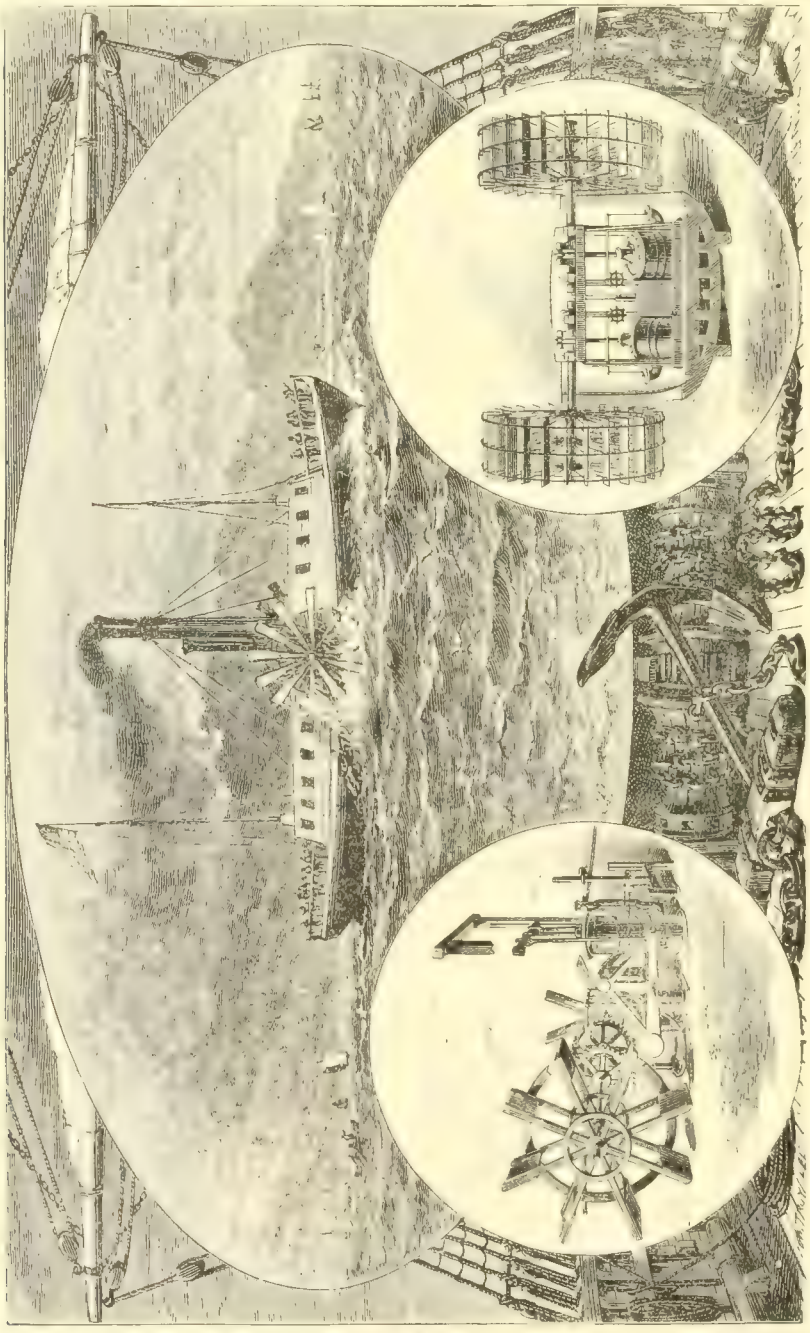
When Friday morning came, the wharves, piers, house-tops, and every '*coigne de vantage*' from which a sight could be obtained, was filled with spectators. There were twelve berths, and every one was taken through to Albany. The fare was seven dollars. All the machinery was uncovered and exposed to view. The periphery of the balance-wheels, of cast iron, some four or more inches square, ran just clear of the water. There were no outside guards, the balance-wheels being supported by their respective shafts, which projected over the sides of the boat. The forward part was covered by a deck, which afforded shelter to the hands. The after-part was fitted up, in a rough manner, for passengers. The entrance into the cabin was from the stern, in front of the steersman, who worked a tiller, as in an ordinary sloop. Black smoke issued from the chimney; steam issued from every ill-fitted valve and crevice of the engine. Fulton himself was there. His remarkably clear and sharp voice was heard above the hum of the multitude and the noise of the engine; his step was confident and decided; he heeded not the fearfulness, doubts, or sarcasm of those by whom he was surrounded. The whole scene combined had in it an individuality, as well as an interest, which comes but once and is remembered forever.

Everything being ready, the engine was set in motion, and the boat moved steadily but slowly from the wharf: as she turned up the river, and was fairly under way, there arose such a huzza as ten thousand throats never gave before. The passengers returned the cheer, but Fulton stood upon the deck, his eyes flashing with an unusual brilliancy as he surveyed the crowd. He felt that the magic wand of success was waving over him, and he was silent.

As the boat sailed or steamed by West Point, the whole garrison was out, and cheered most lustily. At Newburg, it seemed as if all Orange county was collected there; the whole side-hill city seemed animated with life. Every sail-boat and water-craft was out. The ferry-boat from Fishkill was filled with ladies, but Fulton was engaged in seeing a passenger landed, and did not observe the

boat until she bore up nearly alongside; the flapping of a sail arrested his attention, and, as he turned, the waving of so many handkerchiefs, and the smiles of so many bright and happy faces, struck him with surprise, and, raising his hat, he exclaimed, "That is the finest sight we have seen yet."

In a letter to his friend and patron, Mr. Barlow, Fulton says of this Clermont trial trip: "My steam-boat voyage to Albany and back has turned out rather more favorable than I had calculated. The distance to Albany is one hundred and fifty miles. I ran up in thirty-two hours and down in thirty. The latter is just five



FULTON'S FIRST STEAM BOAT.

miles an hour. I had a light breeze against me the whole way, going and coming, so that no use was made of my sails, and this voyage has been performed wholly by the power of the steam engine. I overtook many sloops and schooners beating to the windward, and passed them as if they had been at anchor." Such was the modest description of this greatest of modern inventions.

Of peculiar interest and entertainment is the following narrative connected with this historic voyage, from the graphic pen of one who was a personal actor in the scene described:—

I chanced to be at Albany on business when Fulton arrived there in his unheard-of craft, which everybody felt so much anxiety to see. Being ready to leave, and hearing that this craft was going to return to New York, I repaired on board and inquired for Mr. Fulton. I was referred to the cabin, and there found a plain, gentlemanly man, wholly alone, and engaged in writing.

"Mr. Fulton, I presume."

"Yes, sir."

"Do you return to New York, with this boat?"

"We shall try to get back, sir."

"Can I have a passage down?"

"You can take your chance with us, sir."

I inquired the amount to be paid, and, after a moment's hesitation, a sum, I think six dollars, was named. The amount, in coin, I laid in his open hand, and, with his eye fixed upon it, he remained so long motionless, that I supposed it might be a miscount, and said to him, "Is that right, sir?" This question roused him as from a kind of reverie, and, as he looked up, the big tear was brimming in his eye, and his voice faltered as he said—

"Excuse me, sir; but memory was busy as I contemplated this, the first pecuniary reward I have ever received for all my exertions in adapting steam to navigation. I should gladly commemorate the occasion over a bottle of wine with you, but really I am too poor even for that, just now; yet I trust we may meet again, when this will not be the case."

Some four years after this (continues the writer of this agreeable reminiscence), when the Clermont had been greatly improved and her name changed to the North River, and when two other boats, viz., the Car of Neptune and the Paragon had been built, making Mr. Fulton's fleet consist of three boats regularly plying between New York and Albany, I took passage upon one of these for the latter city. The cabin in that day was below; and, as I walked its length to and fro, I saw I was very closely observed by one I supposed a stranger. Soon, however, I recalled the features of Mr. Fulton; but, without disclosing this, I continued my walk. At length, in passing his seat, our eyes met, when he sprang to his feet, and, eagerly seizing my hand, exclaimed—

"I knew it must be you, for your features have never escaped me; and, although I am still far from rich, yet I may venture that *bottle* now!"

It was ordered; and during its discussion Mr. Fulton ran rapidly, but vividly, over his experiences of the world's coldness and sneers, and of the hopes, fears, disappointments, and difficulties, that were scattered through his whole career of discovery, up to the very point of his final, crowning triumph, at which he so fully felt he had arrived at last. And in reviewing all these matters, he said—

"I have again and again recalled the occasion, and the incident, of our first interview at Albany; and never have I done so without renewing in my mind the vivid emotion it originally caused. That seemed, and does still seem, to me, the turning point in my destiny—the dividing line between light and darkness, in my career upon earth; for it was the first actual recognition of my usefulness to my fellow-men."

Even at this early period in the employment of so dangerous and slightly understood a motive power as steam, the rivalry and diversion of racing was indulged in. It was in the month of September, 1809,

that the exciting and criminal scene of a steam-boat race was first enacted. A company from Albany had been formed for the purpose of competing with Fulton. The first vessel of this opposition line was advertised to leave Albany at the same time as Fulton's. Parties ran high in the hotels of Albany. The partisans of Fulton were enrolled under Professor Kemp, of Columbia College; those of the opposition under Jacob Stout. The victory was long in suspense; and it was not until after the thirtieth hour of a hard struggle that the result was proclaimed by Dr. Kemp, on the taffrail of Fulton's vessel, and holding out, in derision, a coil of rope to Captain Stout, for the purpose, as he remarked in so doing, of "towing him into port." When the age, high standing, and sedate character of these two gentlemen are considered, it is not surprising that, in course of time, women at the West learned to devote their bacon to feeding the furnace fires of rival steam-boats.

The complete success attending steam navigation on the Hudson and the neighboring waters, previous to the year 1809, turned the attention of the principal projectors to the idea of its application on the western waters; and in the month of April of that year, Mr. Roosevelt, of New York, pursuant to an agreement with Chancellor Livingston and Mr. Fulton, visited those rivers, with the purpose of forming an opinion whether they admitted of steam navigation or not. Mr. Roosevelt surveyed the rivers from Pittsburg to New Orleans, and, as his report was favorable, it was decided to build a boat at the former place. This was done under his direction, and in the year 1811 the first boat was launched on the waters of the Ohio. It was called the New Orleans.

Late at night, on the fourth day after quitting Pittsburg, they arrived in safety at Louisville, having been seventy hours descending a distance of somewhat more than seven hundred miles. The novel appearance of the vessel, and the fearful rapidity—as it was then regarded—with which it made its passage, excited a mixture of terror and surprise among many of the settlers on the banks, whom the rumor of such an invention had never reached.

Mr. Livingston's former associate in his experiments with applying steam to this purpose was Mr. John Stevens, of New Jersey, who persevered independently of Fulton and his patron, in various attempts to construct steam-boats. In this enterprise he was aided by his son, and his prospects of success had become so flattering, that he refused to renew his partnership with Livingston, and resolved to trust to his own exertions. Fulton's boat, however, was first ready, and thus secured the grant of the exclusive privilege of the state of New York. The Stevenses were but a few days later in moving a boat with the required velocity. Being shut out of the waters of the state of New York, by the priority of Livingston and Fulton, Stevens conceived the bold design of conveying his boat to the Delaware by sea; and this boat, which was so near reaping the honor of first success, was the first to navigate the ocean by steam. One of the most efficient advocates of the new mode of navigation by steam was DeWitt Clinton.

From the date of Fulton's triumph in 1807, steam navigation became a fixed fact in the United States, and went on extending with astonishing rapidity. Nor could a different result have been rationally expected in such a country as America.

In person, Mr. Fulton was about six feet high, slender form, but finely proportioned. Nature had made him a gentleman, and bestowed upon him ease and gracefulness. A modest confidence in his own worth and talents, gave him an unembarrassed deportment in all his social intercourse. He expressed himself with energy, fluency, and correctness, and, as he owed more to his own experience and reflections than to books, his sentiments were often interesting from their originality. But what was most conspicuous in his character, was his calm constancy, his industry, and that indefatigable patience and perseverance, which always enabled him to overcome difficulties.

XV.

CAPTURE OF THE BRITISH FRIGATE GUERRIERE BY THE U. S. FRIGATE CONSTITUTION.—1812.

Captain Dacres's Insolent Challenge to the American Navy.—Captain Hull's Eager Acceptance.—His Unrivaled Tactics and Maneuvers.—A Short, Terrific, Decisive Contest.—Yankee Valor on the Ocean a Fixed Fact, Sternly Respected.—The Constitution Becomes the Favorite Ship of the Nation, and is Popularly Called "Old Ironsides."—Cruise of the Constitution.—Hull, the "Sea King," in Command.—A Sail! The Enemy's Squadron!—Chased Three Days by Them.—Rowing and Warping in a Calm.—Most Wonderful Escape on Record.—Another Frigate in Sight, the Guerriere.—Her Signals of Defiance.—Yankee Eagerness for Action.—The Two Frigates Afoul.—Yard-arm to Yard-arm Encounter.—Fire of the Constitution Reserved.—Final and Deadly Broadsides.—Fearless Conduct of her Crew.—British Colors Hauled Down.—Sinking of the Shattered Wreck.—Armament and Power of the Ships.—An almost Equal Match.—Anecdotes of the Two Commanders.—Honors to the Brave Victors.—Future Annals of the Constitution.—Her Varied and Noble Career.

"Never before, in the history of the world, did an English frigate strike to an American, under equal circumstances."—LONDON TIMES.

PROUDEST among the triumphs of the American flag will forever be associated the career of that noble old frigate, the Constitution,—re-christened, by popular acclaim, "*Old Ironsides*," for her grand and victorious resistance to British domination on the ocean, in successive and hotly-contested battles. The greatest of these triumphs came, too, at a time when the public heart heaved with despondency; and the sensibilities of a whole nation, deeply wounded by the ill-success of their arms on the frontier, were suddenly thrilled with joy at the announcement of an action brilliant beyond all precedent in its results, in the annals of naval warfare. The American heart beat high and warm, as the news of this proud achievement winged itself over the sea and over the land, and from the western to the eastern hemisphere. It may here be stated, as an interesting naval item, that the first commander of this pet frigate was Commodore Samuel Nicholson, brother of Commodore James Nicholson, of revolutionary note.

Previous to the final declaration of war against Great Britain, in June, 1812, preparation had been made by the United States government to send to sea, immediately on that event, all the frigates and armed vessels that could be put in readiness, to protect American commerce, and meet the enemy on the ocean. When,

however, these little squadrons left their ports to contend with the haughty mistress of the seas, every American breast was filled with anxiety. Indeed, the British naval commanders had boasted that they would drive the little striped bunting of the upstart states, in affright and dismay, from every part of the broad ocean. How the Constitution saved herself, on first sighting the British lion, is a narrative uniting the romantic and miraculous.

It was on the twenty-first of June, that a squadron, consisting of the President, the United States, the Congress, the Hornet, and Argus, under the command of Commodore Rodgers, sailed from New York on a cruise in quest of British merchantmen, then on their way from Jamaica to England. Subsequently, the frigate Constitution, Captain Isaac Hull, received orders to join the squadron of Rodgers, and, for that purpose, sailed from the Chesapeake on the twelfth of July. On the seventeenth, being off Egg Harbor, four ships, apparently men-of-war, were discovered from the mast-head to the northward, approaching rapidly with a fine breeze, while it was nearly calm about the Constitution. In the belief that it was the American squadron, waiting her arrival, every effort was made to come up with them. At four in the afternoon, another ship was seen to the north-east, standing for the Constitution, with all sails set. At ten in the evening, being then within six or eight miles of the strange sail, the private signal was made by the Constitution; which not being answered, it was concluded that they were the enemy's vessels.

And now commenced what may justly be termed the most remarkable series of naval tactics and maneuvers ever known, —the most wonderful chase recorded in nautical history —resulting in the successful, and almost miraculous, escape of the American frigate from a whole squadron of British vessels, commanded by Captain Broke, in close pursuit for nearly three days and nights.

The position of the Constitution seemed hopeless indeed, when she found that one of the enemy's frigates was within about five or six miles, and a line-of-battle ship, a frigate, a brig, and schooner, some ten or twelve miles directly astern, all in chase of her, with a fine breeze, and coming up fast,—while, unfortunately, the wind had entirely left the Constitution, so that the ship would not steer, but fell round off with her head towards the two ships under her lee. The boats were instantly hoisted out, and sent ahead, to tow the ship's head round, and to endeavor to get her farther from the enemy, being now within five miles of three heavy frigates. The boats of the enemy were got out and sent ahead to tow, by which, with the light air that remained with them, they came up very fast. Finding the enemy gaining on him, and but little chance of escaping, Hull ordered two guns to be ran out at the cabin windows for stern guns on the gun-deck, and hoisted one of the twenty-four pounders off the gun-deck, and ran that, with the forecastle gun, an eighteen-pounder, out at the ports on the quarter-deck, and cleared the ship for action, being determined they should not capture her, without encountering a resistance worthy of Americans.

At about seven o'clock, on the morning of the eighteenth, the nearest ship approached within gunshot and directly astern, seeing which, Hull ordered one of the stern guns to be fired, to see if her masts could be reached and disabled, but the shot fell a little short. At eight, four of the enemy's ships were nearly within gunshot, some of them having six or eight boats ahead towing, with all their oars and sweeps out, to row them up to the Constitution, which they were fast doing. It thus appeared that the noble frigate must be taken—that escape was impossible,—four heavy ships being already so near, and coming up fast, with not the least hope of a breeze to give the Constitution a chance of getting off by outsailing them.

In this situation, and finding himself in only twenty-four fathoms of water, Hull, adopting the advice of Lieutenant Morris, determined to try and warp the ship ahead,

by carrying out anchors and warping her up to them. Three or four hundred fathoms of rope were instantly got up, and two anchors made ready and sent ahead, by which means the ship began to distance the enemy's squadron; but the latter soon saw this movement, and adopted the same plan, under very advantageous circumstances, as all the boats from the British ships furthermost off, were sent to tow and warp up those nearest to the Constitution, by which means they again came up, almost within gun-shot reach.

From nine to twelve, Hull employed all hands in warping the ship ahead, and in starting some of the water in the main hold to lighten her, which, with the help of a slight breeze, enabled the Constitution to rather gain upon the enemy. About two, in the afternoon, all the boats from the line-of-battle ship and from some of the frigates were sent to the foremost frigate, to endeavor to tow her along more rapidly, but, a light air springing up, the Constitution held way with her pursuer, notwithstanding the latter had eight or ten boats ahead, and all her sails furled to tow her to windward. The wind continued light until eleven at night, and Hull's boats were kept ahead, towing and warping to keep out of the reach of the enemy, three of the frigates being now very near; at eleven, however, a fresh breeze blew from the southward, when the boats came alongside and were hoisted up, the ship having too much way to keep them ahead.

On the nineteenth, the enemy stood six sail in sight, still in chase, with all canvas spread, and very near. The wind, however, continued to increase, gradually, during the whole day, and Hull gained six or eight miles upon Broke, notwithstanding the latter pressed on with every inch of sail he could fling to the breeze. The hopes of the Americans were now unbounded in their buoyancy, and these hopes were succeeded by unspeakable exultation, when it was discovered, at daylight on the morning of the twentieth, that only three of the British vessels could be seen from the mast-head, the nearest of which was about twelve miles off, directly astern. All hands were now set at work wetting the Constitution's sails, from the royals down, by means of the engine and fire-buckets, and it was soon found that the enemy was left far in the rear. At a quarter-past eight, the British, finding that they were fast dropping astern, gave over chase, and hauled their wind to the northward. The Constitution, being separated from the rest of the American squadron, made immediately for Boston, where she arrived in safety, and remained a few days.

During the whole of this most remarkable, as well as exciting and wearisome chase, the gallant crew of the Constitution remained steadfastly and cheerfully at their stations, without murmur or confusion, and not only they and their officers, but the noble ship herself, gained a high reputation for masterly movement and behavior. Even the officers of the British squadron expressed their admiration of the consummate nautical knowledge and professional adroitness displayed by Captain Hull, in maneuvering his ship and effecting his escape.

But it was soon to be proved that Hull was no less a sea-warrior than a brilliant strategical navigator. On the second day

CAPTAIN HULL.

of August, Hull again put to sea, pursuing an easterly course. He passed near the coast as far down as the bay of Fundy, then ran off Halifax and Cape Sable; but, not seeing any vessels for some days, Hull steered toward Newfoundland, passed the

isle of Sables, and took a station off the gulf of St. Lawrence, to intercept the Canada trade. While cruising here, he captured two merchant-vessels. On the fifteenth, he chased a convoy of five sail, captured one of them, and prevented the prize-ship of an American privateer from being re-taken. Having received information that the British squadron was off the Grand Banks, and not far distant, he changed his cruising-ground, and proceeded southward.

On the nineteenth of August, 1812, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the Constitution being in latitude forty-one degrees and forty-two minutes north, and fifty-five degrees and thirty-three minutes west longitude, off the coast of Massachusetts, a ship was discovered from the mast-head of the Constitution. Captain Hull instantly made all sail in chase, and soon gained on her. At three o'clock, it could plainly be perceived that she was a man-of-war, on the starboard tack, under easy sail, close-hauled to the wind; and by half-past three the stranger was ascertained to be a British frigate,—the Guerriere, Captain James A. Dacres. This vessel had hoisted at her mast-head, a flag with her assumed name, the Warrior, in large characters, and on another were inscribed the words, '*Not the Little Belt*,'—the latter being a British sloop-of-war that had been badly handled in an engagement with the United States ship President. The Guerriere had looked into several ports in quest of American frigates, and given a challenge to all vessels of her class. On the heaving in sight, therefore, of the Constitution, the British commander assembled his crew, pointed to them the object of their wishes, assured them of an easy victory, and was answered by three hearty cheers. So, too, the announcement by Captain Hull, that the ship in sight was a British man-of-war, and probably of about the same force as the Constitution, was received with lively exultation by the brave American crew.

Eager for battle and hopeful of victory, Hull ordered the light sails to be taken in, the courses to be hauled up, and the ship to be cleared for action. The enemy now backed her main-top-sail, and waited for the Constitution to come down; and as soon as the latter was ready for action, she bore down, intending to bring to immediate engagement the British frigate which had been from the very first, the object of such eager attention by the Americans, on account of her fine appearance and peculiar movements, and leading to the supposition that she was a craft of more than ordinary importance in the estimation of the enemy, —a supposition that did not fail to be realized.

The very fact that she bore on one of her flags the words just quoted, indicated that the feeling engendered by that event was a terribly sore one to the British, and that, if it were a possible thing, the wound was to be healed, at the first opportunity, by some signal act of retribution.

On the Constitution coming within gunshot, the Guerriere fired a broadside, then filled away, wore, and gave a broadside on the other tack; this firing, however, produced no effect, as the shot fell short. The British frigate maneuvered, and wore several times, for about three-quarters of an hour, in order to obtain a raking position, but, not succeeding in this, she bore up under her top-sails and jib, with the wind on the quarter. It is related that, during this time, the Constitution not having fired a single broadside, the impatience of her officers and men to engage was so excessive, that nothing but the most rigid discipline could restrain them. Hull, however, was preparing, with the utmost calmness and deliberation, to decide the contest according to a method of his own.

Making sail so as to bring the Constitution directly up with her antagonist, and, at five minutes before six in the afternoon, being alongside within half pistol shot, Hull ordered a brisk firing to be commenced from all the Constitution's guns, which were double-shotted with round and grape shot; and so well-directed and so

warmly kept up was the American fire, that, in fifteen minutes, the mizzen-mast of the Guerriere went by the board, and her main-yard in her slings. Her hull was much injured, and her rigging and sails completely torn into shreds. The fire was kept up, in the same spirited manner, for fifteen minutes longer, by the Constitution. She had now taken a position for raking, on the bows of the Guerriere, when the latter could only bring her bow guns to bear on the Constitution; the grape-shot and small-arms of the latter ship completely swept the decks of the British frigate, and she was an utter wreck.

Thirty minutes after the commencement of the contest, by the Constitution, the main-mast and fore-mast of the Guerriere went by the board, taking with them every spar except the bowsprit. Seeing her condition, Captain Hull ordered the firing to cease; and Captain Dacres then struck his colors, which had been fastened to the stump of the mizzen-mast.

Setting her fore and main sails, the Constitution now hauled to the eastward, to repair damages. All her braces, a great part of her standing and running rigging, and some of her spars, were shot away. At seven in the evening, she stood under the lee of the prize, and sent a boat on board, which returned in a short time with Captain Dacres, commander of the ill-fated frigate. In the action, the Constitution lost seven killed, and seven wounded; the Guerriere, fifteen killed, and sixty-two wounded,—the latter including several officers, and there were twenty-four missing. Among the killed, on board of the Constitution, was Lieutenant Bush; and among the wounded, First Lieutenant Morris and Master Alwyn. The circumstances were as follows: As soon as the two vessels fell afoul of each other, the cabin of the Constitution was observed to take fire, from the close explosion of the forward guns of the enemy, who obtained a small, though but momentary, advantage from his position; the ready attention, however, of Lieutenant Hoffman, who commanded in the cabin, soon repaired this accident, and a gun of the enemy's, that threatened further injury, was effectually disabled. But, in a moment, affairs took a more tragical turn, for, the vessels having come close together, both parties prepared to board. The English turned all hands up from below, and mustered forward, with that object, while Lieutenant Morris, Master Alwyn, and Lieutenant Bush, sprang upon the taffrail of the Constitution, with a similar intention. The position of the two frigates was already giving employment to the sharpshooters of either side, and incessant volleys of musketry rattled in the tumult all around. Morris was shot through the body, but maintained his post, the bullet fortunately missing the vitals. Alwyn was wounded in the shoulder. Bush, just as he was making the spring, was pierced by a ball in the head, and tumbled headlong, in the speedy agonies of death.

On the Guerriere's striking her flag, and being in a sinking condition, Captain Hull immediately sent his boats to bring the wounded and prisoners on board the Constitution. At about two o'clock in the afternoon, a sail was discovered off the larboard beam, standing to the south. The Constitution was instantly cleared for action; but at three, the vessel stood away. At daybreak, information was received from the lieutenant on board the prize, that the Guerriere was an unmanageable wreck, with four feet of water in the hold, and in a sinking condition. As soon, therefore, as all the crew were removed from on board of her, she was abandoned, and her shattered hulk set fire to and blown up. During the whole period of combat, the total loss on board the Constitution amounted to seven killed and seven wounded, and, as soon as she had rove new rigging, applied the necessary stoppers, and bent a few sails, she was ready, as has been seen, to engage another frigate. Captain Hull, in his tribute to his crew, says: "They all fought with great bravery; from the smallest boy in the ship to the oldest

ACTION BETWEEN THE FRIGATES CONSTITUTION AND GUERRIERE.

seaman, not a look of fear was seen. They all went into action giving three cheers, and requesting to be laid close alongside the enemy." In the very heat of the engagement, one of the crew of the Constitution, perceiving that the flag at the foretop-mast head had been shot away, went up with it, and lashed it so securely as to render its removal impossible, unless the mast went with it.

The total casualties, from first to last, on board the Guerriere, in killed and wounded, numbered nearly eighty, comprising about one-third of her entire crew, and, according to the statement of Captain Dacres, in his defense before the court

which tried him for the loss of his ship, she had, besides being dismasted, received no less than thirty shot as low as five sheets of copper beneath the bends.

In respect to armament and force, the Guerriere rated thirty-eight guns, and carried forty-nine, one of which was a light boat-carronade. Her gun-deck metal was eighteen-pounders, and her carronades, like those of the Constitution, thirty-twos. The Guerriere was a French-built ship, and nearly as long as her adversary, though the latter was somewhat larger and heavier. The Constitution rated forty-four guns, and mounted fifty-five. On an actual weight, however, of the shot of both ships, it was found that the Constitution's twenty-fours were only three pounds heavier than the Guerriere's eighteens, and there was nearly the same difference in favor of the latter's thirty-twos. The great inferiority of the Guerriere was in her men, as she mustered but two hundred and sixty-three souls at quarters, in consequence of the absence of some of the officers and men who had charge of prizes. Captain Dacres had also some ten or a dozen Americans in his force, who refused to fight, and, much to his credit, he permitted them to go below. The Constitution's complement of men was four hundred and fifty, all newly shipped.

The character and peculiarities of this victory have been justly described, by Cooper, as consisting in a fine display of seamanship in the approach, extraordinary efficiency in the attack, and great readiness in repairing damages, all of which denote a disciplined man-of-war. Nor did Captain Dacres lose any professional honor by his defeat. He had handled his ship in a manner to win the applause of his enemies, and only submitted when further resistance would have been as culpable as, in fact, it was impossible. Less can be said in favor of the efficiency of the Guerriere's batteries, which were not equal to the mode of fighting introduced by her antagonist, and which, indeed, was the commencement of a new era in combats between single ships. Never was any firing so dreadful.

The news of this brilliant and unexampled victory—the first, in fact, of any importance, as yet obtained by the United States in the present contest, — was received with rapturous applause by the American people, especially in view of the victory having been achieved on the water, an element upon which scarcely any European nation dared to cope with British prowess. The event was therefore as mortifying to the pride of England as can possibly be imagined; for, in the long period of thirty years up to this date, it was Britain's boast that she had not lost a single frigate in anything like an equal conflict. By the English journals, the American navy was contemptuously spoken of as "a few fir-built frigates, manned by a handful of dastards and outlaws!" But the generosity and heroism of Captain Hull and his crew extorted praise even from the vanquished. Captain Dacres, in his official letter, confesses their conduct to have been "that of a brave enemy—the greatest care being taken to prevent our men losing the slightest article, and the greatest attention being paid to the wounded." This victory of Hull, on the ocean, went far to wipe out the stain upon American arms produced by General William Hull's unfortunate campaign in Canada. The victory of the Constitution over the Guerriere was soon followed by the capture of the Frolic by the United States sloop-of-war Wasp, under Lieutenant Biddle; the capture of the Macedonian, a large frigate, by Commodore Decatur, of the frigate United States; and the capture of the frigate Java, on the twenty-ninth of December, by Commodore Bainbridge, who had succeeded Hull in command of the Constitution.

An amusing anecdote is related of Dacres, showing the effect of circumstances upon the gallant captain's temper. A short time previous to her capture by the Constitution, the Guerriere had fallen in with, and taken, a French prize, France and England being then at war. Among the passengers transferred on this occasion to the deck of the Guerriere, was a French

gentleman charged with dispatches to the American government, and who, on presenting himself to the British commander, was dispossessed of his books and papers, and peremptorily ordered to go below. Overwhelmed with this sudden and fatal termination of his mission, the gentleman passed several days in great distress of mind, aggravated not a little by the haughty bearing of Dacres. Once or twice, addressing him with his blandest manner and best English, he said—

"Captain Dacre, I tank you, sare, for my government deespatch and my law books."

"Go below! you frog-eating, sallow-faced wretch," was the only reply of the proud Briton.

Ere long, however, a sail was descried on the edge of the distant horizon. Her gradually-increasing size gave token that she approached, and, as she neared to view, the tapering spars and the graceful trim of Yankeedom were seen. Dacres, with glass in hand, had observed her from a mere speck, and as soon as he was satisfied that she was American, gave vent to the wildest expressions of joy. He paced the deck with exulting step — swore he would 'take that craft in fifteen minutes,'— and, to crown his anticipated triumph, directed that a hogshead of molasses be hoisted upon deck, 'to treat the —— Yankees.' Strange as it may appear, this order was actually obeyed; and, at almost the first shot, the Constitution struck the hogshead, and, its contents spreading over the deck, conduced somewhat, no doubt, to the Guerriere's disadvantage in the action. The Frenchman, who was meanwhile a silent though not an uninterested observer of what was passing before him, again put on his most winning smiles, and remarked—

"Captain Dacre, sare, wid your permission I stay upon deck, and see de fight."

"Go to the ——," responded the rough old salt—now busied in preparations for a bold and brilliant achievement.

The little Frenchman was soon snugly ensconced among the rigging, and the two vessels continued gradually and silently to approach each other. The Constitution having finally got within reach of the enemy's long-guns, the scene that followed is thus described by the lively "deespatch" bearer:—"Captain Dacre, he sail dis way, and den he sail dat way, and again he go —*boom!* De Yankee man, he say nothing —but still keep comin'. Again, Captain Dacre sail dis way, and den he sail dat way, and again he go—*boom!* Enfin, de Yankee man go pop, pop, pop,—pop, pop, pop! I say to Captain Dacre, 'Sare, wid your permission I go below—'*tis too hot here!*'"

He went below; and the action continued. When the firing ceased, the sleepless little Frenchman, peeping up the hatchway, espied one officer-like man, and Captain Dacres handing his sword. The truth flashed upon him in an instant. He rushed upon deck; and finding himself again at liberty, he capered about like one 'possessed.' Finally advancing to the now mute and fallen Dacres, he said, with an air which utterly defies description:

"You tell me, sare, you take dis ship in fifteen minutes; by gar, *he take you!* Now, sare," he added, with a low and bitter emphasis, "*I tank you for my government deespatch and law books.*"

As has already been stated, the crew of the Constitution became somewhat impatient at Hull's cool delay to commence action, after receiving the Guerriere's first fire. Even Morris, on seeing his favorite coxswain carried by a shot, looked rather hard at 'the old man,' as Hull, though young in years, was familiarly called, and then walked up to him, saying, by way of hint, in a low tone, "The ship is ready for action, sir, and the men are getting impatient." Hull never turned, but, keeping his eye steadily on the enemy, simply replied, "Are — you — all ready, Mr. Morris?" "All ready," said the lieutenant. "Don't fire a gun till I give the orders, Mr. Morris," was the rejoinder. Presently, up went a midshipman from the main deck, and, touching his cap, said to 'the old man,' "First division all ready,

sir,—the second lieutenant reports the enemy's shot have hurt his men, and he can with difficulty restrain them from returning their fire." "Tell them to wait for orders," was Hull's reply again, without deigning to turn his head. At length, however, when the Constitution had actually become enveloped in the enemy's smoke, and even the old gun-boat men began to stare wonderingly, up jumped the great-hearted Hull in the air, slapped his hand on his thigh with a report like a pistol, and roared out in a voice that reached the gunners in the magazines,—

"Now, Mr. Morris, give it to them,—now give it to them,—fore and aft,—round and grape,—give it to 'em, sir,—*give it to 'em!*"

These words were scarcely uttered, before a whole broadside glanced at half pistol shot—the old ship trembling from her keel to her trucks, like an aspen, with the roar and crash of her own guns, —then, instantly shooting ahead and doubling across the enemy's bows, another broadside was poured into her, with three deafening cheers. It was terrible. The continual boom and flash of the batteries seemed like a thunder-storm in the tropics.

The Constitution arrived in Boston harbor, the last of August. Never did any event spread such universal joy over the whole country, and such astonishment throughout Europe, as this complete and magnificent victory. The gallant Hull, as well as his equally-gallant officers and crew, were received with enthusiastic demonstrations of gratitude, wherever they appeared. He was presented with the freedom of all the cities, on his route to the seat of government, and with elegant services of silver-plate, also the thanks of legislative and other bodies; several officers were promoted; and congress voted fifty thousand dollars to the crew, as a recompense for the loss of the prize.

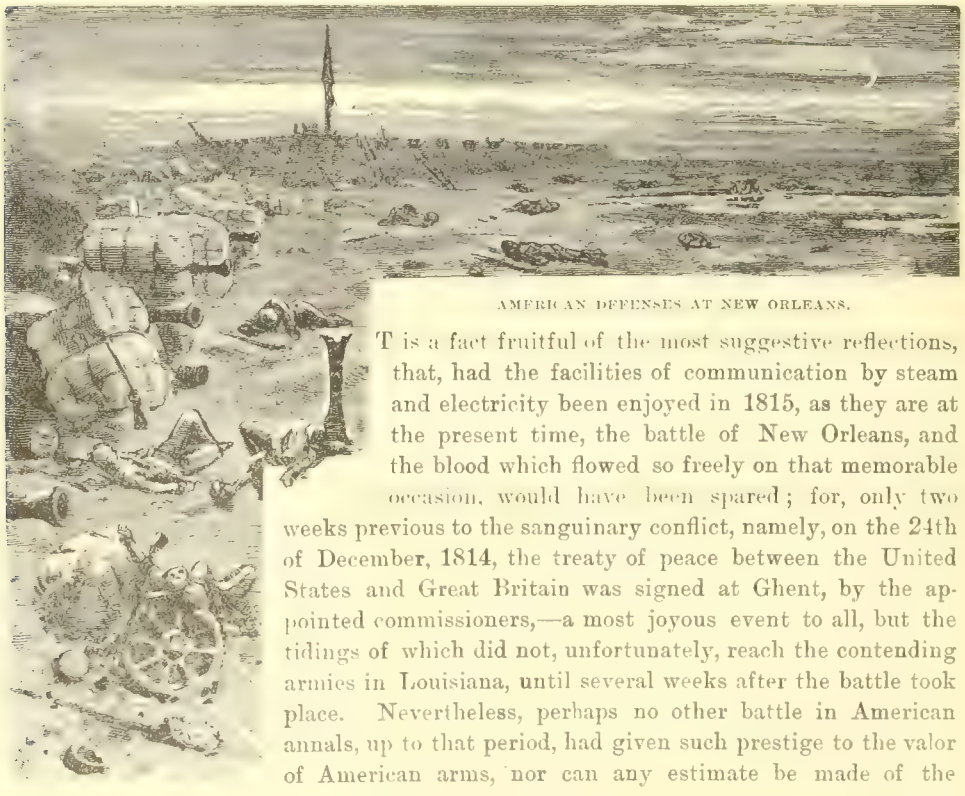
At home and abroad, the valor of the American sailor was acknowledged to be a fixed fact.

XVI.

GENERAL JACKSON'S TERRIBLE ROUT AND SLAUGHTER OF THE BRITISH ARMY AT NEW ORLEANS.—1815.

His Consummate Generalship in the Order and Conduct of this Campaign.—The War with England Terminated by a Sudden and Splendid Victory to the American Arms.—Jackson is Hailed as One of the Greatest of Modern Warriors, and as the Deliverer and Second Savior of His Country.—National Military Prestige Gained by this Decisive Battle.—British Invasion of Louisiana.—Preparations to Resist Them.—Jackson Hastens to New Orleans.—His Presence Inspires Confidence.—Martial Law Proclaimed.—Progress of the British Forces.—They Rendezvous at Ship Island.—Pirates and Indians for Allies.—Capture of the United States Flotilla.—Arrival of Veterans from England.—Desperate Attempts at Storming.—Both Armies Face Each Other.—The Day of Action, January Eighth.—General Pakenham Leads the Charge.—His Motto, "Booty and Beauty."—Fire and Death Open Upon Them.—They are Mown Down Like Grass.—Pakenham Falls at the Onset.—Panic and Precipitate Retreat.—America's Motto, "Victory or Death."—The Result at Home and Abroad.—Startling and Impressive Effect.

"The redcoats will find out whom they have to deal with. I will smash them, so help me God!"—GENERAL JACKSON, ON ASSUMING THE DEFENSE OF NEW ORLEANS.



AMERICAN DEFENSES AT NEW ORLEANS.

IT is a fact fruitful of the most suggestive reflections, that, had the facilities of communication by steam and electricity been enjoyed in 1815, as they are at the present time, the battle of New Orleans, and the blood which flowed so freely on that memorable occasion, would have been spared; for, only two weeks previous to the sanguinary conflict, namely, on the 24th of December, 1814, the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain was signed at Ghent, by the appointed commissioners,—a most joyous event to all, but the tidings of which did not, unfortunately, reach the contending armies in Louisiana, until several weeks after the battle took place. Nevertheless, perhaps no other battle in American annals, up to that period, had given such prestige to the valor of American arms, nor can any estimate be made of the

immense consequences of that victory to General Jackson and his country. Mr. Bancroft, the historian, says that the heroes of antiquity would have contemplated with awe the unmatched hardihood of Jackson's character.

The circumstances which led to a battle so creditable in its result to the genius and bravery of the American army were as follows: On the twenty-fifth of August, 1814, a British army landed at Pensacola, and took forcible possession of the place, being aided by the Spaniards in all their proceedings; they collected all the Indians that would resort to their standard; and Colonel Nichols, the chief British commander, even sent an officer to the notorious piratical establishment at Barataria to enlist the chief, Lafitte, and his followers, in their cause, the most liberal and tempting inducements being held out. These people, however, showed a decided preference for the American cause, and, deceiving the English by delay, conveyed intelligence of their designs to the governor of New Orleans, and frankly offered their services to defend the country. Disappointed in securing their aid, the expedition proceeded to the attack of Fort Bowyer, on Mobile point, commanded by Major Lawrence. The result, however, was a loss to the besiegers of more than two hundred men; the commodore's ship was so disabled that they set fire to her, and she blew up, and the remaining three vessels, shattered and filled with wounded men, returned to Pensacola. While the British were thus sheltered in this place, busily occupied in bringing over the Indians to join them, General Jackson,—who, after the peace with the Creeks had become active commander at the south,—formed an expedition of about four thousand men, to dislodge them. He summoned the town, was refused entrance by the Spanish governor, and his flag of truce was fired upon; the British soldiers being also in the forts, where their flag had been hoisted, in conjunction with the Spanish, the day before the American forces appeared. Preparations were immediately made to carry the place; one battery having been taken by storm, with slight loss on either side, the governor surrendered, the English having previously retired on board their ships. The forts below, which commanded the passage, were blown up, and this enabled the English fleet to put to sea.

Returning to Mobile, General Jackson learned that preparations were making by the British for the invasion of Louisiana, and with especial reference to an attack on New Orleans.

He accordingly hastened to New Orleans, which he found in great alarm and confusion. He at once put in operation the most rigorous measures of defense. The militia of Louisiana and Mississippi were ordered out *en masse*, and large detachments from Tennessee and Kentucky. From a previous correspondence with Governor Claiborne, General Jackson had been informed that the city corps had, for the most part, refused obedience to the orders which had been given them to turn out; that they had been encouraged in their disobedience by the state legislature, then in session in the city; and that, although there were many faithful citizens in the place, there were many others who were more devoted to the interests of Spain, and others still whose hostility to the English was less observable than their dislike to American government.

Under these circumstances, and finding that the statements relative to the disaffection of the populace were fully confirmed, Jackson, on consultation with the governor, in conjunction with Judge Hall, and many influential persons of the city, on the sixteenth of December, issued an order, declaring the city and environs of New Orleans to be under strict martial law.

Nor were the military modes and plans adopted by General Jackson, outside of the city proper, wanting in efficiency. Fort St. Philip, which guarded the passage of the river at the detour la Plaquemine, was strengthened and placed under the command of Major Overton, an able and

skillful engineer. A site was also selected for works of defense, four miles below the city, where its destinies were ultimately to be determined. The right rested on the river, and the left was flanked by an impenetrable cypress swamp, which extended eastward to Lake Pontchartrain, and westward to within a mile of the river. Between the swamp and the river was a large ditch or artificial bayou which had been made for agricultural objects, but which now served an important military purpose. On the northern bank of this ditch, the entrenchments were thrown up, and large quantities of cotton-bales so arranged, that the troops could be effectually protected from the fire of the British. Each flank was secured by an advance bastion, and the latter protected by batteries in the rear. These works were well mounted with artillery. Opposite this position, on the west bank of the river, on a rising ground, General Morgan, with the city and drafted militia, was stationed; and Commodore Patterson, with the crews of the Caroline and Louisiana, and the guns of the latter, formed another, near General Morgan's; both of which entirely enfiladed the approach of an enemy against the principal works. A detachment was stationed above the town, to guard the pass of the bayou St. John, if an attempt should be made from that quarter.

On the twenty-second of December, the enemy proceeded from their rendezvous on Ship island, with all their boats and small craft capable of navigating the lake to the bayou Bienvenue, and having surprised and captured the videttes at the mouth of the bayou, the first division accomplished their landing unobserved. Major-General Villery, of the New Orleans militia, living on the bayou, to whom the important service of making the first attack, and giving notice of the enemy's approach was intrusted, found them on his own plantation, nine miles below the city, without any previous knowledge of their approach.

The morning of New Year's day, 1815, was very dark and foggy amid the swamps and bogs of New Orleans, and the day was somewhat advanced before the Americans discerned how near the enemy had approached to them, or the novel use which had been made of their molasses and sugar hogsheads. In the course of the day, under cover of these batteries, three unsuccessful attempts were made to storm the American works. By four in the afternoon, all the enemy's batteries were silenced, and the next night found them in their former position.

On the fourth of January, General Adair arrived, with four thousand Kentucky militia, principally without arms. The muskets and munitions of war, destined for the supply of this corps, were provided at Pittsburg, but did not leave that place until the twenty-fifth of December, and arrived at New Orleans not until several days after the decisive battle of January eighth. On the sixth, the enemy received their last re-enforcement of three thousand men from England, under Major-General Lambert. But before the final assault on the American lines, the British general deemed it necessary to dislodge General Morgan and Commodore Patterson, from their positions on the right bank. These posts so effectually enfiladed the approach to General Jackson's works, that the army advancing to the assault, must be exposed to the most imminent hazard. To accomplish this object, boats were to be transported across the island from lake Borgne to the Mississippi; for this purpose the British had been laboriously employed in deepening and widening the canal or bayou Bienvenue, on which they first disembarked. On the seventh, they succeeded in opening the embankment on the river, and completing a communication from the lake to the Mississippi. In pushing the boats through, it was found, at some places, that the canal was not of sufficient width, and at others the banks fell in and choked the passage, thus occasioning great delay; at length, however, they succeeded in hauling through a sufficient number to transport five hundred troops to the right bank.

On the left bank, where General Jackson in person commanded, everything was in readiness to meet the assault when it should be made. The redoubt on the levee was defended by a company under Lieutenant Ross. The regular troops occupied that part of the entrenchment next to the river. General Carroll's division was in the center, supported by General Adair's Kentucky troops; while the extreme left, extending for a considerable distance into the swamp, was protected by the brigade of General Coffee. How soon the onset should take place, was uncertain; at what moment rested with the enemy,—with the Americans, to be in readiness for

Andrew Jackson

resistance. There were many circumstances, however, favoring the belief that the hour of contest was fast approaching; the unusual bustle,—the efforts of the enemy to carry their boats into the river,—the fascines and scaling-ladders that were preparing; all these circumstances indicated the hour of attack to be near at hand. General Jackson was not only unmoved by these appearances, but, according to General Eaton's statements, he anxiously desired a contest, which, he believed, would give a triumph to his arms, and terminate the hardships of his soldiers. Unremitting in exertion, and constantly vigilant, his precaution kept pace with the zeal and preparation of the enemy. He seldom slept; he was always at his post, performing the duties of both general and soldier. His sentinels were doubled, and extended as far as possible in the direction of the British camp; while a considerable portion of the troops were constantly at the line, with arms in their hands, ready to act, when the first alarm should be given. For eight days did the two armies remain thus upon the same field, in battle array and in view of each other, without anything decisive on either side being effected. Twice, since their landing, had the British columns essayed to effect by storm the execution of their plans, and twice had failed and retired from the contest.

The eighth of January, 1815, *at length arrived.* The day dawned; and the signals, intended to produce concert in the enemy's movements, were descried. On the left, near the swamp, a sky-rocket was perceived rising in the air; and presently another ascended from the right, next the river. They were intended to announce that all was prepared and ready, to proceed and carry by storm a defense which again and again had foiled their utmost efforts. Instantly the charge was made, and with such rapidity, that the American soldiers at the outposts with difficulty fled in.

The British batteries, which had been demolished on the first of the month, had been re-established during the preceding night, and heavy pieces of cannon mounted, to aid in their intended operations. These now opened, and showers of bombs and balls were poured upon our line, while the air was lighted with their congreve rockets. The two divisions, commanded by Sir Edward Pakenham in person, and supported by Generals Keane and Gibbs, pressed forward; the right against the center of General Carroll's command,—the left against our redoubt on the levee. A thick fog, that obscured the morning, enabled them to approach within a short distance of our entrenchment, before they were discovered. They were now perceived advancing, with firm, quick, and steady pace, in column, with a front of sixty or seventy deep. The American troops, who had for some time been in readiness, and waiting their appearance, gave three deafening cheers, and instantly the whole line was lighted with the blaze of their fire. A burst of artillery and small-arms, pouring with destructive aim upon them, mowed down their front, and arrested their advance. It was a perfect sheet of fire and death!

The havoc and horror before them—the terrible carnage which swept down their advancing ranks,—became at last too great to be withstood, and already were the British troops seen wavering in their determination, and receding from the conflict. At this moment, Sir Edward Pakenham, the distinguished commander-in-chief of the British forces, hastening to the front, endeavored to encourage and inspire them with renewed zeal. His example, however, was of short continuance, for, when near the crest of the glacis, he received a ball in the knee; still continuing to lead on his men, another shot soon pierced his body, and he was carried in mortal agony from the field, in the arms of his aid-de-camp. Nearly at the same time, Major-General Gibbs, the second British officer in command, received a mortal wound when within a few yards of the lines, and was removed. The third in command also, Major-General Keane, while at the head of his troops near the glacis, was terribly wounded, and at once borne away.

At this moment, General Lambert,—who had arrived from England but two days before, and found himself now the only surviving general,—was advancing at a small distance in the rear, with the reserve, and met the columns precipitately retreating, broken and confused. His efforts to stop them were unavailing,—onward they continued in their headlong retreat, until they reached a ditch, at the distance of four hundred yards, where a momentary safety being found, the panting and fear-stricken fugitives were rallied, and halted.

The field before them, over which they had so confidently advanced, was strewed with the dead and dying. Imminent danger faced them; yet, urged and encouraged by their officers, who feared their own disgrace involved in the failure, they again moved to the charge. They were already near enough to deploy, and were endeavoring to do so; but the same constant and unremitted resistance that caused their first retreat, continued yet unabated. Our batteries had never ceased their fire; their constant discharges of grape and canister, and the fatal aim of our musketry, mowed down the front of the columns as fast as they could be formed. Satisfied nothing could be done, and that certain destruction awaited all further attempts, they forsook the contest and the field in disorder, leaving it almost entirely covered with the dead and wounded. It was in vain their officers endeavored to animate them to further resistance, and equally vain to attempt coercion. The panic produced by the dreadful repulse they had experienced,—the sight of the field on which they had acted, covered with the ghastly bodies of their countrymen,—and the bitter fact that, with their most zealous exertions, they had been unable to obtain the slightest advantage; all these circum-

stances were well calculated to make even the most submissive soldier oppose the authority that would have controlled him. The decided advantage of the Americans gave to the conduct of the enemy more of the character of madness than of valor.

BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS—JACKSON'S TERRIFIC SLAUGHTER OF THE BRITISH.

As has already been stated, the fall of General Pakenham and the two next in command devolved the leadership upon Lambert, the only general officer left upon the field, and to whom had been consigned the charge of the reserve; and though, meeting the discomfited troops in their flight, he endeavored to restore the fortune of the day, the effort was fruitless to the last degree.

On the ninth, General Lambert determined to relinquish altogether so desperate and hopeless an enterprise, and immediately commenced the necessary preparations, though with the utmost secrecy. It was not until the night of the eighteenth, however, that the British camp was entirely evacuated.

The loss of the British in this fatal expedition was immense, the narrow field of strife between the opposing combatants being strewed with dead. So dreadful a carnage, considering the length of time and the numbers engaged, has seldom been recorded. Two thousand, at the lowest estimate, pressed the earth, besides such of the wounded as were not able to escape. The loss of the Americans did not exceed seven killed, and six wounded. Military annals do not furnish a more extraordinary instance of disparity in the slain, between the victors and vanquished. The entire British force engaged in this attempted reduction of New Orleans, amounted to twelve thousand men; the Americans numbered some six thousand, chiefly militia.

Pakenham, the distinguished leader of the British forces, was a brother-in-law of the great Duke of Wellington, had long been in high repute for military skill and personal bravery, and on this occasion numbered among his troops those who had won laurels of victory on the battle-fields of Europe. But, that he felt convinced of the magnitude and hazard of his present undertaking, as distinguished from all previous ones, is evident. When an officer leads his troops on a forlorn attempt, he not unfrequently places before them allurements stronger than either authority or duty. According to General Eaton's historical statements, a positive charge is made against General Pakenham, in this respect, — inducements having been held out by him, than which nothing more inviting could be offered to an infuriated soldiery. By this gallant but misguided general, there was promised to his soldiers —to excite their cupidity—the wealth of the city, as a recompense for their gallantry and desperation; while, with brutal licentiousness, they were to revel in lawless indulgence, and triumph, uncontrolled, over female innocence. The history of Europe, since civilized warfare began, may be challenged to afford an instance of such gross and wanton outrage. The facts and circumstances which were developed at the time, left no doubt on the minds of the American officers, but that '*Booty and Beauty*,' was the British watchword of the day. The information was obtained from prisoners, and confirmed by the books of two of their orderly sergeants taken in battle.

Jackson was well aware, from the first, of the bold and reckless character of the enemy he had to deal with. With patriotic indignation he declared: "The redcoats will find out whom they have to deal with. I will smash them, so help me God!" And the spirit with which he led his men forward may be easily judged of from his emphatic exclamation—"Remember, our watchword is '*Victory or Death!*' We will enjoy our liberty, or perish in the last ditch!" Never before did a general bring upon his troops such a spell of enthusiastic devotion to himself, and to the demands of the hour. So, too, in the flush of triumph, he did not forget mercy and magnanimity. "General Jackson," says Blackwood's Magazine, of London, "behaved with humanity and generosity to all his prisoners, which did him as great honor as his conduct in the defense. We do not hesitate to call him a great man." Such was the encomium bestowed upon him by the pen of an enemy,—one of the most influential organs of British opinion.

At this time, the person of General Jackson is described as being neither robust nor elegant. He was six feet and one inch high, remarkably straight and spare, and weighing about one hundred and forty-five pounds. His physique appeared to disqualify him for hardship; yet, accustomed to it from early life, few were capable of enduring fatigue to the same extent, or with less injury. His dark blue eyes, with brows arched and slightly projecting, possessed a marked expression; but when from any cause excited, they sparkled with peculiar luster and penetration. In his manners he was pleasing — in his address commanding. His countenance, marked with firmness and decision, yet beamed with a strength and intelligence that struck at first sight. In his deportment, he was easy, affable, familiar, and accessible to all.

The annunciation of the triumphant defense of New Orleans was hailed, in every section of the country, with acclamations of delight, and won for Jackson the title of "the conqueror of the conquerors of Napoleon."

XVII.

THE EVER-MEMORABLE SEPTEMBER GALE.—1815.

Its Violence and Destructiveness Without a Parallel Since the Settlement of the Country.—Terror Excited by Its Sudden and Tumultuous Force.—Unprecedented Phenomena of Tempest, Deluge and Flood.—One Hour of Indescribable Havoc on the Land and Sea.—Premonitory Indications.—Heavy North-east Rains.—Sudden and Violent Changes of Wind.—Its Rapidity and Force Indescribable.—Demolition of Hundreds of Buildings.—Orchards and Forests Instantly Uprooted.—Raging and Foaming of the Sea.—Its Spray Drives Like a Snow-storm over the Land.—Tremendous Rise in the Tides.—Irresistible Impetuosity of the Flood.—Several Feet of Water in the Streets.—Innumerable Fragments Fill the Air.—Flight for Safety to the Fields.—The Whole Coast Swarms with Wrecks.—Perils, Escapes, Fatalities.—Peculiar Meteorological Facts.—Bright Skies in the Midst of the Tempest.—Suffocating Current of Hot Air.—Sea Fowls in the Depths of the Interior.—Effect Upon Lands, Crops, and Wells.—All New England Desolated.—Comparison with Other Gales.

—"Still overhead
The mingling tempest wears its gloom, and still
The deluge deepens; till the fields around
Lie sunk and flatted in the sordid wave.
All that the winds had spared,
In one wild moment ruined."

DESTRUCTION BY THE GREAT GALE AND FLOOD.

JUDGING from all the information, historical and traditional, relating to the great American gales during the last hundred years, it would appear that the one which occurred in New England, on the 23d of September, 1815, was and is still without a parallel, in its extraordinary characteristics of violence and destructiveness. In the history of the country, dating back to its earliest annals, there is no account of any gale or hurricane equaling this, in its various phenomena of suddenness, severity and power. As distinguishing it, therefore, above all others of its class, this has ever since been called *the Great September Gale.*

The observations of the character, course and effects of this wonderful storm, made by Professor Farrar and others, for the latitude of Boston, show that it was there preceded by rain, which continued to fall for about twenty-four hours with a moderate wind from the north-east. Early in the morning of the twenty-third, the wind shifted to the east, and began to blow in gusts accompanied with showers. It continued

to change toward the south and to increase in violence while the rain abated. Between nine and ten o'clock in the forenoon, it began to excite alarm. Chimneys and trees were blown over both to the west and north; but shingles and slates, that were torn from the roofs of buildings, were carried to the greatest distance in the direction of about three points west of north.

Between half-past ten and half-past eleven o'clock, the greatest destruction took place. The rain ceased about the time the wind shifted from south-east to south; *a clear sky was visible in many places during the utmost violence of the tempest*, and clouds were seen flying with great rapidity in the direction of the wind. The air had an unusual appearance. It was considerably darkened by the excessive agitation, and filled with the leaves of trees and other light substances, which were raised to a great height and whirled about in eddies, instead of being driven directly forward as in a common storm. The rivers raged and foamed like the sea in a storm, and the spray was raised to the height of sixty or one hundred feet in the form of thin white clouds, which were drifted along in a kind of wave form, like snow in a violent snow-storm. Travelers were frequently driven back by the force of the wind, and were obliged to screen themselves behind fences and trees or to advance obliquely. It was impossible for even the stoutest man to stand firm in a place exposed to the full force of the wind. The pressure of the wind was like that of a rapid current of water; pedestrians could with great difficulty hear each other speak at the distance of two or three yards; and they moved about almost as awkwardly as if attempting to wade in a strong tide.

In Boston harbor, the sea had risen unusually high, two hours before the calendar time of high water. But the direction of the wind at this time tended to counteract the tide, and thus secured the port from that awful calamity which threatened it. Great losses, however, were sustained from the wind alone; many buildings were blown down, great numbers were unroofed or otherwise injured, and few entirely escaped. The most calamitous destruction befell the trees,—orchards and forests exhibiting a scene of desolation, the like of which had never before been witnessed in America. The roads in many places were rendered impassable, not only through woods, but in the more cultivated towns, where they happened to be lined with trees; and the streets in Boston and neighboring towns were strewed with the ruins of innumerable gardens and fruit-yards. A considerable proportion of the large and beautiful trees in Boston mall, and in other public walks, some of which trees measured from eight to twelve feet in circumference, were torn up by the roots and prostrated. Apple trees, in especial, being separated at a considerable distance from each other, were overturned in great numbers; *no less than five thousand were thus destroyed in the town of Dorchester alone.* In this same town, also, seventeen houses were unroofed, sixty chimneys blown over, and about forty barns demolished.

Rhode Island felt the full force of this remarkable gale, Providence suffering to the amount of millions of dollars, accompanied with a fearful loss of life, as in other places. This was owing to the wind blowing directly up the river on which the place is built, unbroken by the cape or Long Island, and in sweeping over such an extent of water it accumulated a dreadful and most destructive tide, so that *vessels were actually driven over the wharves and through the streets.* Early in the morning, the wind was north-east, but, at about eight, it shifted to south-east, and soon began to blow violently, continuing to increase until ten, when it became a hurricane. All was now confusion and dismay in the exposed region. The tide, impelled by the tempest, overflowed the wharves; vessels, broken from their moorings in the stream, and their fastenings at the wharves, were seen driving with dreadful impetuosity towards the bridge, which

they swept away, without a moment's check to their progress, and passed on to the head of the basin, where they drove high up the bank. Every exertion to protect property, was rendered futile by the violence of the wind, the rapid rise of the water, and the falling of trees; indeed, these, with the crashing of chimneys, tumbling upon the houses and descending into the streets, together with tiles and railings from the tops of buildings, and many other species of dangerous missile flying through the air, rendered it perilous to appear in the streets. All consideration of property, however, was soon forgotten in the more important one of self-preservation. The tempest still raged with increasing violence; the flood was overwhelming the lower parts of the town; stores and dwelling-houses were tottering on their foundations, and then, plunging into the deluge, blended their shattered remains with the wrecks of vessels,—the whole passing, with irresistible impetuosity, in full view, on the current to the head of the cove, to join the already accumulated mass of similar wrecks.

By this time, the water on the west side of the river had risen nearly to the tops of the lower windows of the houses, and boats and scows, struggling with the maddened elements, were seen removing the panic-stricken inmates; and on the east side, an awful torrent rolled through the main street, in depth nearly to a man's waist, and by which boats, masts, bales of cotton, and immense quantities of property of every description, were driven along with resistless force. *It was an awful and terrific scene.* Every store below, on the east side, was either carried away or completely shattered; and every building on the opposite side and on the wharves, were swept from their foundations—so that all the space, where, an hour or two before, were so many valuable wharves and stores crowded with shipping and merchandise, was now one wide waste of tumultuous water. Only two small vessels, of all that were in the harbor, succeeded in riding out the gale, all the rest having drifted ashore, or been carried high up on the wharves. It was such a scene of wide-spread ruin and desolation, as beggars all description—vessels of all kinds and in every position, blended promiscuously, with carriages, lumber, wrecks of buildings of every variety, furniture, and tens of thousands of fragments from far and near, all told the story of universal havoc and destruction. *Women and children were saved in boats from chamber-windows.*

THE EVER-MEMORABLE GALE, SEPTEMBER 23, 1815.

One distressing and peculiar scene, which took place among the shipping, will serve as a description of a thousand other cases which occurred during the storm. A brig, loaded and ready for sea, with live-stock, drove against the end of a wharf, and her head rested on it; here she hung, appearing every moment as if she would upset, and plunge her crew into the raging flood. The men were seen clinging to her, awaiting their fate, as no soul could venture to their succor,—the whole distance between the vessel and the houses being filled with roofs and parts of stores tumbling with the violence of the tempest. Expecting every moment to be precipitated into the torrent, they determined at last upon the final but perilous attempt to quit the vessel and gain the houses. Struggling with the violence of the gale, and with the rolling and bounding materials, in endeavoring to get a foothold, they at last reached the rear of the houses, where some were taken into the second story, and others, unable to be reached, succeeded in braving the waves until they swam to a place of safety.

But it would be absolutely impossible to give an extended detail of the disastrous scenes pertaining to each separate locality, although some of the incidents and items of the gale's destructive effects deserve to be cited for their very marvelousness. Mention has already been made of the devastation in Dorchester, near Boston,—unparalleled since its settlement,—resulting in *seventeen houses being unroofed, sixty chimneys prostrated, forty barns demolished, and more than five thousand trees destroyed. The number of buildings, large and small, destroyed in Providence, was estimated at five hundred, and about fifty vessels wrecked.* In many instances, majestic oaks, which had braved the tempests an hundred years or more, were thrown down, or twisted into shreds; and in Danvers, Mass., the venerable pear tree, imported and transplanted by Governor Endicott, was made terrible havoc with. In Chelsea, not far from Danvers, the great Elm tree, seventeen feet in girth, and which had a portico built upon its limbs, capable of holding thirty persons, was among the wrecked. In the little town of Acton, about twenty miles from Boston, the damage amounted to forty thousand dollars. At Stonington, Conn., *the tide rose seventeen feet higher than usual*, all the vessels going ashore or sinking, and all the wharves and many buildings being destroyed. The fate of one citizen of this town was almost as disastrous as that of Job of yore: His house, ropewalk, blacksmith's shop, and other buildings, with all their contents, were swept away, and, melancholy to relate, his wife, daughter, wife's mother, and a young lady visitor, all perished in the billows. All along the New England coast, and as far as New York, the damage done to the shipping was immense, hundreds of vessels with their cargoes being wrecked; and almost every seaport as well as inland town suffering to some degree,—in many instances, almost irreparable, in kind and extent. Innumerable churches were wholly or partially ruined, and the number of cattle killed was very great. The gale was also severely felt by vessels off Cape Hatteras, in the gulf stream, off the capes of Delaware, at Sandy Hook, Nantucket Shoals, Cape Ann, Cape Henlopen, etc.

The course of the gale, as ascertained from data procured from various points, furnishes facts of peculiar meteorological interest. Thus, in Philadelphia, there was, during most of the night of the twenty-second, a gale from the north-east, with heavy rain. Early the next day, the wind veered to the north-west, the gale continuing, with torrents of rain, for several hours. Between eight and nine o'clock, the wind slackened, the rain ceased, and clouds broke away in the west and south. About noon, the weather was clear and mild, with a gentle westerly breeze. During the greater part of the afternoon, the sun was obscured with flying clouds from the west and north-west.

In New York, a violent north-east storm of wind and rain commenced at night, on

the twenty-first; about two o'clock, the wind suddenly shifted to the north and north-west, blowing with increased violence. On the twenty-second, there was a gale all day, from the north-east and east, with heavy and incessant rain. The gale increased in the evening, continuing until four o'clock the next afternoon, though most violent at nine o'clock the same forenoon, the wind being north to north-west.

At New London, Connecticut, the storm commenced on Friday, the twenty-second, a heavy rain falling during that day and night, the wind north-east. Next morning, the twenty-third, the wind became very violent, and soon after almost a hurricane. The tide, which commenced flood about six o'clock, had, by ten, risen three or four feet higher than was ever known before. The rise was so rapid, too, that some of the dwellings were deluged before the inhabitants knew of their danger, and not more than thirty minutes elapsed after they thus realized their peril, before the waves rose four to six feet in the streets! Stores were soon seen falling before the terrible power of the tempest, buildings were unroofed, giant trees fell. But this awful scene of destruction was short. Soon after eleven o'clock, the wind shifted to the westward and abated; the sea returned with the velocity it came in, though it should have run flood until twelve; and the storm ceased. The showers which fell over the city and neighborhood were of salt water; and the leaves of the tender fruit-trees and shrubs and of many forest trees, without frost, shrunk in a few hours after the gale as though they had been scorched. Brooks and wells in the town and neighborhood became brackish; and during the strength of the wind, in the eddies, the air was extremely hot and suffocating.

Far into the interior, the tempest swept and raged with unparalleled fury. Early on Saturday morning, the wind became very violent, and torrents of rain descended, continuing with but short intermissions until about half-past ten in the forenoon; at this time, the rain abated, and the wind, suddenly shifting to the south-east, blew a hurricane, *the terrible devastation of which covered a column or area of sixty miles in width.* A suffocating current of air as, from a hot bath, accompanied the middle stage of the tempest. Flocks of gulls, from the far-off ocean, were seen after the storm in the Worcester meadows, and, as evening approached, they flew toward the sea.

Along the seaboard, the effect of the tide upon the soil and its productions was very marked. Grass was entirely killed. There was not a green blade to be seen, in any place, over which the flood had passed. In a few spots, near running springs, some new shoots appeared in the course of the autumn; but on uplands, none grew until another season, and then it was not the same kind of grass which grew there before, excepting in a very few instances. Several cedar-swamps were filled with sea water, which, having no outlet, soaked into the ground. The trees in these swamps perished forthwith, the leaves withering and falling off in a very short time. In the trees cut from these swamps during the winter following the storm, the sap-wood had turned nearly black; and there was scarcely an instance in which a cedar-tree survived the effect of the flood. Pine and oak trees suffered a similar fate, excepting a very few, which stood near the shore,—these latter, perhaps, having grown accustomed to the influence of salt water, and could better endure the ordeal, —though a very great proportion even of these perished in a short time. Most of the shrubs and bushes, over which the tide passed, perished similarly. It was observed, however, that one or two species of laurel, and the common bayberry, were but little if at all injured, and some of the swamp whortleberry-bushes survived. Apple trees were, generally, on such high ground, that the tide did not reach them; only a few were surrounded by the water, and none of them were so situated that the water could remain about them for any length of time. They were, nevertheless, as much exposed as many of the cedars

which died; but the apple trees continued to live, though considerably stinted in their growth. With these exceptions, the destruction of vegetable life in localities of this exposure, was very general, if not universal.

Wherever the cultivated lands were in low places near the shore, they were of course overflowed. In fields where Indian corn was standing, the roots were, in most cases, torn out of the ground; and where this did not take place, the stalks were wrenched and twisted, and the spikes broken off. The corn, where it had previously grown hard or ripe, was fit for food, but where the grain had not already hardened, it failed to do so, and either perished in the husk, or very soon after it was taken out. It was a common remark, that no part of the plant could be dried by any means, and therefore by far the greater part of the harvest was lost, not being yet ripe. Potatoes, and other vegetable roots, if left in the ground, perished; but, where they had ripened, and were taken up within a few days after the flood, and well dried, they were good.

Fresh water, along the seaboard, was, for a long time, a rarity of price, the wells having been generally overflown and left full of sea water. Watering-places for cattle suffered a similar fate; and so extensive was the influence of the flood, that many wells, pools and streams, into which the tide water did not run, were so infected with the taste and qualities of sea water, as to be totally unfit for domestic purposes. The inhabitants were obliged therefore to transport this necessary article for household uses, from a great distance; and travelers who needed it were glad to receive it in a measure of the smallest capacity. In some wells near the shore, the water formerly rose and fell with the tide, still remaining fresh; but the severe and peculiar discipline of this flood so changed their habit, that the water in them became of a fixed height, and saltish.

When the vast and tremendous tide was sweeping over the land, the spray arising from it was very great, over a wide surface of country, extending to the furthermost of the interior of the northern states. It is spoken of as having resembled a *driving snow-storm*, through which objects could be discerned only at short distances. In the more northerly regions it was observed, immediately after the storm, that a singular effect had been produced upon the leaves of the trees by the spray; their vitality was destroyed, and they exhibited an appearance similar to that which

RUINS OF THE WHITEHALL NEAR ROCHELLE, NEW ENGLAND.

accompanies frost, except that they retained more of their original color, and in some instances they assumed a dark red hue, as if they had been well scorched. But in other sections along the shore, the leaves did not exhibit this peculiar discoloration; those which were destroyed by

the flood, bore every mark of death, but not of having been burnt,—neither was there any thin coating of salt on the windows in these regions, as on those in the neighborhood of Boston and elsewhere.

In multitudes of instances, the saltness of the wells and watering-places continued unabated for six months, or until the first week of the following March. The winter had been severe, and the ground frozen very deep until the middle of February, when there were several weeks of moderate weather, with soft rains, which dissolved the snows and opened the ground; shortly after which, it was discovered that several of the wells and ponds were fresh. As the water in these had been tasted but a few days previously and was found still to retain its disagreeableness, the freshness must have taken place suddenly. After successive spells of dry weather, these wells grew salt again, but not to the same degree as before; and, on the other hand, they would be fresh, after heavy rains, and then become salt again after dry weather, the degree of saltness diminishing from time to time. This peculiarity continued for several years, in some localities, being, of course, a great inconvenience to man and beast.

The center or the limits of this great and memorable tempest, scientific investigators were unable to determine. It was very violent at places separated by a considerable interval from each other; while the intermediate region suffered much less. Its course through forests was, in some instances, marked almost as definitely, as where the trees have been newly cut down for a road. In these cases, *it appears to have been a moving vortex*, and not the rushing forward of the great body of the atmosphere. There seems to have been no part of the coast of New England which escaped its fury, though in Vermont and the western parts of New Hampshire its severity was much less; yet still further west, on the St. Lawrence, the gale was so great as to render it extremely dangerous to be upon the river. And what is still more remarkable, the storm began to grow violent at this place about the same time that it commenced near the Atlantic, and subsided about the same time.

As to the direction of the wind, at the several places where the storm prevailed, Professor Farrar's account states, that, on the twenty-second, the wind was pretty generally from the north-east. The storm commenced to the leeward; but when the wind shifted from north-east to east and south, along the coast of New England, it veered round in the opposite direction at New York, and at an earlier period. It reached its greatest height at this latter place about nine o'clock on the morning of the twenty-third, when it was from the north-west; whereas, at Boston, it became most violent and devastating about two hours later, and blew from the opposite quarter of the heavens. At Montreal, the direction of the wind was the same as at New York, but did not attain its greatest height so soon by several hours. The barometer descended very fast during the morning of the twenty-third, and, when the wind was highest, had fallen about half an inch. It began to rise as the wind abated, and recovered its former elevation by the time the air was restored to its usual tranquillity.

According to the investigations made by others, and the observations recorded at the time, in different places, the following facts are believed to be established, namely: That the hurricane commenced in the West Indies, and moved northward at the rate of twelve or fifteen miles an hour. Its course from St. Barts was about west-north-west to Turks Island, and thence to Boston — nearly on the same meridian—it was a curve convex to the west. Previous to the arrival of the hurricane in New England, a north-east storm had prevailed along the Atlantic coast for more than twenty-four hours. For some hours previous to the hurricane, there was a great and rapid condensation of vapor, producing a heavy fall of rain in the line of the north-east storm. The hurricane, or violent blow, was mostly from the south-east, blowing into and at right angles to

the north-east storm, at its southern termination. As the south-east wind approached the line of the north-east storm, it was deflected into an east wind. The general form of the hurricane, in and about New England, was that of an eccentric ellipse, with its longest diameter north-east and south-west; wind blowing north-east on the north-west side; north-north-west, and west-north-west, at its south end; south-east on its south-east side, curving into an east wind at its junction with the north-east current; wind blowing from south at the easternmost part of the hurricane. The whole body of the hurricane, in the form thus described, moved to the north nearly on the meridian.

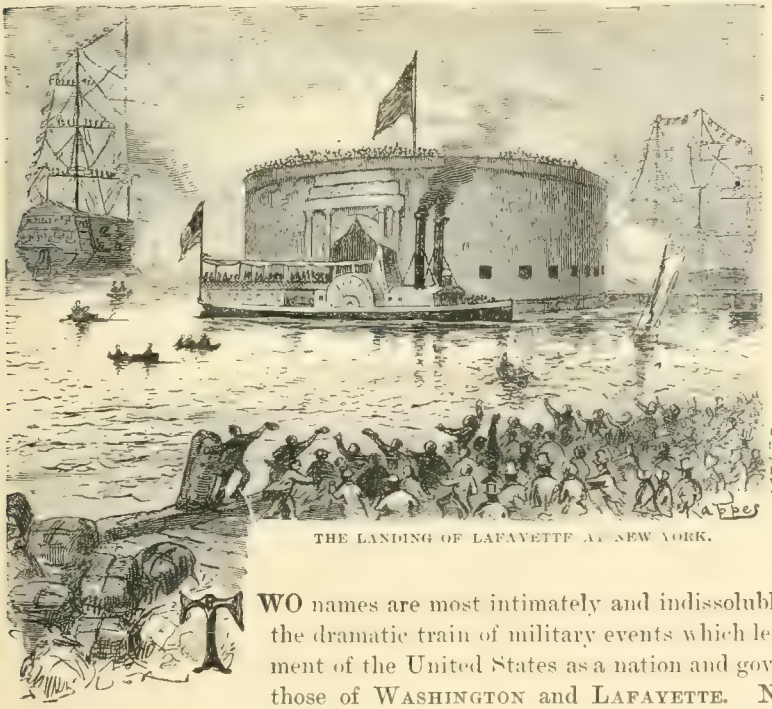
It is universally admitted, that there is no account of a storm or gale in all respects so remarkable in its phenomena as this, to be found in the history of the United States. Other hurricanes there have been, laying waste whatever came in their way, but they have been comparatively limited in their extent and destructiveness. Morton, in his New England Memorial, gives a description of the violent tempest that took place soon after the first settlement at Plymouth. It began on the morning of August fifteenth, 1635, very suddenly, "blew down houses, uncovered divers others, divers vessels were lost at sea; it caused the sea to swell in some places so that it arose to twenty foot right up and down, and made many Indians to climb into trees for their safety; blew down many hundred thousands of trees," etc. The tremendous gales of 1723, 1804, 1818, 1821, 1836, 1841, 1851, 1859, 1869, 1879 and some others, will long be remembered in certain localities, for their severity and the loss of life and property, on land and sea, which attended them; but *neither the memory of man, nor the annals of the country, from its first settlement down to the present time, furnish any parallel to the peculiar character of the great gale of September*, 1815.

Of the storms and floods which occurred during the last half of the century, those of September and October, 1869, were perhaps the most memorable. The devastation by the latter embraced the whole country between the Nova Scotia coast and the Mississippi, and from the north limits of the Canadas to the cotton states. The rain fell in torrents for about forty consecutive hours, the dense clouds descending in vast sheets, and a moaning wind accompanying the powerful outpouring. A stronger storm was beyond conception. In some places, the rain-gauge showed that four inches of rain fell in the course of twenty-nine hours, and, during the succeeding six hours, 3.34 inches additional, —the total fall of water during the storm, over a vast region of country, reaching the enormous amount of 8.05 inches. The resulting floods on all the streams were beyond any ever recorded. The storm was so sudden and unexpected, that no precautions could have been taken, and none were. Railroads, telegraph wires, streets, bridges, dams, manufactories, houses, lands, crops, were utterly or partially ruined, over a wide extent of country; and such an embargo on travel was never known before. The pecuniary losses reached millions of dollars, and many lives were lost.

XVIII.

VISIT OF LAFAYETTE TO AMERICA, AS THE GUEST OF THE REPUBLIC.—1824.

His Tour of Five Thousand Miles Through the Twenty-Four States.—A National Ovation on the Grandest Scale —Cities, States, Legislatures and Governors, Vie in Their Demonstrations of Respect. —The Venerable Patriot Enters the Tomb and Stands Beside the Remains of His Great Departed Friend, Washington. — Noble Qualities of the Marquis. — A Favorite of Louis XVI. — Hears of the Battle of Bunker Hill.—Pleads the Cause of the Americans.—Resolves to Join Their Army —Freely Consecrates His Vast Wealth.—Equips a Vessel and Embarks.—Introduced to General Washington—Admiration of Him by the Chieftain.—One of Washington's Military Family.—A Major-General in His Nineteenth Year.—Heroic Fidelity During the War —Subsequent Vicissitudes in France.—America's Heart-Felt Sympathy.—He Leaves Havre for New York.—Enthusiasm Excited by His Presence. — Incidents, Interviews, Fetes. — Greetings with Old Comrades. — —Memories, Joys, and Tears — Departs in the United States Ship Lafayette. — His Death in 1834.—National Grief.



THE LANDING OF LAFAYETTE AT NEW YORK.

"Fortunate, fortunate man! Heaven saw fit to ordain that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through Lafayette, from the New World to the Old."—DANIEL WEBSTER.

THOUGH two names are most intimately and indissolubly associated with the dramatic train of military events which led to the establishment of the United States as a nation and government, namely, those of WASHINGTON and LAFAYETTE. No two names are, down to the present day, more fresh in the love and gratitude of the American people, and, until time shall be no more, a test of the fidelity with which that people hold to the principles of republican wisdom and virtue that gave them birth, will be their admiration of the names of those patriots and heroes. To understand, therefore, the significance of that spontaneous outburst of popular enthusiasm which greeted Lafayette on his visit to America in 1824, and which made that year one of the most

memorable in the nation's history, it will only be necessary to glance at the services, military and civil, rendered us by this large-hearted patriot, during the opening years of our national existence. Those services and that reception form, indeed, a national romance.

When only thirteen years of age, Lafayette was left an orphan, and in full possession of valuable estates, and master of his own affairs. Being for a time at the college in Paris, his associations brought him into notice at the court of King Louis, and he became quite a favorite with that monarch. He was appointed one of the queen's pages, and through her agency received a commission at the early age of fifteen. He formed an early attachment to a daughter of the noble family of Noailles, with whom he was united in marriage at the age of sixteen. Adopting the profession of a soldier, Lafayette, at nineteen, was stationed, as captain of dragoons, at Metz, one of the garrisoned towns of France. Here, in 1776, Lafayette's attention was directed to the conflict of liberty in America — the hostilities between Britain and her colonies; and while in conversation with the Duke of Gloucester, brother to George the Third, of England, he elicited facts that led him to see the whole merits of the case. The battle of Bunker Hill and the Declaration of Independence fired his heart! Before rising from the dinner-table at which this interview occurred, Lafayette had resolved to leave his home, and offer himself and his services to the rising republic, whose cause he regarded as just and noble. From that hour he could think of nothing but this chivalrous enterprise, though aware that it would cut him off from the favor of that brilliant court-circle in which he shone so conspicuously, and that he would also have to tear himself away from his young, beautiful, and fondly attached wife, who alone, among all his associates, approved of his intention.

Proceeding to Paris, he confided his scheme to two young friends, Count Segur and Viscount Noailles, and proposed that they should join him. They entered with enthusiasm into his views, but, owing to obstacles put in their way through family interference, they were prevented from following out their course, but faithfully kept their comrade's secret. He next explained his intention to Count Broglie, who advised him to abandon it at once as in the highest degree chimerical and hazardous. The count assured him that his confidence was not misplaced; but, said he—

"I have seen your uncle die in the wars of Italy, I witnessed your father's death at the battle of Minden, and I will not be accessory to the ruin of the only remaining branch of the family."

But, so far from being disheartened by the unpromising reception which Lafayette's plan met with from those to whom he made known his purposes, his ardor was rather increased in the pursuit of his object. "My zeal and love of liberty," said he, "have perhaps been hitherto the prevailing motives; but now I see a chance for usefulness, which I had not anticipated. I have money; I will purchase a ship, which shall convey to America myself, my companions, and the freight for congress." All this, as the sequel will show, he nobly and self-sacrificingly carried out.

This design was now made known by Lafayette to Messrs. Franklin, Lee, and Deane, the American commissioners at Paris; and to a proposal so disinterested and generous they could, of course, make no objection,—could only admire, indeed, the spirit which actuated it; and he hastened immediately to put it into execution. After surmounting the many difficulties which from time to time interrupted the progress of his plans, he at last set sail, the Baron de Kalb and eleven other officers of various ranks, in pursuit of employment in the American army, constituting his retinue. In due time they approached the shore near Georgetown, South Carolina, having fortunately escaped two British cruisers, and soon proceeded to Charleston harbor, where a magnificent

reception was given them. The vessel was subsequently loaded with rice for the French market, but it foundered in going out of the harbor, and both the vessel and the cargo became a total loss.

But Lafayette had not yet reached his destination. As soon, however, as all things were in readiness, the party left Charleston and traveled to Philadelphia, where congress was then sitting. On arriving there, he put his letters into the hands of Mr. Lovell, chairman of the committee on foreign affairs. He called the next day at the hall of congress, and Mr. Lovell came out to him and said, that so many foreigners had offered themselves for employment, that congress was embarrassed with their application, and he was sorry to inform him there was very little hope of his success. Lafayette suspected that his papers had not been read, and he

immediately sat down and wrote a note to the president of congress, in which he desired to be permitted to serve in the American army on two conditions: first, that he should receive no pay; second, that he should act as a volunteer. These terms were so different from those demanded by other foreigners, and presented so few obstacles on the ground of any interference with American officers, that they were at once accepted. His rank, zeal, perseverance, and disinterestedness, overcame every objection, and he was appointed a major-general in the American army before he had reached the age of twenty.

But he was yet to stand before the face of the great American chieftain. Washington was at head-quarters when Lafayette reached Philadelphia, but, being daily expected in the city, the young general concluded to wait his arrival, instead of presenting himself at camp. The introduction of the youthful stranger to the man on whom his career depended was, however, delayed only a few days. It took place in a manner peculiarly marked with the circumspection of Washington, at a dinner-party, where Lafayette was one among several guests of consideration. Washington was not uninformed of the circumstances connected with Lafayette's arrival in this country; and it may well be supposed that the eye of the father of his country was not idle during the repast. But that searching glance, before which pretense or fraud never stood undetected, was completely satisfied. When they were about to separate, Washington took Lafayette aside, spoke to him with kindness, complimented him upon the noble spirit he had shown and the sacrifices he had made in favor of the American cause, and then told him that he should be pleased if he would make the quarters of the commander-in-chief his home, establish himself there whenever he thought proper, and consider himself at all times as one of his family,—adding, in a tone of pleasantry, that he could not promise him the luxuries of a court, or even the conveniences which his former habits might have rendered essential to his comfort, but, since he had become an American soldier he would doubtless contrive to accommodate himself to the customs, manners and privations of a republican army. Such was the reception given to Lafayette, by the most sagacious and observant of men; and the personal acquaintance, thus commenced, ripened into an intimacy, a con-

fidence, and an affection without bounds, and never for one moment interrupted. If there lived a man whom Washington loved and admired, it was Lafayette.

Gloriously did Lafayette fulfill, in his military career, the high hopes which swelled the hearts of American patriots, in the heroic courage which he displayed at Brandywine, where he received a ball in his leg; his success in Jersey, before he had recovered from his wounds, in a battle where he commanded militia against British grenadiers; in the brilliant retreat, by which he eluded a combined maneuver of the whole British force; by his great services in the enterprise against Rhode Island, and his successful movements against Cornwallis; — all these proofs of his patriotism and military skill, together with his warm and unsullied friendship for Washington, through all the varying fortunes of war, endeared him forever to every American.

After the fall of Cornwallis, Lafayette sailed for France, but revisited America in 1784. He was received with enthusiasm wherever he went. Returning to France, he found himself the object of immense popularity, and took his seat with the notables, convoked in 1787. In 1789, he boldly proposed, in the national convocation, the Declaration of Rights, which he had brought from the free soil of America, as the preliminary of a constitution. Proclamation of this world-renowned document was made July 22, and it furnished the French people with the metaphysical reasons for the "sacred right of insurrection." Meanwhile the Bastile had been taken, July 14, the national guard organized, and Lafayette appointed to the command. In this capacity he rode a white charger, and shone the impersonation of chivalry, and twice the royal family owed their preservation to his address and courage. When the popular enthusiasm lulled, he returned to his native fields; the national guard, on his retirement, presenting him with a bust of Washington, and a sword forged from the bolts of the Bastile. Subsequently, having denounced the bloodthirsty Jacobins, he was burned in effigy by the sans-culottes of Paris, and, fleeing from the guillotine which there awaited him, he finally fell into the hands of the Austrians, and was by them subjected to a long and cruel imprisonment in the fortress at Olmutz. His release, so earnestly but unsuccessfully solicited by Washington, was peremptorily demanded by Napoleon, and obtained, in September, 1797. In the year 1818, he became a member of the chamber of deputies, and, resuming his career as an advocate of constitutional principles, succeeded at last in elevating Louis Philippe to the throne of France.

By this time, Lafayette had grown old in the services he had rendered to America and France. Though his years were now nearly three score and ten, he could not think of meeting death until he had once more seen that land of liberty across the wide Atlantic, which was as dear to him as his native country. In its infancy, and for its freedom, he had, fifty years ago, contributed his wealth and shed his blood, sharing the bosom confidence of the great Washington as did no other human being. That struggling little republic had now become a giant nation; the thirteen states constituting the original galaxy, had become almost double that number, and vast as the empires of antiquity in territory. Remembering his magnificent services, in 1824 the congress of the United States voted unanimously a resolution requesting President Monroe to invite Lafayette to visit the United States, as the nation's guest,—an honor never before accorded a foreign nobleman,—and tendering a ship of the line for his conveyance. This invitation was extended to the great French patriot in President Monroe's most happy manner, and was duly accepted, though the offer of a war-ship was declined.

On the twelfth of July, 1824, Lafayette, accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, and his secretary, M. Levasseur, sailed from Havre for America. He arrived in New York, August fifteenth, and landed on Staten Island. One of the

first to greet him was Joseph Bonaparte, brother of the great Napoleon. Joseph then resided at Bordentown, New Jersey;

SWORD OF HONOR PRESENTED TO LAFAYETTE.

he had always cherished a high regard for the Marquis, and greatly valued his friendship. The interview between the two was attended with the warmest emotions; and whoever has seen Sully's portrait of the great French patriot can form some adequate conception of the chieftain's magnificent bearing on this occasion.

The announcement of his arrival sent a thrill of joy to every American heart and home, and the great pageant of his reception commenced in the city where he first set foot forty years before. As the fleet arrived off the battery at New York, a military line composed of thousands of veterans was formed, and the people, crowding the battery and all the adjacent streets, swelled the throng to the number of forty thousand. The patriot was deeply affected when he exchanged congratulations with his old companions and friends. Shout after shout went up in long and loud acclaim, while the bands of music played a triumphant welcome to the hero. His stay in the city was one unbroken succession of high honors and civic laudation, such as kings might envy; at Albany, he was received by Vice-President Tompkins. On proceeding to New England, the same enthusiasm was exhibited in every city, town, and village. From the residence of Hon. William Eustis, the governor of Massachusetts, in Roxbury, he was escorted by a large cavalcade and almost the entire population, to Boston, where a dense assemblage awaited his appearance. Arriving at the line, he was greeted by the mayor of the city and the people, through whom he passed in a superb carriage, under deafening cheers. The streets were lined with spectators to the entrance of the beautiful common. There, the children of the public schools formed two lines, the girls being dressed in spotless white, and the boys in white pants and blue jackets, and all wearing appropriate badges. A little girl sprang forward from the line as Lafayette was passing, and, at her request to speak to him, was lifted into the carriage, when she gracefully presented him with a wreath of flowers, which the venerable hero received with affecting courtesy. While going from town to town, he found in every place some of the descendants of 1776, ready to give him the heartiest of welcomes. Thus, when visiting Marblehead, in Massachusetts, the marquis manifested much curiosity at so many ladies being mingled with the male citizens, who had been deputed to receive him. The spokesman of the occasion, perceiving the pleasant surprise of the marquis at this peculiar feature, said to him—

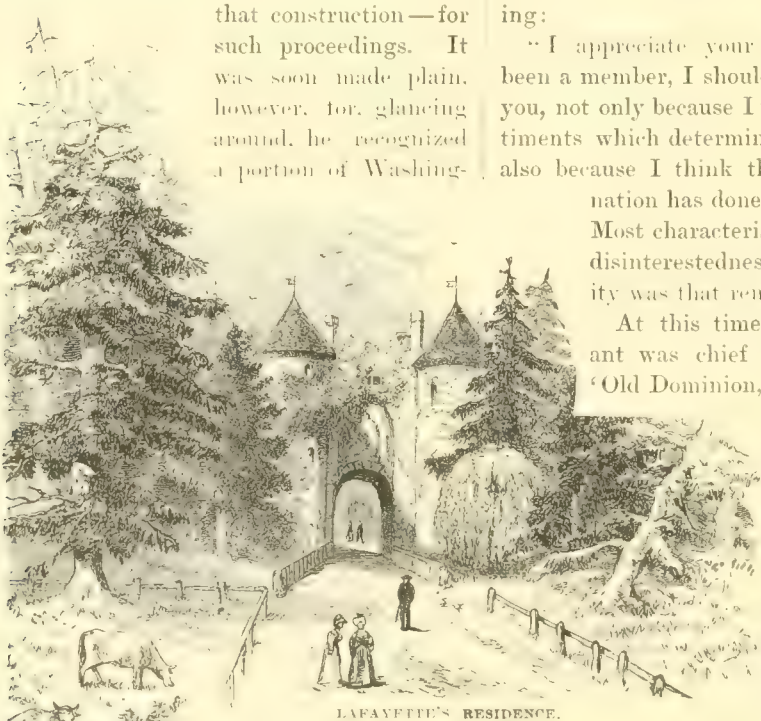
"These are the widows of those who perished in the revolutionary war, and the mothers of children for whose liberty you, illustrious sir! have contended in the field of battle. They are now here in the places of their husbands, many of whom were once known to you."

It may here be remarked, that Marblehead was the "banner town" for furnishing soldiers, in the revolutionary war, there being a larger proportion to the whole number of inhabitants from that

[illegible] has any other place in the United States. The British armed vessels hovering on the coast destroyed the coasting and fishing business, and thus the loss of men in the war fell heavily upon the small seaport towns; for, being out of employment, nearly all the young and old men shouldered their muskets and joined the army.

At Philadelphia he was welcomed with almost idolizing enthusiasm; for tender and thrilling indeed were the associations which linked together the history of the past and present of that city, in the person and services of Lafayette; the hospitalities of the state were appropriately dispensed by Governor Shultze. On landing at Baltimore, he was conducted to the 'tent of Washington,' and the freedom of the state and city conferred upon him in an address by Governor Stevens. For some time Lafayette could not precisely understand the compliment conveyed in the selection of the tent—especially one of that construction—for such proceedings. It was soon made plain, however, for, glancing around, he recognized a portion of Washington's personal equipage during the war; and turning to one near him, he said, in a voice tremulous with emotion, "*I remember!*" Proceeding to Washington, Lafayette was received with open arms by President Monroe, at the executive mansion. Congress had just assembled in regular session, at the capitol. He was introduced to both houses, and was formally and elegantly addressed by Mr. Clay, speaker of the house of representatives, the two branches unanimously uniting in their legislative honors to the nation's guest. At this session the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, together with a township, consisting of twenty-four thousand acres of fertile land, was voted by congress to General Lafayette, as an expression of the grateful memory with which the people of America regarded his services in their behalf. A few of the members felt themselves constrained, from some doubts respecting its constitutionality, to vote against this appropriation. Lafayette, taking one of them by the hand, said to him with considerable feeling:

"I appreciate your views. If I had been a member, I should have voted with you, not only because I partake of the sentiments which determined your votes, but also because I think that the American nation has done too much for me." Most characteristic of Lafayette's disinterestedness and magnanimity was that remark!



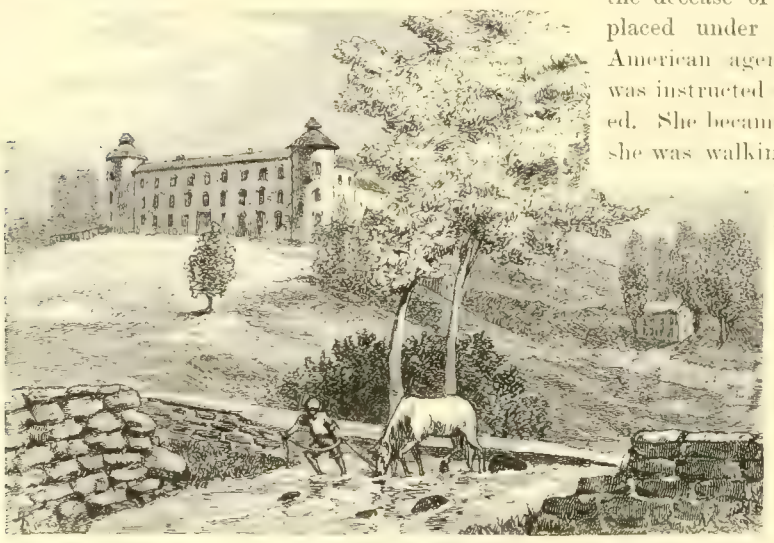
LAFAYETTE'S RESIDENCE.

At this time, Governor Pleasant was chief magistrate of the 'Old Dominion,' and warmly welcomed the nation's guest. The emotions experienced by Lafayette, as he once more trod the battle-fields of Virginia, can of course hardly be described. Yorktown, distinguished for the surrender of Cornwallis, which event gave the finishing blow to the war, presented a vast field

of tents at the reception of Lafayette. The same house occupied by Cornwallis, as his head-quarters in 1781, was still standing. The general appearance of the place gave evidence of a deserted village. The houses of yore, which had been riddled with balls and blackened with smoke, still retained the marks of battle. In many parts of the ground were seen broken shells, and gun-carriages, with various implements of war,—some on rocks, and others half buried in the earth; every arrangement having been made to give the town, on Lafayette's arrival, the appearance of a place taken and occupied after a severe contest in battle. One of the tents erected on this occasion, was the one used by Washington at the time of the siege, together with others which had furnished temporary apartments for weary soldiers during the eventful campaign. An arch, bearing the names of Lafayette, Hamilton, and Laurens, was erected on the very spot where the redoubt stood which was stormed by Lafayette; an obelisk was also erected, bearing the names of distinguished Frenchmen. And on the same spot it is said that the orator of the occasion was designing, at the close of his address, to place a blended civic crown and national wreath in honor of Lafayette, who, while he acknowledged the unique compliment, gracefully averted its consummation, and, taking the symbolic garland in his hand, called for Colonel Fish, the only survivor of the attack upon the redoubt, and declared that half the honor belonged to him. Washington's marquee was erected on the plain, just out of the village. Being escorted to this tent, Lafayette gave an affecting welcome to the officers of the militia. Two old veterans were there, who had faced the enemy in war, and stood firm in the midst of the roar of the cannon; but as they pressed the hand of Lafayette on this occasion, the old heroes wept and fainted. Some of the servants who were present discovered in an obscure corner of a cellar a large box of candles, bearing marks of belonging to Cornwallis's military stores—having remained undisturbed for forty-three years. They were lighted for the evening, and notwithstanding the fatigues of the day, some of the old soldiers remained till the last vestige of these British candles had expired in the sockets.

Taking Camden, South Carolina—Governor Richard J. Manning,—in his tour, Lafayette assisted in laying the corner-stone of a monument erected to the name and memory of Baron de Kalb, a German by birth, who came over in the same vessel with Lafayette, in 1776, and volunteered his services in the American army for three years. He fell while bravely engaged in the battle at Camden, pierced with eleven deadly wounds. It is said that Washington, visiting the baron's grave many years after his death, sighed as he looked upon it, and exclaimed, "There lies the brave De Kalb, the generous stranger, who came from a distant land to fight our battles, and to water with his blood the tree of Liberty. Would to God he had lived to share with us in its fruits!" At Savannah, Georgia, after being welcomed by Governor Troup, Lafayette united in the same service commemorative of Generals Greene and Pulaski. On the seventeenth of June, Lafayette witnessed the laying of the corner-stone of Bunker Hill monument, at Charlestown, Massachusetts; he was the only surviving major-general of the revolution who was present at this ceremony. Colonel Francis K. Huger participated in the patriotic services—the man who, when a lad, walked with Lafayette over his father's grounds, and who, some thirty years before this seventeenth of June, risked his life in attempting to aid the escape of Lafayette from the castle of Olmutz. The people of Charlestown not only welcomed Huger, but gave him a seat by the side of Lafayette, in the carriage which moved in the procession, and also one near him at the festive board. Daniel Webster was the orator for the day; it was the fiftieth anniversary of the battle; and everything conspired to render the day memorable. As the procession passed, Lafayette was continually hailed with demonstrations of love

and gratitude. The procession was several miles long, and, on arriving at the historic spot, the impressive rite of laying the corner-stone was performed by the grand master of the Freemasons, the president of the Monument Association, and General Lafayette, in the presence of a vast concourse of people. The assembly then moved to a spacious amphitheatre, where the oration was pronounced by Mr. Webster, before as great a multitude as was ever, perhaps, assembled within the sound of a human voice.



LAFAYETTE'S BIRTHPLACE.

There was one place—Kaskaskia, on the route of Lafayette's tour, at which, though no preparations had been made to receive him, he paused a short time; and here it was that a most affecting incident occurred. Curiosity induced one of his companions to go and look at an Indian encampment, a short distance from the town. He there met with an educated Indian woman, who spoke the French language tolerably well, and who expressed a desire to see Lafayette, and to show him a relic which she always carried with her, and which was "very dear to her." She wished to show it to Lafayette, as proof of the veneration with which his name was regarded among their tribes. It was a letter written by Lafayette in 1778, and addressed to her father, Panisciowa, a chief of one of the six nations. This letter expressed the hearty thanks of Lafayette for the faithful services of that chief in the American cause. The name of this only child of the old chief was Mary, who, at the decease of her mother, was placed under the care of an American agent, by whom she was instructed and kindly treated. She became a Christian. As she was walking out in the forest, about five years after, an Indian warrior overtook her and informed her that her father was dying, and wished to see her. She soon started off, traveled all night, and in the morning reached his hut, which was situated in a narrow valley. As she came to his bedside, he took from his pouch a paper wrapped in a dry skin, and gave it to her, with a charge to preserve it as a precious gift, saying: "It is a powerful charm to interest the pale-faces in your favor. I received it from a great French warrior, whom the English dreaded as much as the Americans loved him, and with whom I fought in my youth." The chief died the next day. Mary returned to her white friends, and soon after married the young warrior, who was her father's friend and companion. She had the pleasure of showing the letter to Lafayette, who recognized it, and listened with great respect and deep feeling to her touching story.

Another most interesting episode was that which transpired at Lafayette's reception in Nashville, Tenn., Governor Carroll presiding at the state ceremonies. There had come from different parts of the country about forty officers and soldiers of the revolution. Among the number was an aged man who had traveled one hundred and fifty miles. His name was Haguy, a German, and he was one of those who

embarked in the same vessel with Lafayette for this country, nearly fifty years back, and served under him during the whole war. The old veteran, clasping Lafayette's hand with affectionate warmth, the tears rolling down his cheeks, said:

"I have come many miles to see the 'young general.' I have had two happy days in my life—one, when I landed with you on the American coast, nearly fifty years ago, and to-day when I see your face again. I have lived long enough." The sensation produced by this scene, in that great throng, was for a time completely overpowering.

Not less interesting was the interview, at Buffalo, between Lafayette and 'Red Jacket,' the old chief of the Seneca tribe of Indians. They had both met in council at Fort Schuyler, in 1784. Red Jacket, in conversation with General Lafayette, made some allusions to that famous council, and to those who participated in its proceedings, when Lafayette inquired with some curiosity—

"Where is the young warrior, I wonder, who opposed the burying of the tomahawk?"

"He is here before you," instantly replied the aged chief.

"Ah, I see," replied the general, "time has changed us. We were once young and active."

"But," said the chief, "time has made less change on you than on me."

Saying this he uncovered his head, and exhibited his entire baldness. The general wore a wig, and, not wishing to deceive Red Jacket, took it from his head, to the no small amusement of the astonished Indian.

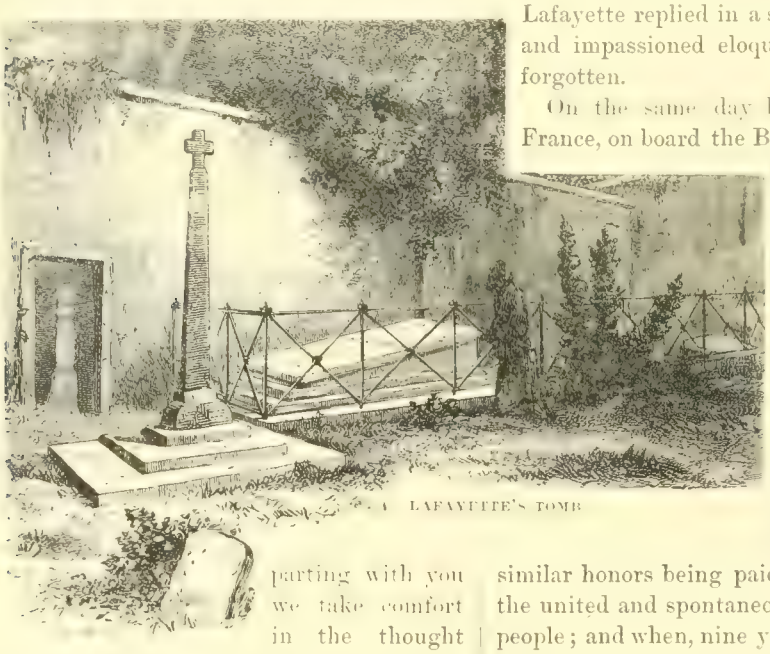
A visit to the tomb of Washington was one of the most notable events in Lafayette's tour. His arrival there was announced by the firing of cannon, which brought to his memory the din of war,—the scenes of the revolution,—when he, with the great but now lifeless chieftain, were side by side in battle. Standing for awhile upon the consecrated ground and amidst the solemn stillness of the place, he descended alone into the tomb with his head uncovered. There he remained in solitary contemplation for some time—the living aged veteran communing with the illustrious dead. He returned with his face bathed in tears, and, taking his son and Levasseur, the secretary, by the hand, led them into the tomb. He could not speak, but pointed mutely to the coffin of Washington. They knelt reverently by it, kissed it, and, rising, threw themselves into the arms of Lafayette, and for a few moments wept in silence. Lafayette was now presented, by the hand of Mr. Custis, one of the surviving family connections of Washington, with a massive finger-ring containing a portion of the hair of his departed friend. He was also the recipient of some other personal memorials of the "Father of his Country."

During this tour Lafayette visited every one of the twenty-four states of the Union, and traveled over five thousand miles. In nearly every region which he visited, towns or counties, and literary, scientific or civic associations, named in honor of him, still preserve his memory. Indeed, one of the foremost of the great colleges of the Middle states dates from the same period. At Easton, in Pennsylvania, the citizens convened on the 27th of December, 1824, and resolved to establish LAFAYETTE COLLEGE, an eminent institution of learning, in memory of and "as a testimony of respect for the talents, virtues and signal sevices, of General Lafayette, in the great cause of Freedom."

When the time which he had allotted for his tour had expired, Lafayette repaired to Washington, to pay his parting respects to the chief magistrate of the nation, John Quincy Adams, who had succeeded President Monroe. This took place at the presidential mansion, on the sixth of September, 1825. The farewell address from the president, in behalf of the whole American people, was a most affecting tribute to the lofty character and patriotic services of Lafayette, during his

long and eventful career, and closed with the following words:

"Yours we are by that unshaken sentiment of gratitude for your services which is a precious portion of our inheritance; ours by that tie of love, stronger than death, which has linked your name for the endless ages of time with the name of Washington. At the painful moment of parting with you we take comfort in the thought that, wherever you may be, to the last pulsation of your heart, our country will ever be present to your affections; and a cheering consolation assures us that we are not called to sorrow — most of all, that we shall see your face no more, — for we shall indulge the pleasing anticipation of beholding our friend again. In the name of the whole people of the United States, I bid you a reluctant and affectionate farewell."



LAFAYETTE'S TOMB

To this parting address from the lips of the nation's distinguished chief magistrate, Lafayette replied in a strain of patriotic and impassioned eloquence never to be forgotten.

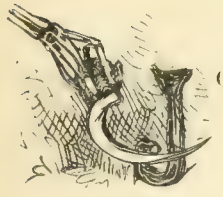
On the same day he embarked for France, on board the Brandywine, a new frigate, named thus in compliment to Lafayette, who, on the banks of that river, was wounded in his first battle for American freedom. In the whole range of history, ancient or modern, there is no instance of similar honors being paid to any hero, by the united and spontaneous will of a great people; and when, nine years after, he paid the debt of nature, that same great people gave vent to universal grief, and every tongue spoke words of eulogy to the memory of America's most illustrious friend.

XIX.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY AND CELEBRATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC.—1826.

Sudden and Simultaneous Death of Ex-Presidents John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, its Two Most Illustrious Founders.—The Day of Resounding Joy and Jubilee Changed to One of Profound National Sorrow.—No Historical Parallel to Such a Remarkable Coincidence.—World-Renowned Career of these Statesmen.—Extraordinary Preparations for the Day.—Adams and Jefferson then Alive.—Sires and Patriarchs of the Nation.—Their Names Household Words.—Invited to Share in the Festivities.—They Hail the Glorious Morn.—Great Rejoicings, Death's Summons.—Jefferson's Distinguishing Honor.—Adams's Patriotic Luster.—Their Imperishable Deeds.—Calm yet High Enthusiasm.—Hostile Leaders in After-Life.—Racy and Piquant Anecdote.—Crisis Point in Adams's Fortunes.—His Last Toast for His Country,—"Independence Forever."—Two Sages in Old Age.—Serenity, Wisdom, Dignity.—Former Friendship Revived.—Letters of Mutual Attachment.—European Admiration Excited.—Reverence to their Colossal Fame.

"Such pass away: but they leave
All hope, or love, or truth, or LIBERTY,—
Whose forms their mighty spirits could conceive,
To be a rule and law to ages that survive."



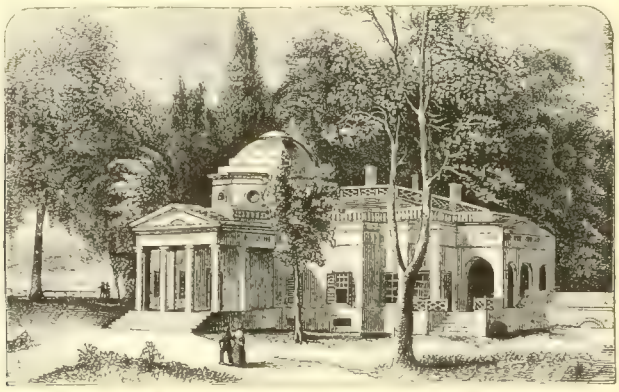
JOYOUS, painful, by sudden and strange transition, to the American people, was the Fourth of July, 1826,—the anniversary of the first half-century of their national existence, and, as it proved, the day on which the two chief founders of the republic passed, simultaneously, from the scenes of their earthly career to the repose and the rewards of another world;—one of the most remarkable coincidences that has ever occurred in the history of nations. It was the half-centennial Jubilee of American Independence, and preparations had been made in every part of the Union to celebrate the august day with extraordinary demonstrations and observances. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, two illustrious sages, whose names and lives were pre-eminently identified with the formation of the government, and, for so many years, with its history and administration, so much so as to have become household names everywhere, in the nation, were, on this most memorable day,—amid the rejoicings of the people, the peals of artillery, the strains of music, the exultations of a great nation in the enjoyment of freedom, peace, and happiness,—released from the toils of life.

In the personal and public career of these two great patriots, there were many points of similarity. In the enumeration of these similarities by Mr. Webster, their eloquent eulogist, it appears that they belonged to the same profession, both being learned and able lawyers. They were natives and inhabitants, respectively, of those two of the colonies, Massachusetts and Virginia, which, at the time of the

revolution, were the largest and most powerful, and which naturally had a lead in the political affairs of the times. When the colonies became in some degree united, by the assembling of a general congress, they were brought, at an early period, to act together in its deliberations. Each had already manifested his attachment to the cause of the country, as well as his ability to maintain it, by printed addresses, public speeches, extensive correspondence, and whatever other mode could be adopted for the purpose of exposing the encroachments of the British parliament, and animating the people to a manly resistance. Both were not only decided, but early, friends of independence. While others yet doubted, they were resolved; where others hesitated, they pressed forward. They were both members of the committee for preparing the Declaration of Independence, and they constituted the sub-committee appointed by the other members to make the draft. Jefferson was the author of that noblest production of statesmanship; Adams was its chief parliamentary expositor and triumphant advocate in the 'assembly of the mighty.' They left their seats in congress, being called to other public employment, at periods not remote from each other. Both became public ministers abroad, both vice-presidents, and both presidents. All these remarkable parallels and coincidences were at last most singularly crowned and completed: They died together—and they died on the anniversary of American liberty—in the very midst of the festivities which commemorated the nation's half-centennial jubilee! Wherever the tidings of their decease could be flashed, on that eventful day, the voices of festivity and mirth were changed to those of wonder and mourning.

Jefferson's imperishable renown consists in his having penned the Declaration of Independence, rather than in the fact of his having filled the highest offices, state and national, culminating with that of president of the republic.

On the other hand, to have been foremost among those who foresaw and broke the way for the birth of a new nation; to have been the mover of numerous decisive acts, the undoubted precursors of the great consummation; to have been among the many and towering spirits then engaged in defying the mightiest throne in christendom, by acknowledgment unsurpassed in zeal, and unequaled in ability; to have been exclusively associated with the author of the Declaration; and then, with a fervid and overwhelming eloquence, to have taken the lead in inspiring the congress unanimously to adopt and proclaim it,—this is the glory of John Adams.



THE JEFFERSON MANSION AT MONTICELLO.

Mr. Adams commenced the practice of the law in his native town of Quincy. At the age of twenty-eight, he was married to Abigail Smith, a country clergyman's daughter, and an excellent woman with whom he lived in wedlock more than fifty years. At the age of thirty, he published

a dissertation on Canon and Feudal Law, in which he explained the Puritan principles of religion and government, and brought them to bear upon the disputes between Great Britain and the colonies. In 1766, he removed to Boston. His professional standing was now so high, that, in 1768, Governor Bernard offered him the post of advocate-general of the court of admiralty. But Mr. Adams had ranked himself decisively with the friends of the people; and had he accepted a lucrative office under the crown, although no conditions were annexed, his course would not have been the same as heretofore. In truth, the offer must have been intended quite as much to silence his political opposition, as to secure his legal services. He therefore declined it, but gave a noble evidence, not long afterwards, that no base subserviency to the people, any more than to the government, could make him swerve from his own ideas of right. This truth was shown in 1770, by his conduct in reference to the Boston massacre, as the following account will show.

The scene of bloodshed in King street, Boston, was a natural consequence of the relative positions of the soldiery and the people. No good feeling could possibly exist between them. On the part of the troops, the haughty consciousness that Britain had made them keepers of the province, together with a sense of the odium in which they were held, produced a contemptuous antipathy towards the colonists.

At the sight of their own blood, shed by a hireling soldiery, the ferment of the people became terrible, and was shared, for a time, by the calmest patriots in New England. A multitude, computed at ten or twelve thousand, assembled at Faneuil Hall, and adjourned thence to the Old South Church. There went a rumor, that the tragedy in King street had been premeditated, and was but the prelude to a general massacre. For defense against this exaggerated, yet not altogether shadowy danger, a military guard was enrolled, and the town put itself under martial law. No British officer or soldier could have walked the streets with safety to his life.

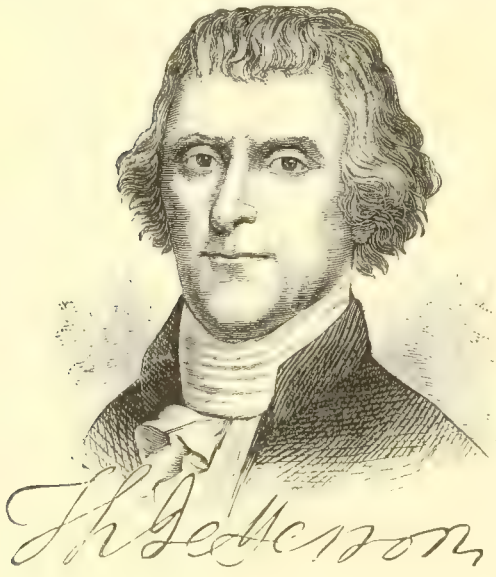
Such was the state of affairs, when John Adams, himself the foremost patriot of all, and a member of the people's military guard, was solicited to undertake the defense of Captain Preston, and the soldiers who had fired the fatal volley, against the charge of murder. It was a singular compliment to his integrity, that the imprisoned soldiers should have sought the aid of a man so situated.

It does not appear that the confidence of Mr. Adams's countrymen in him was shaken by this act of personal and professional independence; or, if so, it was only for the moment. In 1773, he was chosen a member of the provincial council, but was rejected by the tory Governor Hutchinson, and afterwards by General Gage.

In the year 1775, John Adams, as a delegate in congress, nominated George Washington to the post of commander-in-chief of the American armies. The glory of originating this choice appears to belong principally to Mr. Adams, and, did he need a secondary reputation, this would have been claim enough to his country's gratitude. The service cannot be too highly estimated. Washington's character was of such a nature, that, if some sagacious individual had not pointed him out, he probably would not have been the foremost figure in the public eye. Had the selection fallen upon another, no one can conjecture what would have been the result.

As already stated, Mr. Adams was one of the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence; and the calm, yet high enthusiasm of the letter in which he announced that event to a friend, and prophesied that its anniversary would become a national festival, must be familiar to every American. He had a share in all the weightiest business of congress, and bore the burden of much that was less important, being a member of no less than ninety committees, and chairman of twenty-five. In 1777, he was appointed commissioner to France, to supersede Deane,

who was the colleague there of Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee; returning home in 1779, he was again sent out, in the autumn of that year, with powers to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce. In 1785, the distinguished honor fell to him of being appointed the first minister from the United States to the court of St. James; and, in this capacity, was duly presented to his long-time political enemy, King George the Third. In 1788, he returned home. He subsequently assisted in forming the constitution of his native state. During the eight years presidency of Washington, Mr. Adams was vice-president, and, when the former retired from office, Mr. Adams, after a hard political contest with Jefferson and Thomas Pinckney, became president of the United



States. At the end, however, of the first four years, Mr. Jefferson came in by a triumphant majority, and President Adams retired to domestic life. This was in 1801, when he had reached the age of sixty-six.

His long course of public services was now ended. At the period of his retirement, he did not enjoy the unreserved and cordial approbation of any party. Some of his measures had gone far towards alienating the federalists by whom he had been chosen president, and he had bitter enemies. Being a man of warm passions, Mr. Adams was not slow to resent, nor cautious to hide his resentment. He once observed, pointing to his own portrait, "That fellow could never keep his mouth shut!" But he was always frank, and inflexibly honest, as is most plainly shown by the incidents given in his biography, written by Hon. Charles Francis Adams.

As showing from what accidental circumstances often spring the most important changes in the lives and fortunes of men, the following anecdote is well worthy of a place in this narrative: 'When I was a boy,' says John Adams, 'I had to study the Latin grammar, but it was dull, and I hated it. My father was anxious to send me to college, and therefore I studied the grammar till I could bear with it no longer, and, going to my father, I told him I did not like study, and asked for some other employment. It was opposing his wishes, and he was quick in his answer. 'Well, John,' said he, 'if Latin grammar does not suit you, you may try ditching; perhaps that will. My meadow yonder needs a ditch, and you may put by Latin and try that.' This seemed a delightful change, and to the meadow I went. But I soon found ditching harder than Latin, and the first forenoon was the longest I ever experienced. That day I ate the bread of labor, and glad was I when night came on. That night I made some comparison between Latin grammar and ditching, but said not a word about it. I dug the next forenoon, and wanted to return to Latin at dinner; but it was humiliating, and I could not do it. At night, toil conquered pride, and I told my father—one of the severest trials of my life—that, if he chose, I would go back to Latin grammar. He was glad of it; and if I have since gained any distinction, it has been owing to the two days' labor in that abominable ditch.'

Declining farther and farther into the vale of years, and now long removed from the dust of contending parties, the hoary sage drew towards his sepulchre. For

several days before the fourth of July on which he expired, he had been fast failing, though, in reply to an invitation to participate in the celebration of that day, he wrote a patriotic note, full of the fire of his best days. Being desired to furnish a toast for the occasion, he gave—'INDEPENDENCE FOREVER!' He was asked if anything should be added to it. He immediately replied, "*Not a word!*" This toast was drank at the celebration in Quincy, about fifty minutes before the departure of the venerated statesman from earth. On the morning of the fourth, which was ushered in by the ringing of bells and firing of cannon, he was asked if he knew what day it was?—"O yes," he replied, "it is the glorious fourth of July —God bless it!—God bless you all!" In the course of the day he said, "It is a great and glorious day." The last words he uttered were, "Jefferson survives!" But the spirit of Jefferson had already left the body. Among Adams's pallbearers, were President Kirkland, Judge Story, Judge Davis, and Lieutenant Governor Winthrop.

Mr. Jefferson, the illustrious compeer of Adams, was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, in 1743, and was entered a student in the college of William and Mary. On leaving this seminary, he applied himself to the study of the law, under the tuition of the celebrated George Wythe, and was called to the bar in 1766. He soon occupied a high stand in his profession, and, at the early age of twenty-five, entered the house of burgesses of his native state. In 1774, he published a Summary View of the Rights of British America, a bold but respectful pamphlet addressed to the king. In 1775, he was elected a member of the continental congress, and in the following year drew up the Declaration of Independence, the most remarkable document that has ever, in the ages of the world, proceeded from an uninspired pen.

Of the committee appointed to draft the momentous Declaration, Jefferson, though the youngest, was unanimously made chairman, his colleagues being John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston of New York. Jefferson's draft was taken up, in committee of the whole, on the first of July, the chair being filled by Benjamin Harrison, father of William Henry Harrison, president of the United States in 1840. The great manifesto was debated, and, after some slight modifications, was agreed to in the course of a three days' session. No record of that thrilling debate has come down; only some fragmentary reminiscences of the participants of the drama. Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, is said to have exclaimed, "I should advise persisting in our struggle for liberty and independence, though it were revealed from Heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish, and only one of a thousand were to survive and retain his liberty." The Declaration was adopted, by a unanimous vote, a little past noon, on the fourth of July. "Now, gentlemen," said the quaint Dr. Franklin to his colleagues, "we must all hang together, or we shall surely hang separately."

Though what may be termed bitter political rivals for a long period,—leading, respectively, the two great opposing parties,—time's mellowing influence changed all this, and the two patriarchal statesmen and ex-presidents cultivated a mutually warm and generous friendship in their old age. In a letter written by Jefferson to Adams, in June, 1822, he says:

"It is very long, my dear sir, since I have written to you. My dislocated wrist is now become so stiff, that I write slowly, and with pain; and therefore write as little as I can. Yet it is due to mutual friendship, to ask once in a while how we do? I have ever dreaded a doting old age; and my health has been generally so good, and is now so good, that I dread it still. The rapid decline of my strength during the last winter, has made me hope, sometimes, that I see land. During summer, I enjoy its temperature, but I shudder at the approach of winter, and

wish I could sleep through it, with the dormouse, and only wake with him in spring, if ever. They say that Starke could walk about his room. I am told you walk well and firmly. I can only reach my garden, and that with sensible fatigue. I ride, however, daily; but reading is my delight. I should wish never to put pen to paper; and the more because of the treacherous practice some people have, of publishing one's letters without leave;" —etc., etc.

In his reply to the pleasant and cordial letter, from which the above few sentences are extracted as specimens, Mr. Adams says, among other friendly and felicitous expressions:

"Half an hour ago I received, and this moment have heard read, for the third or fourth time, the best letter that ever was written by an octogenarian, dated June 1st. My sight is very dim, hearing pretty good, memory poor enough. In wishing for your health and happiness, I am very selfish; for I hope for more letters. This is worth more than five hundred dollars to me; for it has already given me, and will continue to give me, more pleasure than a thousand;"—etc., etc.

This correspondence between the once rival presidents of the greatest republic of the world, was republished in full, in Europe, where it excited much commendation, on account of the contrast it afforded between an old age thus dedicated to virtue, temperance, and philosophy, and the heart-sickening details so often pertaining to the lives of those who sit upon thrones.

Though he had for some time past been failing in his general health, it was not

THE ADAMS MANSION AT QUINCY.

until the first of July that Mr. Jefferson was confined to his bed. On the third, he continued to sink. Near the middle of the night he asked the hour; and on being told that it was near one o'clock, he expressed his joy. He expressed an earnest desire that he might live to behold the light of the next day—the fiftieth anniversary of the independence of his country. His prayer was answered. At fifty minutes past meridian, July fourth, 1826, Thomas Jefferson ceased to breathe.

Thus, these two most illustrious fathers of the republic,—associates, rivals, friends, —took their flight together to the other world, on the most memorable day since the birth of the nation, and all classes and parties, forgetting the animosities of the past, united in paying their common tribute of reverence to the magnificent fame of Adams and Jefferson. In the words of Webster, their great eulogist, "THEIR NAME LIVETH EVERMORE!"

XX.

THE "GREAT DEBATE" BETWEEN WEBSTER AND HAYNE, IN CONGRESS.—1830.

Vital Constitutional Issues Discussed —Unsurpassed Power and Splendor of Senatorial Eloquence — Webster's Speech Acknowledged to be the Grandest Forensic Achievement in the Whole Range of Modern Parliamentary Efforts —Golden Age of American Oratory.—Unprecedented Interest and Excitement Produced in the Public Mind.—No American Debate Comparable with This.—Known as the "Battle of the Giants"—Inflamed Feeling at the South.—Hayne's Brilliant Championship.—His Speech Against the North —Profound Impression Created —Its Dash, Assurance, Severity —Bitter and Sweeping Charges.—His Opponents Wonder-Struck —Webster has the Floor to Reply.—An Ever-Memorable Day.—Intense Anxiety to Hear Him.—Magnificent Personal Appearance.—His Exordium. all Hearts Enchained.—Immense Intellectual Range —Copious and Crushing Logic.—Accumulative Grandeur of Thought.—Thrilling Apostrophe to the Union.—The Serious, Comic, Pathetic, etc —Hayne's Argument Demolished.—Reception Accorded the Speech.—Rival Orators; Pleasant Courtesies.

"It has been my fortune to hear some of the ablest speeches of the greatest living orators on both sides of the water, but I must confess I never heard anything which so completely realized my conception of what Demosthenes was when he delivered the Oration for the Crown."
—Edward Everett on Webster's Speech.

THE VICTOR'S WREATH.

THE remark made by a distinguished public man, that to have heard the great national debate in the senate of the United States, between Webster of Massachusetts and Hayne of South Carolina, "constituted an era in a man's life," is an expression worthy of being expanded into the far more commensurate statement that the debate in question constituted an era of far-reaching influence and importance, in the political history of the nation. It was, indeed, the greatest forensic exhibition this country has ever witnessed, and, though nearly a century has elapsed since its occurrence, and the immediate participants and their official contemporaries have, almost all of them, long since passed to the sphere of another existence, the occasion still furnishes, and will continue to furnish to future generations, one of the most instructive chapters in the annals of national affairs. Well has the debate been called *'the battle of the giants.'*

Fortunately for those who would wish, in after time, to inform themselves with reference to the principles involved and the chief actors engaged in this great debate,

the memorials of the occasion furnished by Mr. March, and, subsequently, by Mr. Lanman, Dr. Tefft, Louis Gaylord Clark, Edward Everett, and others, leave nothing to be supplied. Mr. March's notes are adopted by Mr. Everett, in his memoirs of Mr. Webster, and, in an abridged form, are given below, in connection with the perspicuous statements of Tefft and others relating to the general issue. The speech was also reported by Mr. Joseph Gales, at the request of Judge Burnett, of Ohio, and other senators. On canvas, too, Healey, the master-painter, has commemorated in an enduring manner, the orator and the occasion.

The subject of discussion before the senate, in the persons of these two intellectual gladiators, grew out of a resolution brought forward by Senator Foot, of Connecticut, just at the close of the previous year, with a view to some arrangement concerning the sale of the public lands. But this immediate question was soon lost sight of in the discussion of a great, vital principle of constitutional law, namely: the relative powers of the states and the national government. Upon this, Mr. Benton and Mr. Hayne addressed the senate, condemning the policy of the eastern states, as illiberal toward the west. Mr. Webster replied, in vindication of New England and of the policy of the government. It was then that Mr. Hayne made his attack—sudden, unexpected, and certainly unexampled,—on Mr. Webster personally, upon Massachusetts and the other northern states politically, and upon the constitution itself; in respect to the latter, Mr. Hayne taking the position, that it is constitutional to interrupt the administration of the constitution itself, in the hands of those who are chosen and sworn to administer it, by the direct interference, in form of law, of the states, in virtue of their sovereign capacity. All of these points were handled by Mr. Hayne with that rhetorical brilliancy and power which characterized him as the oratorical champion of the south, on the floor of the senate; and it is not saying too much, that the speech produced a profound impression.

Mr. Hayne's great effort appeared to be the result of premeditation, concert and arrangement. He selected his own time, and that, too, peculiarly inconvenient to Mr. Webster, for, at that moment, the supreme court were proceeding in the hearing of a cause of great importance, in which he was a leading counsel. For this reason, he requested, through a friend, a postponement of the debate; Mr. Hayne objected, however, and the request was refused. The time, the matter, and the manner, indicated that the attack was made with a design to crush so formidable a political opponent as Mr. Webster had become. To this end, personal history, the annals of New England and of the federal party, were ransacked for materials. It was attempted, with the usual partisan unfairness of political harangues, to make him responsible, not only for what was his own, but for the conduct and opinions of others. All the errors and delinquencies, real or supposed, of Massachusetts, and the eastern states, and of the federal party, during the war of 1812, and, indeed, prior and subsequent to that period, were accumulated upon him.

Thus it was, that Mr. Hayne heralded his speech with a bold declaration of war, with taunts and threats, vaunting anticipated triumph, as if to paralyze by intimidation; saying that he would carry the war into Africa, until he had obtained indemnity for the past and security for the future. It was supposed that, as a distinguished representative man, Mr. Webster would be driven to defend what was indefensible, and to uphold what could not be sustained, and, as a federalist, to oppose the popular resolutions of '98.

The severe nature of Mr. Hayne's charges, the ability with which he brought them to bear upon his opponents, his great reputation as a brilliant and powerful declaimer, filled the minds of his friends with anticipations of complete triumph. For two days, Mr. Hayne had the control of the floor. The vehemence of his lan-

guage and the earnestness of his manner gave added force to the excitement of the occasion. So fluent and melodious was his elocution, that his cause naturally begat sympathy. No one had time to deliberate upon his rapid words, or canvass his sweeping and accumulated statements. The dashing nature of the onset; the assurance, almost insolence, of its tone; the serious character and apparent truth of the accusations, confounded almost every hearer. The immediate impression from the speech was most assuredly disheartening to the cause Mr. Webster upheld. Congratulations from almost every quarter were showered upon the speaker. Mr. Benton said, in the full senate, that much as Mr. Hayne had done before to establish his reputation as an orator, a statesman, a patriot, and a gallant son of the south, the efforts of that day would eclipse and surpass the whole. Indeed, the speech was extolled as the greatest effort of the time, or of other times,—neither Chatham, nor Burke, nor Fox, had surpassed it, in their palmiest days.

Satisfaction, however, with the speech, even among the friends of the orator, was not unanimous. Some of the senators knew, for they had felt, Mr. Webster's power. They knew the great resources of his mind; the immense range of his intellect; the fertility of his imagination; his copious and fatal logic; the scathing severity of his sarcasm, and his full and electrifying eloquence. Mr. Webster's own feelings with reference to the speech were freely expressed to his friend, Mr. Everett, the evening succeeding Mr. Hayne's closing effort. He regarded the speech as an entirely unprovoked attack upon the north, and, what was of far more importance, as an exposition of a system of politics, which, in Mr. Webster's opinion, went far to change the form of government from that which was established by the constitution, into that which existed under the confederation,—if the latter could be called a government at all. He stated it to be his intention, therefore, to put that theory to rest forever, as far as it could be done by an argument in the senate-chamber. How grandly he did this, is thus vividly portrayed by Mr. March, an eye-witness, and whose account has been adopted by all historians:

It was on Tuesday, January the twenty-sixth, 1830,—a day to be hereafter forever memorable in senatorial annals,—that the senate resumed the consideration of Foot's resolution. There was never before in the city, an occasion of so much excitement. To witness this great intellectual contest, multitudes of strangers had for two or

ROBERT Y. HAYNE.

three days previous been rushing into the city, and the hotels overflowed. As early as nine o'clock in the morning, crowds poured into the capitol, in hot haste; at twelve o'clock, the hour of meeting, the senate-chamber,—its galleries, floor, and even the lobbies,—was filled to its utmost capacity. The very stairways were dark with men, who hung on to one another, like bees in a swarm.

The house of representatives was early deserted. An adjournment would hardly have made it emptier. The speaker, it is true, retained his chair, but no business of moment was, or could be, attended to. Members all rushed in, to hear Mr. Webster, and no call of the house, or other parliamentary proceedings, could compel them back. The floor of the senate was so

densely crowded, that persons once in could not get out, nor change their position. In the rear of the vice-president's chair, the crowd was particularly dense; Hon. Dixon H. Lewis, then a representative from Alabama, became wedged in here. From his enormous size, it was impossible for him to move without displacing a vast portion of the multitude; unfortunately, too, for him, he was jammed in directly behind the chair of the vice-president, where he could not see, and could hardly hear, the speaker. By slow and laborious effort—pausing occasionally to breathe—he gained one of the windows, which, constructed of painted glass, flanked the chair of the vice-president on either side. Here he paused, unable to make more headway. But determined to see Mr. Webster, as he spoke, with his knife he made a large hole in one of the panes of glass. The courtesy of senators accorded to the fairer sex room on the floor —the most gallant of them, their own seats.

Seldom, if ever, has speaker in this or any other country, had more powerful incentives to exertion; a subject, the determination of which involved the most important interests, and even duration, of the republic; competitors, unequaled in reputation, ability, or position; a name to make still more renowned, or lose forever; and an audience, comprising not only American citizens most eminent in intellectual greatness, but representatives of other nations, where the art of eloquence had flourished for ages.

Mr. Webster perceived, and felt equal to, the destinies of the moment. The very greatness of the hazard exhilarated him. His spirits rose with the occasion. He awaited the time of onset with a stern and impatient joy. He felt, like the war-horse of the scriptures, who 'paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength: who goeth on to meet the armed men,—who sayeth among the trumpets, ha, ha! and who smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains and the shouting.' A confidence in his resources, springing from no vain estimate of his power, but the legitimate offspring of previous severe mental discipline, sustained and excited him. He had gauged his opponents, his subject, and *himself*. He was, too, at this period, in the very prime of manhood. He had reached middle age—an era in the life of man, when the faculties, physical or intellectual, may be supposed to attain their fullest organization, and most perfect development. Whatever there was in him of intellectual energy and vitality, the occasion, his full life and high ambition, might well bring forth.

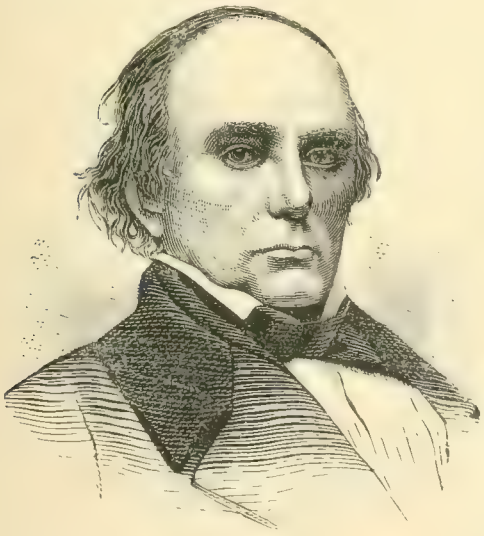
He never rose on an ordinary occasion to address an ordinary audience more self-possessed. There was no tremulousness in his voice nor manner; nothing hurried, nothing simulated. The calmness of superior strength was visible everywhere; in countenance, voice, and bearing. A deep-seated conviction of the extraordinary character of the emergency, and of his ability to control it, seemed to possess him wholly. If an observer, more than ordinarily keen-sighted, detected at times something like exultation in his eye, he presumed it sprang from the excitement of the moment, and the anticipation of victory.

The anxiety to hear the speech was so intense, irrepressible, and universal, that no sooner had the vice-president assumed the chair, than a motion was made and unanimously carried, to postpone the ordinary preliminaries of senatorial action, and to take up immediately the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. Webster rose and addressed the senate. His exordium is known by heart everywhere: "Mr. President, when the mariner has been tossed, for many days, in thick weather, and on an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude, and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate this prudence; and before we float further, on the waves of this debate, refer to the point from which we departed, that we may, at least,

be able to form some conjecture where we now are. I ask for the reading of the resolution." Calm, resolute, impressive, was this opening utterance.

There wanted no more to enchain the attention. There was a spontaneous, though silent, expression of eager approbation, as the orator concluded these opening remarks. And while the clerk read the resolution, many attempted the impossibility of getting nearer the speaker. Every head was inclined closer towards him, every ear turned in the direction of his voice—and that deep, sudden, mysterious silence followed, which always attends fullness of emotion. From the sea of upturned faces before him, the orator beheld his thoughts reflected as from a mirror. The varying countenance, the suffused eye, the earnest smile, and ever-attentive look, assured him of the intense interest excited. If, among his hearers, there were those who affected at first an indifference to his glowing thoughts and fervent periods, the difficult mask was soon laid aside, and profound, undisguised, devoted attention



DANIEL WEBSTER.

followed. In truth, all, sooner or later, voluntarily, or in spite of themselves, were wholly carried away by the spell of such unexampled forensic eloquence.

Those who had doubted Mr. Webster's ability to cope with and overcome his opponents were fully satisfied of their error before he had proceeded far in his speech. Their fears soon took another direction. When they heard his sentences of powerful thought, towering in accumulative grandeur, one above the other, as if the orator strove, Titan-like, to reach the very heavens themselves, they were giddy with an apprehension that he would break down in his flight. They dared not believe, that genius, learning,—any intellectual endowment, however uncommon, that was simply mortal,—could sustain itself long in a career seemingly so perilous. They feared an Icarian fall.

No one, surely, could ever forget, who was present to hear, the tremendous—the awful—burst of eloquence with which the orator apostrophized the old Bay State which Mr. Hayne had so derided, or the tones of deep pathos in which her defense was pronounced: "Mr. President, I shall enter on no encomium upon Massachusetts. There she is—behold her and judge for yourselves. There is her history; the world knows it by heart. The past, at least, is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill,—and there they will remain forever. The bones of her sons, falling in the great struggle for independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every state, from New England to Georgia; and there they will lie forever. And, sir, where American liberty raised its first voice, and where its youth was nurtured and sustained, there it still lives, in the strength of its manhood and full of its original spirit. If discord and disunion shall wound it—if party-strife and blind ambition shall hawk at and tear it—if folly and madness—if uneasiness under salutary and necessary restraint,—shall succeed to separate it from that Union, by which alone its existence is made sure, it will stand, in the end, by the side of that cradle in which its infancy was rocked: it will stretch forth its arm with whatever of vigor it may still retain, over the friends who gather round it; and it will fall at last, if fall it must, amidst the proudest monuments of its own glory,

and on the very spot of its origin." No New England heart but throbbed with vehement, absorbed, irrepressible emotion, as Mr. Webster thus dwelt upon New England sufferings, New England struggles, and New England triumphs, during the war of the revolution. There was scarcely a dry eye in the senate; all hearts were overcome; grave judges, and men grown old in dignified life, turned aside their heads, to conceal the evidences of their emotion.

In one corner of the gallery was clustered a group of Massachusetts men. They had hung from the first moment upon the words of the speaker, with feelings variously but always warmly excited, deepening in intensity as he proceeded. At first, while the orator was going through his exordium, they held their breath and hid their faces, mindful of the fierce attack upon him and New England, and the fearful odds against any one standing up as a champion of the latter; as he went deeper into his speech, they felt easier; when he turned Hayne's flank on "Banquo's ghost"—that famous rhetorical figure used by the South Carolinian, —they breathed freer and fuller. But anon, as he alluded to Massachusetts, their feelings were strained to the utmost tension; and when the senator, concluding his passages upon the land of their birth, turned, intentionally or otherwise, his burning eye upon them, tears were falling like rain adown their cheeks.

No one who was not present can understand the excitement of the scene. No one, who was, can give an adequate description of it. No word-painting can convey the deep, intense enthusiasm,—the reverential attention, of that vast assembly,—nor limner transfer to canvas their earnest, eager, awe-struck countenances. Though language were as subtle and flexible as thought, it still would be impossible to represent the full idea of the occasion.

Much of the instantaneous effect of the speech arose, of course, from the orator's delivery—the tones of his voice, his countenance, and manner. These die mostly with the occasion; they can only be described in general terms. "Of the effectiveness of Mr. Webster's manner, in many parts," says Mr. Everett, himself almost without a peer, as an orator, "it would be in vain to attempt to give any one not present the faintest idea. It has been my fortune to hear some of the ablest speeches of the greatest living orators on both sides of the water, but I must confess I never heard anything which so completely realized my conception of what Demosthenes was when he delivered the Oration for the Crown." There could be no higher praise than this. Kean nor Kemble, nor any other masterly delineator of the human passions, ever produced a more powerful impression upon an audience, or swayed so completely their hearts.

No one ever looked the orator, as he did, —in form and feature how like a god! His countenance spake no less audibly than his words. His manner gave new force to his language. As he stood swaying his right arm, like a huge tilt-hammer, up and down, his swarthy countenance lighted up with excitement, he appeared amid the smoke, the fire, the thunder of his eloquence, like Vulcan in his armory forging thoughts for the gods! Time had not thinned nor bleached his hair; it was as dark as the raven's plumage, surmounting his massive brow in ample folds. His eye, always dark and deep-set, enkindled by some glowing thought, shone from beneath his somber, overhanging brow like lights, in the blackness of night, from a sepulchre. No one understood, better than Mr. Webster, the philosophy of dress;—what a powerful auxiliary it is to speech and manner, when harmonizing with them. On this occasion he appeared in a blue coat, a buff vest, black pants, and white cravat, a costume strikingly in keeping with his face and expression.

The human face never wore an expression of more withering, relentless scorn, than when the orator replied to Hayne's allusion to the "murdered coalition,"—a piece of stale political trumpery, well

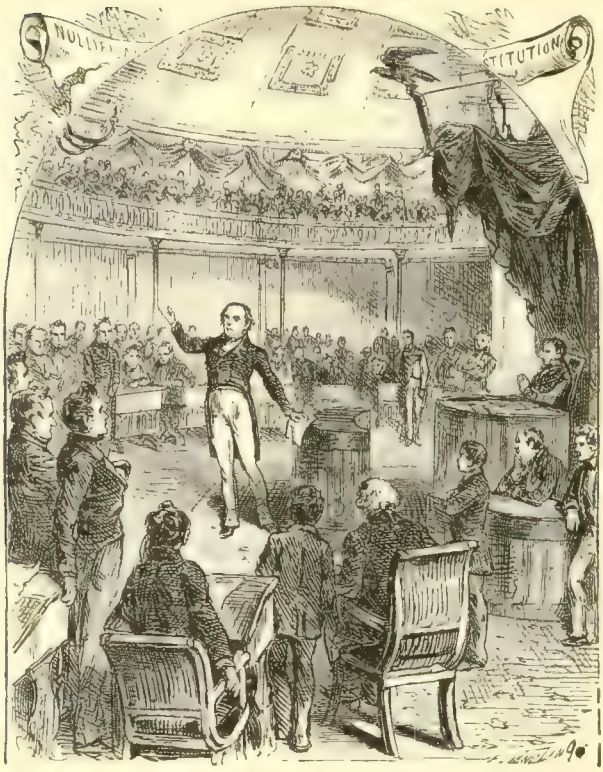
understood at that day. "It is," said Mr. Webster, "the very cast-off slough of a polluted and shameless press. Incapable of further mischief, it lies in the sewer, lifeless and despised. It is not now, sir, in the power of the honorable member to give it dignity or decency, by attempting to elevate it, and introduce it into the senate. He cannot change it from what it is—an object of general disgust and scorn. On the contrary, the contact, if he choose to touch it, is more likely to drag him down, down to the place where it lies itself!" He looked, as he spoke these words, as if the thing he alluded to was too mean for scorn itself, and the sharp, stinging enunciation, made the words still more scathing. The audience seemed relieved,—so crushing was the expression of his face which they held on to, as 'twere, spell-bound,—when he turned to other topics.

But the good-natured yet provoking irony with which he described the imaginary though life-like scene of direct collision between the marshaled army of South Carolina under General Hayne on the one side, and the officers of the United States on the other, nettled his opponent even more than his severer satire; it seemed so ridiculously true. With his true Southern blood, Hayne inquired, with some degree of emotion, if the gentleman from Massachusetts intended any *personal* imputation by such remarks? To which Mr. Webster replied, with perfect good humor, "Assuredly not—just the *reverse!*"

The variety of incident during the speech, and the rapid fluctuation of passions, kept the audience in continual expectation, and ceaseless agitation. The speech was a complete drama of serious, comic, and pathetic scenes; and though a large portion of it was strictly argumentative—an exposition of constitutional law,—yet, grave as such portion necessarily must be, severely logical, and abounding in no fancy or episode, it engrossed, throughout, undivided attention.

The swell of his voice and its solemn roll struck upon the ears of the enraptured audience, in deep and thrilling cadence, as waves upon the shore of the far-resounding sea. The Miltonic grandeur of his words was the fit expression of his great thoughts, and raised his hearers up to his theme; and his voice, exerted to its utmost power, penetrated every recess or corner of the senate—penetrated even the anterooms and stairways, as, in closing, he pronounced in deepest tones of pathos these words of solemn significance: "When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased nor polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, "What is all this worth?" —nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterwards:" but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every American heart, "LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOREVER, ONE AND INSEPARABLE!"

The speech was over, but the tones of the orator still lingered upon the ear, and the audience, unconscious of the close, retained their positions. Everywhere around seemed forgetfulness of all but the orator's presence and words. There never was a deeper stillness; silence could almost have heard itself, it was so supernaturally still. The feeling was too overpowering, to allow expression by voice or hand. It was as if one was in a trance, all motion paralyzed. But the descending hammer of the chair awoke them, with a start; and with one universal, long drawn, deep



WEBSTER'S REPLY TO HAYNE.

breath, with which the overcharged heart seeks relief, the crowded assembly broke up and departed.

New England men walked down Pennsylvania avenue that day, after the speech, with a firmer step and bolder air — 'pride in their port, defiance in their eye.' They devoured the way in their stride. They looked every one in the face they met, fearing no contradiction. They swarmed in the streets, having become miraculously multitudinous. They clustered in parties and fought the scene over one hundred times that night. Their elation was the greater, by reaction. Not one of them but felt he had gained a personal victory.

In the evening, General Jackson held a presidential levee at the White House. It was known, in advance, that Mr. Webster would attend it, and hardly had the hospitable doors of the mansion been thrown open, when the crowd that had filled the senate-chamber in the morning rushed in and occupied the rooms, leaving a vast and increasing crowd at the entrance. On all previous occasions, the general himself had been the observed of all observers. His receptions were always gladly attended by large numbers; and to these he himself was always the chief object of attraction, on account of his great military and personal reputation, official position, gallant bearing, and courteous manners.

But on this occasion, the room in which he received his company was deserted, as soon as courtesy to the president permitted. Mr. Webster was in the East Room, and thither the whole mass hurried. He stood almost in the center of the room, pressed upon by surging crowds, eager to pay him deference. Hayne, too, was there, and, with others, went up and complimented Mr. Webster on his brilliant effort. In a subsequent meeting between the two rival debaters, Webster challenged Hayne to drink a glass of wine with him, saying, as he did so,—

"General Hayne, I drink to your health, and I hope that you may live a thousand years."

"I shall not live more than one hundred, if you make another such speech," Hayne replied.

To this day, Webster's speech is regarded as the masterpiece of modern eloquence,—unsurpassed by even the mightiest efforts of Pitt, Fox, or Burke,—a matchless intellectual achievement and complete forensic triumph. It was to this great and triumphant effort, that Mr. Webster's subsequent matchless fame as a statesman was due; and, that he was equal to comprehending the true principles of international, as well as those of internal, justice and policy, is abundantly proved by his diplomacy with Great Britain, to which the highest credit is awarded by Eliot, the accomplished historian, in his concise and admirable review of public affairs during this period. An insurrection (says Mr. Eliot) having broken out in Canada, it was immediately supported by American parties, the insurgents being in favor of reform or independence. One of these American parties, in company with some Canadian refugees, after pillaging the New York arsenals, seized upon Navy Island, a British possession in the Niagara river. Mr. Marcy was governor of New York at this time. The steamer Caroline, engaged in bringing over men, arms, and stores to the island, was destroyed, though at the time on the American shore, by a Britsh detachment. The deed was instantly avowed by the minister of Great Britain at Washington as an act of self-defense on the British side. One of the chief characters in these exciting movements was William M'Kenzie. In November, 1840, one Alexander M'Leod, sheriff of Niagara, in Canada, and as such a participator in the destruction of the Caroline, was arrested in New York on the charge of murder, an American having lost his life when the steamer was destroyed. The British government demanded his release, in doing which they were sustained by the United States administration, on the ground that M'Leod was but an agent or soldier of Great Britain. But the authorities of New York held fast to their prisoner, and brought him to trial. Had harm come to him, his government stood pledged to declare war; but he was acquitted for want of proof. The release of M'Leod did not, however, settle the affair of the Caroline; this still remained. There were, or there had been, other difficulties also,—namely, upon the Maine frontier, where the boundary-line had never yet been run. Collisions took place, between the Maine militia and the British troops, and others had been but just prevented. On Mr. Webster's accession to the state department, our government proposed, through Mr. Webster, to the British cabinet, to take up the north-eastern boundary question. The offer was accepted by the British, who sent, as special envoy, Lord Ashburton, to whom was committed the boundary and other controverted questions. The consultations between Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton led to a treaty which settled the boundary, put down the claim to visit our vessels, and provided for the mutual surrender of fugitives from justice. For the affair of the Caroline, an apology was made by Great Britain.

The fame of Mr. Webster, as an orator, a statesman, and an expounder of public law, thus became world-wide and unrivaled.

XXI.

STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT OF PETITION IN CONGRESS.—1836.

John Quincy Adams, the "Old Man Eloquent," Carries on a Contest of Eleven Days, Single-Handed, in its Defense, in the House of Representatives —Passage of the "Gag Rule."—Expulsion and Assassination Threatened.—His Unquailing Courage.—A Spectacle Unwitnessed Before in the Halls of Legislation —Triumph of His Master Mind —The Right and Petition a Constitutional One.—Indiscriminate and Unrestricted.—Anti-Slavery Petitions.—Mr. Adams Their Champion.—An Unpopular Position.—He Defies every Menace.—His Bold and Intrepid Conduct.—The North and South at Variance. Monster Petitions Pour In —A Memorial from Slaves.—Wild Tumult in the House.—Cries of "Expel the Old Scoundrel!"—Proposal to Censure and Disgrace Him —Mr. Adams Unmoved Amidst the Tempest.—Eloquence and Indomitableness —A Petition to Dissolve the Union.—Increased Exasperation.—Violent and Denunciatory Debate.—Sublime Bearing of Mr. Adams.—Vindicated and Victorious at Last.—What He Lived to See.—Honor from His Opponents.

"Though aged, he was so iron of limb,
None of the South could cope with him;
And th[illegible] whom he singly kept at bay,
Outnumbered his hairs of white and gray."

MONSTER PETITION TO CONGRESS.

VENERABLE in years, and laden with political honors—such as a king might be proud of, John Quincy Adams took his seat as a member of the house of representatives at Washington, in 1831. It was about this time, that the anti-slavery societies of the North began to petition congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the inhibition of the inter-state slave-trade, and kindred measures. Though comparatively few at the outset, the petitioners for these objects increased greatly in numbers during the next four or five years, until they reached, in one congress, three-fourths of a million. But not all of these petitioners were 'abolitionists,' in the then commonly accepted meaning of that term. In the defense of the untrammeled right of petition, as also that of the freedom of speech and of the press, it became evident to considerate men, of all parties, that not alone was the right to discuss and petition in regard to slavery involved, but that vital constitutional principles were at stake, and that these must be defended, irrespective of the merits of the particular subject over which the battle was waged. It was upon this broad ground that Mr. Adams,

'the old man eloquent,' as he was familiarly called, became at once the champion of freedom of debate and the right of petition in the national legislature, making not America only, but the civilized world, resound with the clash of the conflict. Of the long and eventful life of this extraordinary man, the chapter covering the events here recorded may perhaps be regarded as the most striking and brilliant. The exalted positions he had held, almost from the very foundation of the government, his multifarious learning, his world-wide renown, lent luster to the cause; while his exhaustless resources, his skill in debate, his dauntless courage and indomitable will, were a tower of strength to its friends, and, as the sequel will show, a source of mortification and discomfiture to its foes. No threats and no tumults could for a moment cause him to quail or waver in his heroic determination.

On the twelfth of December, 1831, Mr. Adams, then at the very outset of his congressional career, presented fifteen petitions, all numerously signed, from inhabitants of Pennsylvania, praying for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. In presenting these petitions, Mr. Adams remarked, that although the petitioners were not his immediate constituents, he inferred, from a letter which accompanied the petitions, that they came from members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, — a body of men, he declared, than whom there was no more respectable and worthy class of citizens in the whole country. At the same time, while he considered that the petitions for the abolition of the slave-trade in the District related to a proper subject for the legislation of Congress, he did not approve of those which prayed for the congressional abolition of slavery there.

Similar petitions were constantly forwarded from different parts of the land, during successive terms of congress, for Mr. Adams to present, the parties well knowing that they could rely upon his scrupulous fidelity to them in the high places of power, and that, against all menaces or blandishments, he would intrepidly advocate that most sacred privilege of freemen—the right of petition.

Becoming alarmed at these demonstrations, the southern members of congress determined to arrest them, and, on the eighth of February, 1836, a committee of the house was appointed to consider what disposition should be made of petitions and memorials of this nature. The report of this committee consisted, in substance, of three resolutions, as follows: First, that congress could not constitutionally interfere with slavery in any of the states; second, that it ought not to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia; third, that all petitions, propositions, or papers of any kind, relating to the subject, should, if brought before congress, be laid upon the table, without liberty of debate, and receive no further action. *This report was the casting of the die.* Well was it called the "Gag Rule."

When the first of these resolutions was taken up, Mr. Adams said, if the house would allow him five minutes' time, he would prove the resolution to be untrue. His request was denied. On the third declaration, Mr. Adams refused to vote, and sent to the speaker's chair the following protest, demanding that it should be placed on the journal of the house, there to stand to the latest posterity:

"I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the constitution of the United States, of the rules of this house, and of the rights of my constituents."

Notwithstanding the rule embodied in this resolution virtually trampled the right of petition into the dust, yet it was adopted by the house, by a large majority. But Mr. Adams was not to be baffled by this arbitrary restriction. Petitions on the subject of slavery continued to be transmitted to him in increased numbers, some of them of monster size, bearing thousands of signatures. With unwavering firmness —against a bitter and unscrupulous opposition, exasperated to the highest pitch by his unconquerable pertinacity — amidst a

perfect tempest of vituperation and abuse — he persevered, unvanquished, in presenting these petitions, one by one, to the amount sometimes of two hundred in a day, and demanding the attention of the house on each separate petition. His position in these scenes, — advocating, amidst scorn and derision, and threats of expulsion and assassination, the inalienable

J. Q. Adams

right of petition for the poorest and humblest in the land,—was in the highest degree illustrious and sublime; a spectacle unwitnessed before in the halls of legislation.

On the sixth of January, 1837, Mr. Adams presented the petition of one hundred and fifty women, whom he stated to be the wives and daughters of his immediate constituents, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; and he moved that the petition be read. Objection was made, whereupon Mr. Adams remarked that, understanding that it was not the petition itself which was laid upon the table, but the motion to receive, he gave notice that he should call up that motion, for decision, every day, so long as freedom of speech was allowed to him as a member of the house. Being called to order at this stage of proceedings, Mr. Adams said he would then have the honor of presenting to the house the petition of two hundred and twenty-eight women, the wives and daughters of his immediate constituents; and, as a part of the speech which he intended to make, he would take the liberty of reading the petition, which was not long, and would not consume much time. Objection being made to the reception of the petition, Mr. Adams at once proceeded to read, that the petitioners, inhabitants of South Weymouth, in the state of Massachusetts, "impressed with the sinfulness of slavery, and keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which congress ——"

Here Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, rose to a question of order, and, after a brisk colloquy in the house, the speaker ruled that Mr. Adams must confine himself to stating the contents of the petition.

Mr. Adams.—I am doing so, sir.

The Speaker.—Not in the opinion of the chair.

Mr. Adams.—I was at this point of the petition: "Keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which congress possesses exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever——"

Loud cries of "Order," "Order!"

Mr. Adams.—"Do most earnestly petition your honorable body——"

Mr. Chambers, of Kentucky, rose to a point of order.

Mr. Adams.—"Immediately to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia——"

Mr. Chambers reiterated his call to order, and the Speaker directed Mr. Adams to take his seat.

Mr. Adams proceeded, however, with great rapidity of enunciation, and in a very loud tone of voice—"*And to declare every human being free who sets foot upon its soil!*"

The confusion in the hall at this time was very great. The speaker decided that it was not in order for a member to read a petition, whether it was long or short.

Mr. Adams appealed from any decision which went to establish the principle that a member of the United States house of representatives should not have the power to read what he chose. He had never before heard of such a thing. If the hith-

erto invariable practice was to be reversed, let the decision stand upon record, and let it appear how entirely the freedom of speech was suppressed in this house. If the reading of a paper was to be suppressed in his person, so help him God, he would only consent to it as a matter of record. Saying this, he instantly resumed and finished the reading of the petition, that the petitioners

"——respectfully announce their intention to present the same petition yearly before this honorable body, that it might at least be a memorial in the holy cause of human freedom, that they had done what they could."

These words were read by Mr. Adams, at the top of his voice, amidst tumultuous cries of "order" from every part of the house. The petition was finally received, and laid upon the table.

One month after this, namely, on the seventh of February, after Mr. Adams had offered some two hundred or more abolition petitions, he came to a halt, and, without yielding the floor, employed himself in packing up or arranging his budget of documents. He was about resuming his seat, when, suddenly glancing at a paper on his desk, he took it up, and exclaimed, in a shrill tone—

"Mr. Speaker, I have in my possession, a petition of a somewhat extraordinary character; and I wish to inquire of the chair if it be in order to present it."

The Speaker replied, that if the gentleman from Massachusetts would state the character of the petition, the chair would probably be able to decide on the subject.

"Sir," ejaculated Mr. Adams, "the petition is signed by eleven slaves of the town of Fredericksburg, in the county of Culpepper, in the state of Virginia. It is one of those petitions which, it has occurred to my mind, are not what they purport to be. It is signed partly by persons who cannot write, by making their marks, and partly by persons whose handwriting would manifest that they have received the education of slaves. The petition declares itself to be from slaves, and I am requested to present it. I will send it to the chair."

The speaker, Mr. Polk, who habitually extended to Mr. Adams every courtesy and kindness imaginable, was taken by surprise, and found himself involved in a dilemma. Giving his chair one of those *hitches* which ever denoted his excitement, he said that a petition from slaves was a novelty, and involved a question that he did not feel called on to decide. He would like to take time to consider it; and, in the meantime, would refer it to the house. The house was very thin at the time, and but little attention was paid to what was going on, till the excitement of the speaker attracted the attention of Mr. Dixon H. Lewis, of Alabama, who impatiently, and under great excitement, rose and inquired what the petition was. The speaker furnished the required information; whereupon Mr. Lewis, forgetting all discretion, whilst he frothed at the mouth, turned towards Mr. Adams, and exclaimed, in thunder-tones—

"*By ——, sir, this is not to be endured any longer!*"

"Treason! treason! Expel the old scoundrel; put him out; do not let him disgrace the house any longer," screamed a half dozen other members.

"Get up a resolution to meet the case," exclaimed a member from North Carolina. Mr. George C. Dromgoole, who had acquired quite a reputation as a parliamentarian, was selected as the very man who, of all others, was most capable of drawing up a resolution that would meet and cover the emergency. He produced a resolution and preamble, in which it was stated, substantially, that, whereas the Hon. John Quincy Adams, a representative from Massachusetts, had presented to the house a petition signed by negro slaves, thus "giving *color to an idea*" that bondmen were capable of exercising the right of petition, it was "Resolved, That he be taken to the bar of the house, and be censured by the speaker thereof."

A still more stringent resolution was introduced by Hon. Waddy Thompson,

namely, that Mr. Adams, "having been guilty of gross disrespect to the house, be instantly brought to the bar, to receive the severe censure of the speaker." Several other resolutions and propositions, from members of slave-holding states, were submitted, but none proved satisfactory even to themselves. The idea of bringing the venerable ex-president to the bar, like a culprit, to receive a reprimand from a comparatively youthful speaker, was equally disgraceful and absurd. Mr. Adams, however, entirely unmoved by the tempest which raged around him, defended himself, and the integrity of his purpose, with his accustomed ability and eloquence.

"In regard to the resolutions now before the house," said he, "as they all concur in naming me, and in charging me with high crimes and misdemeanors, and in calling me to the bar of the house to answer for my crimes, I have thought it was my duty to remain silent, until it should be the pleasure of the house to act either on one or the other of these resolutions. I suppose that if I shall be brought to the bar of the house, I shall not be struck mute by the previous question, before I have an opportunity to say a word or two in my own defense."

"Now, as to the fact what the petition was for," said Mr. Adams, in another portion of his speech, "I simply state to the gentleman from Alabama, who has sent to the table a resolution assuming that this petition was for the abolition of slavery—I state to him that he is mistaken. He must amend his resolution; for if the house should choose to read this petition, I can state to them they would find it something very much the reverse of that which the resolution states it to be. And if the gentleman from Alabama still chooses to bring me to the bar of the house, he must amend his resolution in a very important particular; for he may probably have to put into it, that my crime has been for attempting to introduce the petition of slaves that slavery should *not* be abolished."

Reiterating the principle, that the right of petition belongs to *all*, Mr. Adams said that he felt it a sacred duty to present any petition, couched in respectful language, from any citizen of the United States, be its object what it might,—be the prayer of it that in which he could concur, or that to which he was utterly opposed; no law could be found, even in the most abject despotism, which deprives even the meanest or most degraded, of the right to supplicate for a boon, or to pray for mercy; there is no absolute monarch on earth, who is not compelled to receive the petitions of his people, whosoever they may be,—not even the sultan of Turkey can walk the streets and refuse to receive petitions from the lowest and vilest of the land.

When southern members saw that, in their haste, they had not tarried to ascertain the nature of the petition, and that it prayed for the *perpetuation*, instead of the *abolition* of slavery, their position became so ludicrous, that their exasperation was greatly increased. At the time the petition was announced by Mr. Adams, the house was very thin; but the excitement that was produced soon filled it; and, besides, the sergeant-at-arms had been instructed to arrest and bring in all absentees. The excitement commenced at about one o'clock, and continued until seven o'clock in the evening, when the house adjourned. Mr. Adams stood at his desk, resolutely refusing to be seated till the matter was disposed of, alleging that if he were guilty, he was not entitled to a seat among high and honorable men. When Mr. Dromgoole's resolution was read to the house, for its consideration, Mr. Adams yielded to it one of those sarcastic sneers which he was in the habit of giving, when provoked to satire; and said —"Mr. Speaker, if I understand the resolution of the honorable gentleman from Virginia, it charges me with being guilty of 'giving *color* to an *idea!*'" The whole house broke forth in one common, irrepressible peal of laughter, at this capital *double entendre;* and the Dromgoole resolution was actually laughed out of existence. The house now found that it had got itself

in a dilemma—that Mr. Adams was too much for it; and, at last, adjourned, leaving the affair in the position in which they found it.

For several days this subject continued to agitate the house—and the nation. Mr. Adams not only warded off the virulent attacks made upon him, but carried the war so effectually into the camp of his enemies, that, becoming heartily tired of the contest, they repeatedly endeavored to get rid of the whole subject by laying it on the table. To this Mr. Adams objected. He insisted that it should be thoroughly canvassed. Immense excitement continued, and call after call of the house was made. At length, the subject was brought to a termination by the passage of a preamble and resolution — much softened down, in comparison with what was at first proposed—declaring that the paper cannot be received, and that slaves have no right to petition.

The slave petition in question is believed to have been a counterfeit, manufactured by certain members of congress from slave-holding states, and was sent to Mr. Adams by way of experiment—with the double design of ascertaining if he could be imposed upon; and, if the deception succeeded, those who got it up were curious to know if the venerable statesman would redeem his pledge, and present a petition, no matter who it came from. He was too wily not to detect the plot at the outset; he knew that all was a hoax; but he resolved to present the paper, and then turn the tables upon its authors.

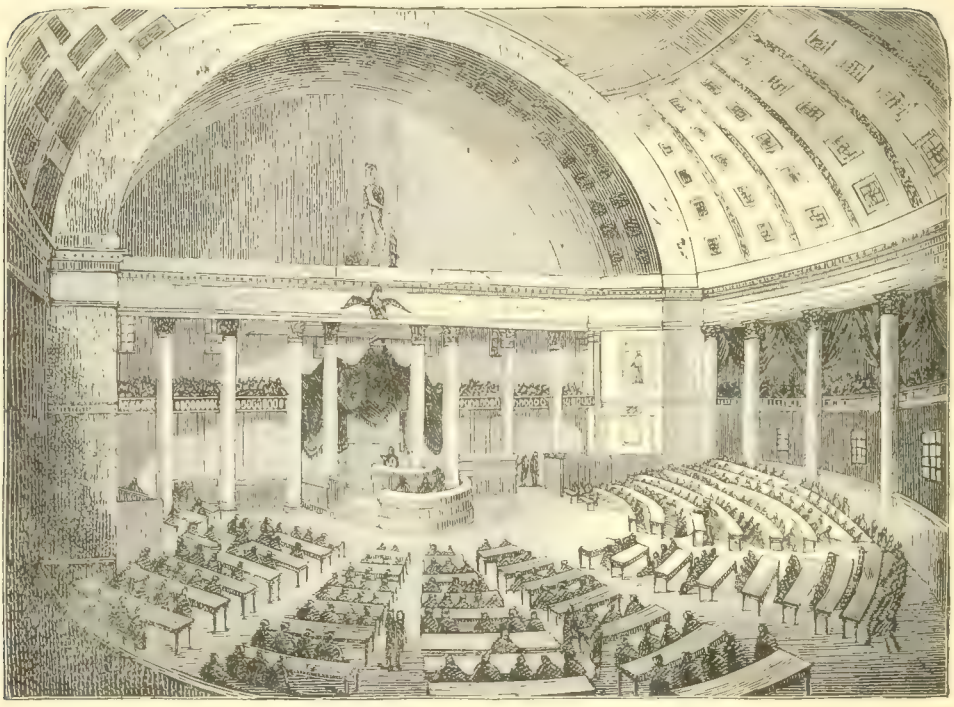
His success in thus defeating his opponents on their mad intention of censure, was one of the most signal instances of personal and parliamentary triumph. In vain did they threaten assassination, indictment before the grand jury, and other proceedings, to seal his lips in silence. In vain, too, did they declare that he should "be made amenable to *another tribunal* (mob law), and, as an incendiary, be brought to condign punishment." "My life on it," said a southern member, "if he presents that petition from slaves, we shall yet see him within the walls of the penitentiary." Firm stood the white-haired sage of more than seventy winters, and with withering rebukes repelled his hot-blooded assailants. His clarion voice rang defiantly through the hall, as he said—

"Do the gentlemen from the south think they can frighten me by their threats? If that be their object, let me tell them, sir, *they have precisely mistaken their man.* I am not to be frightened from the discharge of a sacred duty, by their indignation, by their violence, nor, sir, by all the grand juries in the universe. I have done only my duty; and I shall do it again, under the same circumstances, even though they recur to-morrow."

On the twenty-fourth of January, 1842, Mr. Adams presented the petition of forty-five citizens of Haverhill, Massachusetts, praying that congress would immediately take measures peaceably to dissolve the Union of the States: First, because no union can be agreeable which does not present prospects of reciprocal benefits; second, because a vast proportion of the resources of one section of the Union is annually drained to sustain the views and course of another section, without any adequate return; third, because, judging from the history of past nations, such a union, if persisted in, in the present course of things, would certainly overwhelm the whole nation in utter destruction.

Mr. Adams moved that the petition be referred to a select committee, with instructions to report an answer showing the reasons why the prayer of it ought not to be granted.

Immediate and wild excitement followed the presentation of this petition. Mr. Hopkins, of Virginia, moved to burn it in presence of the house. Mr. Wise, of the same state, asked the speaker if it was in order to move to censure any member for presenting such a petition. Mr. Gilmer, also of Virginia, moved a resolution, that Mr. Adams, for presenting such a petition, had justly incurred the censure of the house. Mr. Adams said he hoped



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS DEFENDING THE RIGHT OF PETITION IN CONGRESS.

that the resolution would be received and discussed. Angry debate continued, until the house adjourned.

The next day, the whole body of southern members came into the house, apparently resolved to crush Mr. Adams and his cause — the right of petition — forever. They gathered in groups, conversed in whispers, and the whole aspect of their conduct at twelve o'clock indicated the approach of some high-handed proceeding. Thomas F. Marshall, of Kentucky, who had been selected as spokesman for the occasion, rose, and, having asked and received of Mr. Gilmer leave to offer a substitute for his resolution of censure which was pending at the adjournment, presented three resolutions, which had been prepared at a caucus, the night before, and which declared that the petition in question involved a proposition to the house to commit perjury and high treason, and that Mr. Adams, for offering it, receive the severest censure of that body.

Assuming a manner and tone as if he felt the historical importance of his position, he spoke with great coolness and solemnity,—a style wholly unusual with him; exhibited, too, a magisterial air, and judicial consequence, as if he thought that he was about to pour down the thunder of condemnation on the venerable object of his attack, as a judge pronouncing sentence on a convicted culprit, in the sight of approving men and angels. The vast audience before whom he spoke were not to be left in any doubt of his eminent capacity to act the part he had assumed, of prosecutor, judge, and executioner.

When Mr. Marshall concluded, the chair announced to Mr. Adams that his position entitled him to the floor; bringing up to the imagination a parallel scene— 'Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou art permitted to speak for thyself.'

Up rose, then, that bald, gray old man, his hands trembling with constitutional infirmity and age, upon whose consecrated head the vials of partisan wrath had been outpoured. Among the crowd of slaveholders who filled the galleries he could

seek no friends, and but a few among those immediately around him. Unexcited, he raised his voice, high-keyed, as was usual with him, but clear, untremulous, and firm. In a moment his infirmities disappeared, although his shaking hand could not but be noticed; trembling not with fear, but with age. At first there was nothing of indignation in his tone, manner, or words. Surprise and cold contempt were all. The thread of his great discourse was mainly his present and past relations to Virginia and Virginians. After gratefully acknowledging his infinite obligations to the great Virginians of the first age of the federal republic, he modestly and unpretendingly recounted the unsought, exalted honors, heaped upon him by Washington, Madison, and Monroe, and detailed with touching simplicity and force some of his leading actions in the discharge of these weighty trusts. In pursuing his remarks, he chanced to fix his eye upon Marshall, who was moving down one of the side-aisles. Instantly, at the suggestion of the moment, he burst forth in a touching appeal to the hallowed memory of Marshall, the venerated and immaculate Virginian, through a long career of judicial honor and usefulness. With a flash of withering scorn, Mr. Adams struck at the unhappy Marshall of another day. A single breath blew all his mock-judicial array into air and smoke. In a tone of insulted majesty and reinvigorated spirit, Mr. Adams then said, in reply to the audacious charge of high treason,

"I call for the reading of the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. Read it! read it! and see what *that* says of the right of a people to reform, to change, to dissolve their government."

The look, the tone, the gesture, of the insulted patriot, at that instant, were most imposing. He seemed to have renewed his youth like the eagles, and his voice was that of sovereign command. The burthen of seventy-five winters rolled off, and he rose above the puny things around him. When the passage of the Declaration was read which solemnly proclaims the right of reform, revolution, and resistance to oppression, the grand old man thundered out—

"*Read that again!*"

Looking proudly around on the listening audience, he heard his triumphant vindication sounded forth in the glorious sentences of the nation's Magna Charta, written by Mr. Jefferson, a Virginian. The sympathetic revulsion of feeling was intense, though voiceless; every drop of free, honest blood in that vast assemblage bounded with high impulse, every fiber thrilled with excitement. The members of the house were all gathered around him, even his persecutors paying involuntary tribute to the 'old man eloquent.' Lord Morpeth was an attentive spectator and auditor; and so were governors, senators, judges, and other high officials, innumerable. A strong exhibition of the facts in the case, mostly in cold, calm, logical, measured sentences, concluded Mr. Adams's effort, and he sat down, vindicated, victorious.

Intemperate debates, with violence undiminished, succeeded, in which all the topics of party censure, from the adoption of the constitution, were collected and heaped upon Mr. Adams, by Marshall, Wise, Gilmer, and others. No description can do justice to the effective eloquence of Mr. Adams in reply,—including amusing particulars of missives he had received from the south threatening him with assassination; among other kindly hints, of this sort, sent through the post-office, being a colored lithograph portrait of himself, with the picturesque annotation of a rifle-ball on the forehead, and a promise that such a remedy would "stop his music."

On the eleventh day of this debate, Mr. Adams, in opening his defense, stated it as his intention to go over the whole affair, and that he should require a great deal more time, in addition to what had already been consumed; but he was willing to forego it all, provided it could be done without sacrificing his rights, the rights of his constituents, and those of the peti-

tioners. He then stated, that if any gentleman would make a motion to lay the whole subject — that of which Marshall had been made the champion — on the table, he would forbear to proceed with his defense. This motion was at once made by Mr. Botts, of Virginia, and carried by a vote of one hundred and six to ninety-three. The petition from Haverhill was then refused to be received, three-fourths of the house voting against it.

It would appear well-nigh incredible, that a venerable man like Mr. Adams should be able to carry on, for eleven days, almost single-handed, so great a contest. That this was due, in no small degree, to his consummate skill as a parliamentarian, cannot be questioned. The following memorable instance of his power in this respect, will form a fitting close to this chapter.

At the opening of the twenty-sixth congress, the clerk began to call the roll of the members, according to custom. When he came to New Jersey, he stated that five seats of the members from that state were contested, and that, not feeling himself authorized to decide the question, he should pass over those names, and proceed with the call. This gave rise to a general and violent debate on the steps to be pursued under such circumstances. Innumerable questions were raised, and propositions made, but the house could not agree upon the mode of proceeding, and, from the second to the fifth day, the house remained in a perfectly disorganized state, and in inextricable confusion, the clerk acting as the tool of his party. But the hour of disenthrallment was at hand; a scene was to be presented which would send the mind back to those days when Cromwell exclaimed, "Sir Harry Vane! woe unto you, Sir Harry Vane!"—and in an instant dispersed the famous rump parliament.

Mr. Adams, from the opening of this scene of confusion and anarchy, had maintained a profound silence. He appeared to be engaged most of the time in writing. To a common observer he seemed to be reckless of everything around him. But nothing, not the slightest incident, escaped him.

The fourth day of the struggle had now commenced. Mr. Hugh A. Garland, the clerk, was directed to call the roll again. He commenced with Maine, as usual in those days, and was proceeding towards Massachusetts. Mr. Adams was now observed to be holding himself in readiness to get the floor at the earliest moment possible. His eye was riveted on the clerk, his hands clasped the front edge of his desk, where he always placed them to assist him in rising. He looked, in the language of Otway, like a 'fowler eager for his prey.'

"New Jersey!" ejaculated Mr. Hugh Garland, "and the clerk has to repeat that———"

Mr. Adams sprang to the floor!

"I rise to interrupt the clerk," was his first ejaculation.

"Silence, silence!" resounded through the hall. "Hear him, hear him! Hear what he has to say! Hear John Quincy Adams!" was vociferated on all sides.

In an instant, such profound silence reigned throughout the vast chamber, that the fall of a leaf of paper might have been heard in any part of it; and every eye was riveted on the venerable Nestor of Massachusetts,—one of the purest of statesmen and noblest of men! He paused for a moment, and, having given Mr. Garland a withering look, he proceeded to address the dense throng.

"It was not my intention," said he, "to take any part in these extraordinary proceedings. I had hoped that this house would succeed in organizing itself; that a speaker and clerk would be elected, and that the ordinary business of legislation would have been progressed in. This is not the time, or place, to discuss the merits of the conflicting claimants for seats from New Jersey; that subject belongs to the house of representatives, which, by the constitution, is made the ultimate arbiter of the qualifications of its members. But what a spectacle we here

present! We degrade and disgrace ourselves; we degrade and disgrace our constituents and our country. We do not, and cannot organize; and why? Because the clerk of this house, the mere clerk, whom we create, whom we employ, and whose existence depends upon our will, usurps the throne, and sets us, the representatives, the vicegerents of the whole American people, at defiance, and holds us in contempt! And what is this clerk of yours? Is he to control the destinies of sixteen millions of freemen? Is he to suspend, by his mere negative, the functions of government, and put an end to this congress? He refuses to call the roll! It is in your power to compel him to call it, if he will not do it voluntarily."

Here he was interrupted by a member, who said that he was authorized to say that compulsion could not reach the clerk, who had avowed that he would resign, rather than call the state of New Jersey.

"Well, sir," continued Mr. Adams, "then *let* him resign, and we may possibly discover some way by which we can get along, without the aid of his all-powerful talent, learning, and genius. If we cannot organize in any other way—if this clerk of yours will not consent to our discharging the trusts confided to us by our constituents, then let us imitate the example of the Virginia House of Burgesses, which, when the colonial governor, Dinwiddie, ordered it to disperse, refused to obey the imperious and insulting mandate, and, *like men*———"

The multitude could not contain or repress their enthusiasm any longer, but saluted the eloquent and indignant speaker, and intercepted him with loud and deafening cheers, which seemed to shake the capitol to its center. The very Genii of applause and enthusiasm seemed to float in the atmosphere of the hall, and every heart expanded with indescribable pride and exultation. The turmoil, the darkness, the very chaos of anarchy, which had for successive days, pervaded the American congress, was dispelled by the magic, the talismanic eloquence of a single man; and, once more, the wheels of government and of legislation were put in motion.

Having, by this powerful appeal, brought the yet unorganized assembly to a perception of its real position, he submitted a motion requiring the acting clerk to proceed in calling the roll. This and similar motions had already been made by other members. The difficulty, indeed, was just this, that the clerk declined to entertain them. Accordingly, Mr. Adams was immediately interrupted by a burst of voices demanding, "How shall the question be put?" "Who will put the question?" The voice of Mr. Adams was heard above all the tumult, "*I intend to put the question myself!*" That word brought order out of chaos. There was the master mind.

As soon as the multitude had recovered itself, and the excitement of long and loud resounding plaudits had abated, Mr. Richard Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, leaped upon one of the desks, waved his hand, and exclaimed:

"I move that the Honorable John Quincy Adams take the chair of the speaker of this house, and officiate as presiding officer, till the house be organized by the election of its constitutional officers! As many as are agreed to this will say *ay;* those———"

He had not an opportunity to complete the sentence, "those who are not agreed will say *no*,"—for one universal, deafening, tremendous *ay*, responded to the nomination.

Hereupon, it was moved and ordered that Hons. Lewis Williams, of North Carolina, and Richard Barnwell Rhett, conduct John Quincy Adams to the chair. And well did Mr. Wise, of Virginia, say to him:

"Sir, I regard it as the proudest hour of your life; and if, when you shall be gathered to your fathers, I were asked to select the words which, in my judgment, are best calculated to give at once the character of the man, I would inscribe upon your tomb this sentence: *I intend to put the question myself.*"

The brave old man lived not only to see the odious "gag rule" rescinded, but to listen to that magnificent speech from one of his colleagues, Dr. Palfrey, on the "inalienable rights of man," at the conclusion of which, Mr. Adams characteristically exclaimed, "God be praised; the seals are broken; the door is open!"

Dying in his country's capitol, in the midst of his public duties, in February, 1848, his illustrious career shone brightly to the end. As secretary of state under Mr. Monroe, and subsequently as president, his cabinet and other political associates consisted of such eminent statesmen as Crawford, Shelby, Crowninshield, Thompson, Southard, Meigs, McLean, Rush, Wirt, Barbour, Porter, Van Rensselaer; nor was his political ability hardly less appreciated by those master leaders in the ranks of his opponents. A whole nation deplored the loss and united in rendering homage to the memory of the fearless "champion of the right of petition." His successor in congress was Hon. Horace Mann, a kindred spirit.

XXII.

BREAKING OUT OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORMATION.—1840.

Origin, Rapid Spread, Influence, and Wonderful History of the Movement.—Enthusiasm Attending the "Washingtonian" Era.—Its Pioneers Rise from the Gutter to the Rostrum, and Sway Multitudes by their Eloquence —Father Mathew's Visit.—His 600,000 Converts.—Career of Hawkins, Mitchell, Gough, Dow, and Others.—First Temperance Society in the United States.—Singular Terms of Membership.—Social Customs in Former Times.—Unrestrained Use of Spirits.—Growing Desire for Reform.—Influential Men Enlisted.—Meetings, Societies, Agitation.—A Congressional Organization. —Origin of "Tee-Totalism."—Deacon Giles's Distillery.—"My Mother's Gold Ring."—Rise of "Washingtonianism."—Six Reformed Drunkards.—Cold Water Armies, Processions, etc.—Music, Banners and Badges —The Country All Ablaze —An "Apostle of Temperance."—Administering the Pledge.—Conflict Concerning Measures.—Anecdotes of Washington.—General Taylor's Whiskey Jug.—Farragut's Substitute for Grog.

"I shall not close this letter without exhorting you to refrain from spirituous liquors; they will prove your ruin if you do not. Consider how little a drunken man differs from a beast; the latter is not endowed with reason, the former deprives himself of it."—GENERAL WASHINGTON.

EFFECT OF REFORMATION.

PERHAPS it would be difficult to name the precise date when active public efforts were initiated in the United States to check the widespread evil of intemperance. It is not to be doubted, however, that the writings of that eminent man of science, Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, especially his "Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits upon the Human Body and Mind," issued as early as 1804, did much to awaken an interest in the subject, on the part of the community. But not until 1808, was there any movement of an associated character, for public or individual abandonment of the use of intoxicating drinks.

But it sounds somewhat strangely, in these later days of radical reform, that the initial movement referred to, and which was entitled "The Temperate Society of Moreau and Northumberland," (towns in the county of Saratoga, N. Y.) originated by Billy Clarke, should be based upon regulations like the following :—

"No member shall be intoxicated, under penalty of fifty cents. No member shall drink rum, gin, whiskey, wine, or any distilled spirits, or compositions of the same, or any of them, except by the advice of a physician, or in case of actual disease (also excepting wine at public dinners), under penalty of twenty-five cents; provided that this article shall not infringe on any religious ordinance. No member shall offer any of said liquors to any other member, or urge any other person to drink thereof, under penalty of twenty-five cents for each offense."

But the day of small beginnings, in a humane cause, is never to be despised, and, in a few years, the reform had enlisted the earnest co-operation of lawyers, divines, and other eminent men, such as Carey, Palfrey, Humphrey, Dexter, Marsh, Edwards, Beecher, Porter, Leavitt, Hewit, Day, and Kittredge. In 1813, there was formed the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance; one in Connecticut, in 1829; and, in 1826, the American Temperance Union. The statistics of this period present the calculation, that, out of a white population of ten millions, between three and four millions were habitual spirit-drinkers, of whom three hundred and seventy-five thousand drank daily on an average three gills of ardent spirits, while an equal number consumed more than twice that quantity, and of course were drunkards. Making due allowance for the imperfectness of such statistical data, it was admitted by all, that the intemperate use of spirituous liquors, in every part of the land, had become alarmingly prevalent.

The excellent *resumé* of this movement, as given by Dr. Emerson Davis, himself one of its ablest and most efficient supporters, states that at this time the reform seemed to be simultaneous through the country. At the beginning of 1828, the custom, hitherto so general, of treating visitors with wine, cordials, and brandy, began to disappear. The sideboards of the rich and influential, which from time immemorial had groaned under a load of decanters, were relieved of their burdens, and a very great change in the customs of society began to be apparent. At the close of 1828, the number of temperance societies reported in the temperance journals was two hundred and twenty-five. At the close of 1829, there were more than one thousand such societies, embracing more than one hundred thousand members, pledged to total abstinence; fifty distilleries had stopped, four hundred merchants had abandoned the traffic, and twelve hundred drunkards had been reclaimed. On the first of May, 1831, it appeared that more than three hundred thousand persons had signed the pledge, and not less than fifty thousand were supposed to have been saved from a drunkard's grave. Even at Washington, a congressional temperance society was organized, under the auspices of such men as Cass, Grundy, Bates, Wayne, Post, Durbin, and others; and some of the most brilliant public men signed the pledge.

A very common objection (adds Dr. Davis), made by many of the poor, was, that they could not afford to drink wine, and, therefore, that signing the pledge operated unequally; it took from them the use of all stimulants but cider and beer, but it left to the rich the use of wine, which was often about as strong as Cognac brandy. In order to obviate this objection, it was found necessary to introduce a new pledge, prohibiting the use, not only of distilled, but of fermented, liquors. The first society that adopted this pledge was the Eighth Ward Branch of the New York City Temperance Society. This was called the tee-total pledge,—a name first given to it in England, and which had its origin in the prolonged and incoherent stuttering, by one who was taking the pledge, at the first letter in the word '*t*otal.' This tee-total pledge was introduced into this country in 1834, and in a short time many societies were formed on that principle. Many, however, who signed the old pledge, refused to sign the new; and thus there was an apparent falling off in the number of the members of temperance organizations. Some, too, who had delivered public addresses, and stood foremost in the ranks of reformers, were thrown into the background, and became silent spectators of passing events.

Among the prominent promoters of the cause, appear the names of Delavan, Norton, Keener, Gerritt Smith, Moses Grant, Loyd, Collins, Briggs, Walworth, Grundy, Hunt, Stewart, and Hoar, as speakers. Mr. L. M. Sargent contributed powerfully to the reform, by his unrivaled temperance tales, including that widely circulated and admired production, "*My Mother's*

Gold Ring." Pierpont inspired thousands by his quaint and thrilling poems; and the letters, essays, and other writings, of such men as Woodward, Warren, Baird, Beman, Chapin, Kirk, Channing, and Barnes, added greatly to the impression upon the public mind. Among the incidents of this period, perhaps none created greater interest and excitement throughout the whole land, than the assault, prosecution, and imprisonment, of Rev. George B. Cheever, of Salem, Mass., subsequently of New York. About the beginning of 1835, he published in a Salem newspaper, a dream, descriptive of "Deacon Giles's Distillery," in which the liquors were graphically characterized as containing demons in an *inferno*. Deacon Giles was a veritable person, and the publication resulted in a violent assault upon Mr. Cheever, one night, by the foreman of the distillery, who inflicted upon the unarmed clergyman a number of severe blows with a raw hide, to which Mr. Cheever made no resistance. Mr. Cheever was also prosecuted for libel, and sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment. He was regarded as a martyr to the cause of temperance, and his case helped rather than checked the progress of the reform. He continued to do valiant service, as before, with his pen and voice, ranking, in this respect, with such men as Clarke, Grimke, Fisk, Coffin, Woods, Williams, Merrill, Sewall, Pond, Thurston, Reese, Van Loon, Jewett, Buckingham.

But a most stirring and enthusiastic impetus was yet to be given to the temperance movement, and that through the humblest personal instrumentality. This was the organization of the Washington Temperance Society, in Baltimore, in the month of April, 1840; its most remarkable convert being Mr. John H. W. Hawkins, who joined the society the following June.

It appears that six individuals, who were in the habit of associating together, were seated, as usual, on Friday evening, April 2, 1840, in Chase's tavern, in Liberty street, Baltimore, where they were accustomed to meet almost every evening, for the purpose of enjoying mutually all the benefits and conveniences which that establishment and each other's society could possibly afford. These were William K. Mitchell, tailor; John F. Hoss, carpenter; David Anderson, blacksmith; George Steers, blacksmith; James McCurley, coach-maker; and Archibald Campbell, silver-plater. A clergyman who was preaching in the city at that time, had given public notice that on that evening he would deliver a discourse on the subject of temperance. Upon this lecture, the conversation of the six comrades presently turned; whereupon it was agreed that four of them should go and hear it, and report accordingly. So, after the sermon, they returned and conversed on its merits for some time; when one of the company remarked, 'After all, temperance is a good thing.' 'Oh,' said the host, 'they're all a parcel of hypocrites.' 'Oh, yes,' replied McCurley, 'I'll be bound for you; it's your interest to cry them down, anyhow.' '*I tell you what, boys, let's form a society, and make Bill Mitchell president.*' 'Agreed,' cried they. The idea seemed to take wonderfully, and the more they talked and laughed over the idea, the more were they pleased with it.

After parting that night, they did not all meet again until Sunday, when they took a stroll, and, between walking and treating, they managed to arrange the whole matter to their entire satisfaction. It was agreed that one of them should draw up a pledge, and that the whole party should sign it the next day. Accordingly, on Monday morning, Mitchell wrote the following pledge: 'We whose names are annexed, desirous of forming a society for our mutual benefit, and to guard against a pernicious practice, which is injurious to our health, standing, and families, do pledge ourselves as gentlemen, that we will not drink any spirituous or malt liquors, wine, or cider.'

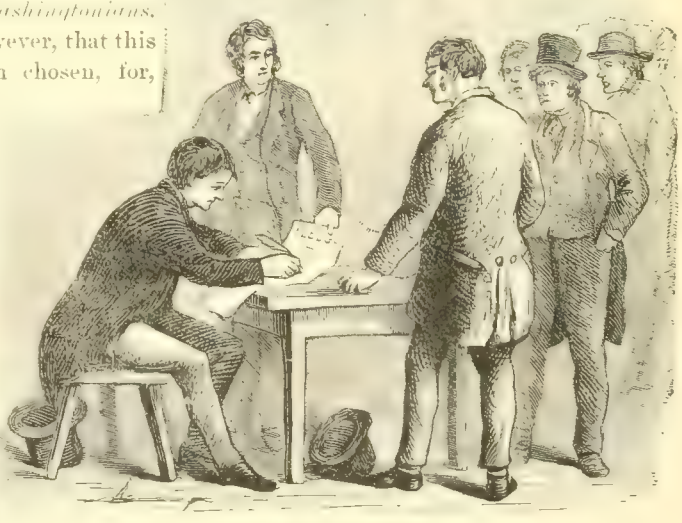
He went with this, at about nine o'clock, to Anderson's house, and found him still in bed, sick from the effects of his Sunday

adventures. He arose, however, dressed himself, and, after hearing the pledge read, went down to his shop with his friend for pen and ink, and there did himself the honor of being the first man to sign. After obtaining the names of the remaining four, the worthy president finished this noble achievement by adding his own. On the evening of that day, they met at the residence of one of their number and duly formed themselves into a society, with the usual officers. Little did these six associates know of the fame and achievements they were moulding!

Having thus got under way, they next turned their attention to obtaining members and devising means to defray the expenses of their meetings; it was therefore agreed that each man should bring a man, and every one should pay twenty-five cents upon becoming a member, and twelve and a half cents, monthly, thereafter.

The next debate was as to the name they should give to their society. A number were proposed, among them that of Jefferson; when it was finally agreed that the president and secretary should be a committee to draft a constitution, and select a name. This they did, giving to the association the name of the "Washington Temperance Society," in honor of the Father of his Country, and were consequently known as *Washingtonians*. It is a little singular, however, that this name should have been chosen, for, though Washington was one of the brightest examples of temperate eating and drinking, he habitually used liquor or wine himself, and provided it for his guests and laborers. The following curious document is in point:

"Articles of Agreement made this twelfth day of April, Anno Domini, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, by and between George Washington, Esq., of the Parish of Truro, in the County of Fairfax, State of Virginia, on the one part, and Philip Bater, Gardener, on the other. *Witness*, that the said Philip Bater, for and in consideration of the covenants herein hereafter mentioned, doth promise and agree to serve the said George Washington for the term of one year, as a Gardener, and that he will, during said time, conduct himself soberly, diligently and honestly—that he will faithfully and industriously perform all and every part of his duty as a gardener, to the best of his knowledge and abilities, and that he will not, at any time suffer himself to be disguised with liquor, except on the times hereafter mentioned. In consideration of these things being well and truly performed on the part of the said Philip Bater, the said George Washington doth agree to allow him (the said Philip) the same kind and quantity of provisions as he has heretofore had; and likewise, annually, a decent suit of clothes, befitting a man in his station; to consist of a coat, vest and breeches;—a working-jacket, and breeches of home-spun besides; two white shirts; three checked do; two linnen pocket-handkerchiefs, two pair linnen overalls;—as



SIGNING THE PLEDGE.

many pair of shoes as are actually necessary for him;—*four dollars at Christmas, with which he may be drunk four days and four nights; two dollars at Easter to effect the same purpose; two dollars at Whitsuntide, to be drunk two days;—a dram in the morning and a Drink of Grog at Dinner at noon.*"

The above is signed by the two contracting parties, and witnessed by George A. Washington and Tobias Lear. In another instance, Washington's fine instincts and principles are admirably displayed:

"I shall not close this letter," writes Washington to one of his overseers, "without exhorting you to refrain from spirituous liquors; they will prove your ruin if you do not. Consider how little a drunken man differs from a beast; the latter is not endowed with reason, the former deprives himself of it; and when that is the case, acts like a brute, annoying and disturbing every one around him; nor is this all, nor, as it respects himself, the worst of it. By degrees it renders a person feeble, and not only unable to serve others, but to help himself; and being an act of his own, he falls from a state of usefulness into contempt, and at length suffers, if not perishes, in penury and want. Don't let this be your case. Shew yourself more of a man and a Christian than to yield to so intolerable a vice, which cannot, I am certain, (to the greatest lover of liquor,) give more pleasure to sip in the poison, (for it is no better,) than the consequence of it in bad behavior at the moment, and the more serious evils produced by it afterwards must give pain."

Great and wonderful were the results destined to flow from the 'Washington Temperance Society,' thus started by those six inebriates in the city of Baltimore. At their second meeting, they had two new members; but, in a comparatively short time, the society increased so much that it became a question how they could employ their time so as to make their meetings interesting. The president thereupon suggested that each member should rise in his place and give his experience; and, by way of commencement, he arose and told what he had passed through in the last fifteen years, and the advantages he had derived from signing the total-abstinence pledge. This was the origin of that most popular and efficient method which the Washington Society and all its auxiliaries adopted, for giving interest and effect to their gatherings. Signers were thus obtained, and the attention of the public was attracted, so that a class was reached which otherwise might not have been affected by the labors of those other good men who had for so many years been engaged in promoting temperance in a different way.

By Christmas, in 1840, the reform had become so popular, that thousands had flocked to its standard, and enrolled themselves as the friends of temperance. The wave had swept onward, and tidings of the great reformation reached distant cities. On invitation from New York, for a delegation of five men to hold experience meetings twice every day for one week, in that city, Messrs. Hawkins, Pollard, Shaw, Casey, and Mitchell, proceeded to that place, and there held the first Washingtonian missionary temperance meeting ever known in the United States. It was a type of that success which was to accompany this new system in behalf of temperance, for, during each of the speeches, multitudes came forward and signed the pledge, and, taken altogether, such a scene had never before been witnessed in New York.

But the most powerful among all the advocates of Washingtonian reform was Mr. Hawkins, who rose from the very gutter of drunkenness to the rostrum of impassioned eloquence in advocacy of reform, and with prodigious success. The peculiar circumstances of his history had an almost overpowering effect on his own feelings, whenever he spoke, and his audiences listened now breathlessly, and anon with uncontrollable demonstrations of enthusiasm. He was a man of plain, good common sense, with a peculiar sin-

cerity about him, and an easy way of working up his hearers to a state of sympathy with him. He would at one time assume the melting mood, and picture the scenes of a drunkard's home—and that home his own—and the fountains of generous feelings, in many hearts, gushed forth in tears; and again, in a moment, as he related some ludicrous story, those tearful eyes glistened with delight, sighs changed to hearty shouts, and long faces were convulsed with broad grins and glorious smiles. Drunkards and outcasts of the worst type, that swarm in the festering purlieus and penetralia of New York, were reclaimed, and such was the overwhelming power of the movement, that, finally, immense meetings were held in the Park. In Boston, too, the old Cradle of Liberty rocked with tumultuous enthusiasm for 'independence' from the tyrant of strong drink. Festivals, children's cold water armies, processions, banners, bands of music, songs, etc., filled the whole land with the feast of reason and the flow of soul.

Statistics might be indefinitely presented, showing the vast results achieved by this wonderful moral enginery. Upwards of twenty-two thousand names were obtained to the pledge by Messrs. Pollard and Wright, in a lecturing tour made by them through Central New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Messrs. Vicars and Small and Smith revolutionized Ohio and the West; Hawkins, Bishop, Johnson, Hayes, and Haydock, labored from one end of the country to the other. Hawkins alone, in less than twenty years, traveled more than two hundred thousand miles, lecturing between five and six thousand times. Latham, Madden, Snow, White, Cary, Leigh, Coffin, Brown, Riley, Bungay, Copway, Zug, Drinkard, Thompson, are names that will ever be remembered, too, as powerful and successful advocates of this reform, on the rostrum; and those of Pierpont, Burleigh, Phillips, Tappan, and others, by their stirring songs and poems. But, chief and most powerful of the many advocates of the temperance reformation, is John B. Gough, who has proved himself in this arena, a wonderful orator. His eloquence, indeed, was of that electric quality which, striking a chord in every heart and drawing tears from every eye, perfectly swayed the vast multitudes that hung upon his words wherever he went. Every city, town, and village, throughout the country, felt the impress of his wonderful power in this great reformatory movement. Like Hawkins, his condition was humble, but from this he had descended to the lowest depths of social and personal degradation until rescued by the interposition of a friendly hand. No data can adequately describe the extent and value of his labors from that time forth, for a quarter of a century and more.

But a new and most interesting, as well as important chapter, in the history of temperance, is yet to be mentioned, namely, the visit of Father Mathew, the world-renowned 'Apostle of Temperance' in Ireland, to this country, in 1849. For ten years previously, he labored as a temperance agitator and reformer in Ireland and England. In five months, he obtained 150,000 converts in Cork; and in Galway, he administered the pledge to no less than 100,000 in two days! On his landing at New York city, the civil authorities accorded him the honor of a public reception,—certainly well deserved, by one who had been the instrument, under divine guidance, of reclaiming 6,000,000 of his fellow-creatures. He visited the principal cities, north and south, and everywhere a hearty welcome was extended to him from all classes. He remained several days in Washington, where he was entertained at a grand dinner by the president of the United States, and received many distinguishing marks of esteem from gentlemen highest in the offices of the government. He was honored, also, with a seat on the floor of the house of representatives, and within the bar of the United States senate. At Philadelphia, he received his welcome in Independence Hall; and at Boston, the doors of Faneuil Hall

DISTINGUISHED TEMPERANCE ADVOCATES.

opened to him on golden hinges of acclamation, and where he administered the pledge to upwards of four thousand persons the first day. His method of administering the pledge was somewhat novel, though at the same time quite affecting. The converts knelt in a semi-circle around him, and repeated the following words:

'I promise, with divine assistance, to abstain from all intoxicating liquors, cordials, cider and fruit liquors, and to prevent, as much as possible, intemperance in others, by advice and example.'

To this, Father Mathew's response was, 'May God bless you, my children. May he give you grace and strength to keep the pledge.' He then went to each individual and marked them with the sign of the cross; but this latter ceremony, and the kneeling, were dispensed with in the case of Protestants. In this way, the venerable and devoted man traveled over almost the entire country, zealously advocating his great principles, and *upwards of six hundred thousand persons enrolled themselves under his banner of total abstinence.* Upon descending the Mississippi, he administered in one of the towns situated on its banks, the pledge to seven hundred persons. He ascended it, after an interval of some months, and stopping at the same town, he had the gratification to find that among the converts there were but three instances of relapse. Though not possessed of the oratorical graces of eloquence, like those of Gough, he knew how to present truth with such force and sincerity, as to win almost irresistibly upon all hearers. The following anecdote will illustrate his peculiar *forte:*

'Did you see Father Mathew lately?' said one friend to another, whom he happened to meet. 'I did,' was the reply. 'And I'll engage he made you take the pledge!' 'He did, indeed. But did *you* see him lately?' 'To be sure I did.' 'And did he make *you* take it too?' '*That* he did!' 'There's no escaping him; but I am not sorry for it.' 'No, nor I neither.'

Personally, Father Mathew was a little above the ordinary stature, with a full and well-proportioned figure, dark hair, soft blue eyes, ruddy and healthy complexion.

Though characterized by periods of prosperity and declension, the temperance cause has proved itself ineradicable, even under circumstances seemingly the most untoward. Perhaps the greatest struggle through which it has passed, in later years, has been that which involved the enactment of state prohibitory laws, which visited stringent penalties upon those who sold spirituous liquors. The name of Neal Dow, the author and advocate of this kind of legislation, the discussion attending which has been one of the most important and exciting during the century, will forever be identified with the history of the American temperance reformation, as will also the names of Greeley and Miner, distinguished champions of the same principle.

It would be an easy task to fill a whole volume with distinguished testimonies to the value of temperance. As this, however, would here be impossible, a few pleasant illustrative incidents will suffice the purpose.

Towards the close of the revolutionary war, an officer in the American army had occasion to transact some business with General Washington, and repaired to Philadelphia for that purpose. Before leaving, he received an invitation to dine with the general, which was accepted and, upon entering the room he found himself in the company of a large number of ladies and gentlemen. As they were mostly strangers to him, and he was of a naturally modest and unassuming disposition, he took a seat near the foot of the table, and refrained from taking an active part in the conversation. Just before the dinner was concluded, Washington politely requested him, by name, to drink a glass of wine with him.

'You will have the goodness to excuse me, general,' was the reply, 'as I have made it a rule not to take wine.'

All eyes were instantly turned upon the

young officer, and a murmur of contempt and surprise ran around the room. That a person should be so unsocial, not to say mean, as never to drink wine, was really too bad; but that he should abstain from it on an occasion like that, and even when offered to him by Washington himself, was really intolerable! Washington noticed at once the feelings of his guests, and promptly addressed them in his gracious and winning way, saying:

'Gentlemen, Mr. —— is right. I do not wish any of my guests to partake of anything against their inclination, and I certainly do not wish them to violate any established *principle* in their intercourse with me. I honor Mr. —— for his frankness, for his consistency in thus adhering to an established rule which can never do him harm, and for the adoption of which, I have no doubt, he has good reasons.'

General Taylor, the hero of the Mexican war, always gave the weight of his example in favor of temperance. A traveler in the west one day encountered an emigrant journeying with his family to the fertile regions beyond the Mississippi, all his worldly goods being packed on wagons, and on one load there hung a huge jug with the bottom broken out. The emigrant was asked his reason for carrying that with him. 'Why,' he said, 'that is my *Taylor* jug.' 'And what *is* a Taylor jug?' inquired the friend. 'Why,' said the emigrant, 'I had a son with General Taylor's army in Mexico, and the old general always told him to carry his whiskey-jug with a hole in the bottom; and since that, I have carried my jug as you see it, and I find it is the best invention I ever met with.'

Everybody admired Admiral Farragut's heroism in clinging to the topmast to direct a battle; but there was another particular of that contest, illustrating no less forcibly his heroic character. 'Admiral,' said one of his officers, the night before the battle, 'won't you consent to give Jack a glass of grog in the morning, not enough to make him drunk, but enough to make him fight cheerfully?' 'Well,' replied the admiral, 'I have been to sea considerably, and have seen a battle or two, but I never found that I wanted rum to enable me to do my duty. I will order two cups of coffee to each man, at two o'clock; and, at eight o'clock, I will pipe all hands to breakfast, in Mobile bay.' And he did give Jack the coffee; and then he went up to the mast-head, and the result is well known.

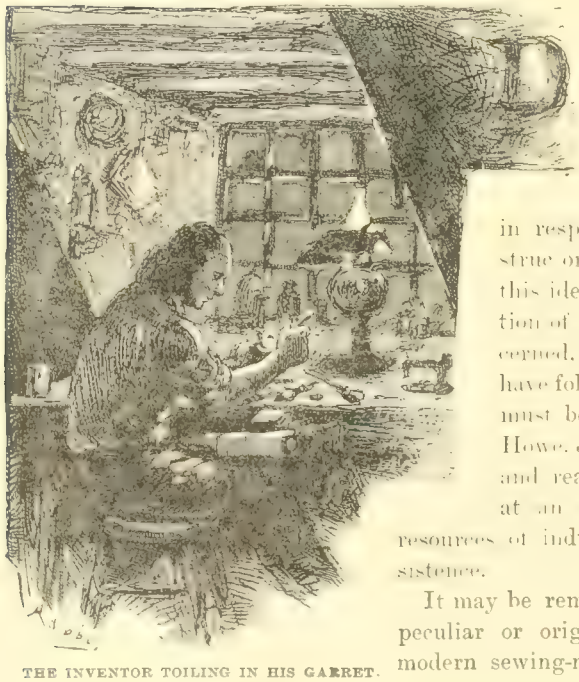
These illustrations of devotedness to the principle of temperance in high places might be greatly multiplied. Their value to the cause can hardly be overestimated.

XXIII.

INVENTION OF THAT WONDROUS PIECE OF MECHANISM, THE SEWING-MACHINE.—1846.

Romantic Genius and Perseverance Displayed in its Production —Toils of the Inventor in His Garret. —World-Wide Introduction of the Device —Upwards of One Thousand Patents Taken Out in the United States.—The Industrial Interests of the Country Affected to the Amount of $500,000,000 Annually.—The Humble Inventor Becomes a Millionaire.—The Main Principle Involved.—Comparison with Hand-Sewing —How it was Suggested.—Listening to Some Advantage.—History of Mr Howe's Efforts —Ingenuity, Struggles, Triumphs.—Value of a Friend in Need —A Machine at Last. —Its Parts, Capabilities, etc.—Reception by the Public.—Doubt Succeeded by Admiration.—Great Popularity and Demand.—Wearisome Litigation with Rivals —Interesting Question of Priority.—Decided in Howe's Favor —He Rises to Affluence.—Improvements by Others.—Unique and Useful Devices.—Number of Machines Produced.—Time and Labor Saved.—Effect Upon Prices —New Avenues of Labor Opened.

"The invention all admired,
And each how he to be the inventor missed.
So easy it seemed once found—which yet unfound,
Most would have thought impossible."



THE INVENTOR TOILING IN HIS GARRET.

DIFFERENCE of opinion there may be, with regard to the abstract question, who first conceived the peculiar principle involved in sewing by machinery, and even in respect to who was the original construc or of a machine capable of fulfilling this idea; but, so far as actual demonstration of its feasibleness and utility is concerned, and for the great results which have followed that demonstration, the world must be considered as indebted to Elias Howe, Jr., a Massachusetts mechanic, born and reared in obscure circumstances, and at an early age thrown upon his own resources of industrious endeavor, for simple subsistence.

It may be remarked, as a general fact, that the peculiar or original principle characterizing the modern sewing-machine, consists in the use of two threads, one being fed by a needle, and the other—

the wrong side thread, or, as it has been termed, the auxiliary thread—being supplied by a shuttle and bobbin. The needle is secured to a stock, whose movement, caused by arms and levers, drives its point through the material to be sewed; the eye of the needle, at a moderate distance from the point, carries the thread through and then retires leaving a loop, through which loop a shuttle is passed, on the under side of the material to be sewed; this shuttle carries a quantity of thread upon a spool, which it supplies as the seam progresses. The needle on retiring draws up the loop, and thus closes the seam, which on the upper or face side of the work presents the appearance of what is called a 'row of stitching,' and on the under, a close resemblance, but differing slightly. The return, or rotation of the shuttle in its orbit, is a matter of course, and the work thus goes on continuously and with great rapidity.

The feed, or the progressive movement of the material to be sewed under the needle, is accomplished in various ways—primarily, by means of the friction of a feeding wheel, whose roughened surface creates sufficient adhesion to move the material forward at the requisite intervals. This feed is effected by the ordinary means of a racket-wheel and click, or paul, the latter being capable of adjustment through shifting levers, so as to give a longer or shorter stitch, at the will of the operator, or the requirements of the work.

These devices and arrangements, with such improved modifications as experience and ingenuity have suggested from time to time, constitute the American sewing-machine.

Although the use of the sewing-machine has become general only within a comparatively recent period, the instrument is, in a certain sense, an old invention. The needle with the eye in the center, and double-pointed, is beautifully employed in the embroidery machine, which is an old French device. This machine worked upon cloth as many as sixty similar figures or flowers at the same time; the whole being directed by one hand, who, by the aid of a pentagraphic guide on a prepared pattern, pointed the needles to their appropriate place of entrance, and returned them with unerring certainty and exactitude. The earliest form of stitch made use of was the 'chain stitch,' which is still employed for ornamental purposes, but is not approved of where strength and durability are required. The next stitch in order was the 'running stitch,' and was accomplished by means of a needle having an eye in the middle and points at each end; this has been extensively used for the cheaper kinds of work, but does not insure durability. The next form of stitch is that already described, as formed by means of two threads, with a needle and shuttle;—and this opens up the wonderful era of modern sewing-machines, beginning with the introduction to the public of that by Mr. Howe.

It would be impossible to follow Mr. Howe through all the details of his varied experience during his early years. Suffice it to say, that it was at Boston, when in his twentieth year, and after he had learned the rudiments of his trade in one of the machine shops of Lowell, and subsequently in Cambridge, working side by side with Nathaniel P. Banks, that the thought of sewing by machinery was first suggested to his mind. As related by Mr. Parton, in his admirable magazine sketch of Howe, this singularly fortuitous incident happened in this wise:—In the year 1839, two men in Boston, one a mechanic and the other a capitalist, were striving to produce a knitting-machine, which proved to be a task beyond their strength. When the inventor was at his wit's end, his capitalist brought the machine to the shop of Ari Davis, to see if that eccentric genius could suggest the solution of the difficulty, and make the machine work. The shop, resolving itself into a committee of the whole, gathered about the knitting-machine and its proprietor, and were listening to an explanation of its principle, when Davis, in his wild, extravagant way, broke in with the question—

"What are you bothering yourselves with a knitting-machine for? Why don't you make a sewing-machine?"

"I wish I could," said the capitalist: "but it can't be done."

"Oh, yes, it can," said Davis; "I can make a sewing-machine myself."

"Well," said the other, "you do it, Davis, and I'll insure you an independent fortune."

Among the workmen who stood by and listened to this conversation—and in this instance at least the old adage concerning *listeners* appears to have been reversed—says Parton, was Howe; and from that time he was in the habit, in his leisure moments, of meditating devices for sewing by machinery. Having inherited a constitution hardly strong enough for the work of a machinist, and burdened even in his opening manhood with the care of a growing family, his attention was more and more concentrated upon the project of building a machine which would furnish him a livelihood more easily earned. In December, 1845, upon a small capital, provided by the generosity of an old friend, he shut himself up in a garret at Cambridge, and set himself seriously to the task of inventing a sewing machine. *After about six months of incessant labor and reflection he produced the first machine that ever sewed a seam, and he was soon the wearer of a suit of clothes made by its assistance.* This first machine, which is one of great beauty and finish, is still in existence, an object of peculiar interest to the curious who inspect it; and it will sew ten times as fast as a woman can sew by hand. Having patented the machine, and finding the tailors of America averse to its introduction, he went to England, where he succeeded in selling two machines; but found so little encouragement that he would have starved to death but for the aid of friends, and he resolved to return home, or at least to send his family. So pinched was he, while in London, that he frequently borrowed small sums of his friend, Mr. Inglis—on one occasion a shilling, with which he bought some beans, and cooked and ate them in his own room,—and through him also obtained some credit for provisions. Arriving home, after an absence of about two years, he found that the sewing-machine was a conspicuous object of public attention; doubt had been succeeded by admiration of its qualities; and several ingenious men having experimented, had finally improved upon the machine as originally constructed. A war of litigation ensued, and, after several years, Mr. Howe's claim to be the original inventor was legally and irreversibly established, the judge deciding that 'there was no evidence which left a shadow of doubt that, for all the benefit conferred upon the public by the introduction of a sewing-machine, the public are indebted to Mr. Howe.' To him, therefore, all other inventors or improvers had to pay tribute. From being a poor man, Howe became, in a few years, one of the most noted millionaires in America; and his bust, executed by Ellis, shows a man of marked personal appearance and striking natural endowments.

Elias Howe, Jr.

But here the very singular circumstances relating to the alleged priority of Mr. Walter Hunt's invention, as described by a graphic and well-informed writer in the New York Galaxy,—showing how precarious, at best, is the basis upon which even the most impartial of legal conclusions are arrived at,—may well be presented, as exhibiting the trials of inventors and public benefactors: It was between the years 1832 and 1834, that Mr. Hunt, in his own workshop in Amos street, New York city, invented, built, and put into full and effective operation a machine for sewing, stitching, and seaming cloth. This first machine was made principally by the inventor's own hands. It was the pioneer sewing-machine of America, and the first really successful one of the world. There had already been a French invention, a tambour machine for ornamenting gloves; but it was of very little general utility. These machines of Walter Hunt all contained the invention of the curved needle with the eye near the point, the shuttle and their combination, and they originated the famous interlocked stitch with two threads. Many samples of cloth were perfectly sewn by these machines, and many of the friends and neighbors of the inventor came to see them work. At length, one G. A. Arrowsmith was so well satisfied with the working of the machines, that he bought them, in 1834, and therewith the right to obtain letters-patent. But no sooner had Arrowsmith got this right, than he became impressed both with the vastness of the undertaking and with the prejudice which any scheme apparently tending to impoverish poor seamstresses would awaken. At the same time he became involved in pecuniary disaster, and for years did nothing with the machine. Fortunately for Mr. Hunt's fame, many persons had seen his machines work, and had seen them sew a good, strong and handsome stitch, and form seams better than hand-sewing. Of these, no less than six directly testified to this fact in a suit afterward brought, and established the fact beyond question that Walter Hunt invented the first sewing-machine, and that it contained the curved, eye-pointed needle at the end of a vibrating arm with a shuttle. The case itself was decided upon another point. These affidavits are still in existence. But this was not all. Fifteen years after he had sold his machines to Arrowsmith, who lost a fortune and a name in not devoting himself to their reproduction, Walter Hunt from memory gave a sworn written description of his first machine in every part, and, to clinch the matter, afterward constructed a machine from that description, which was the counterpart of the machine of 1834, and worked perfectly. Finally, one of the original machines sold to Arrowsmith in 1834, was and is, still preserved, though in a dilapidated condition. Walter Hunt then undertook to make a new sewing-machine, which should be an operative instrument, and should contain all the parts which were preserved of the old machine, with such others as were necessary to present the machine in the same shape that the original one possessed. He did this successfully, and the restored machine, still operative and ready to sew good, strong seams, is yet in existence.

Without drawing further, however, from this curiously interesting chapter in the history of the machine, involving a question of the deepest interest to inventors, it is time to describe the instrument—its parts and peculiar features, and *modus operandi*,—invented by Mr. Howe, and which transformed him from an obscure and struggling mechanic to one of the foremost manufacturers and millionaires in America Seating ourselves therefore before this wonderful elaboration of artistic genius and skill, as it has come fresh from the hands of the toilsome but at last successful inventor, and witnessing its weird and agile movement while its enthusiastic proprietor essays to sew a seam, we find that two threads are employed, one of which is carried through the cloth by means of a curved needle, the pointed end of which passes through the cloth; the

THE OLD AND NEW: SEWING BY HAND AND MACHINE.

needle used has the eye that is to receive the thread within a small distance, say an eighth of an inch, of its inner or pointed end, the other or outer end of the needle being held by an arm that vibrates on a pivot or joint pin, the curvature of the needle being such as to correspond with the length of the arm as its radius.

When the thread is carried through the cloth, which may be done to the distance of about three-fourths of an inch, the thread will be stretched above the curved needle, something in the manner of a bowstring, leaving a small open space between the two. A small shuttle, carrying a bobbin filled with silk or thread, is then made to pass entirely through this open space, between the needle and the thread which it carries; and when the shuttle is returned, which is done by means of a picker staff or shuttle-driver, the thread which was carried in by the needle is surrounded by that received from the shuttle; as the needle is drawn out, it forces that which was received from the shuttle into the body of the cloth; and as this operation is repeated, a seam is formed which has on each side of the cloth the same appearance as that given by stitching, with this peculiarity, that the thread sewn on one side of the cloth is exclusively that which was given out by the needle, and the thread seen on the other side is exclusively that which was given out by the shuttle.

Thus, according to this arrangement, a stitch is made at every back and forth movement of the shuttle. The two thicknesses of cloth that are to be sewed, are held upon pointed wires, which project out from a metallic plate, like the teeth of a comb, but at a considerable distance from each other,—say three-fourths of an inch, more or less,—these pointed wires sustaining the cloth, and answering the purpose of ordinary basting. The metallic plate from which these wires project has numerous holes through it, which answer the purpose of rack teeth in enabling the plate to move forward, by means of a pinion, as the stitches are taken. The distance to which the said plate is moved, and, consequently, the length of the stitches, may be regulated at pleasure.

One of the most formidable of Mr.

Howe's competitors, as a successful inventor and manufacturer, was Mr. I. M. Singer. His biographer speaks of him as a mechanic of some ingenuity but of small means, who, taking up with a casual suggestion made to him by a comrade, that a sewing-machine capable of doing a *greater variety* of work would be a profitable thing, ceased all other labor, and, borrowing forty or fifty dollars of his friend Mr. Zieber, applied himself unremittingly to the accomplishment of his task. He worked, as he states, day and night, sleeping but three or four hours out of the twenty-four, and eating generally but once a day, knowing that he must get a machine made for forty dollars, or not get it at all. The machine was completed the night of the eleventh day from the day it was commenced. About nine o'clock that evening the parts of the machine were finally put together, and a trial commenced with it. The first attempt to sew was unsuccessful, and the workmen, who were tired out with almost unremitting work, left him one by one, intimating that the thing was a failure. Singer continued, however, trying the machine, with Zieber to hold the lamp for him; but, in the nervous condition to which he had become reduced by incessant toil and anxiety, was unsuccessful in getting the machine to sew tight stitches. About midnight, Singer started for the hotel where he then boarded, accompanied by Zieber. Upon the way, they sat down on a pile of boards, and Zieber asked Singer if he had noticed that the loose loops of thread on the upper side of the cloth came from the needle. *It then flashed upon Singer's mind that he had forgotten to adjust the tension upon the needle thread!* They both started for the shop again. Singer adjusted the tension, tried the machine, and sewed five stitches perfectly, when the thread broke. The perfection of those stitches, however, satisfied him that the machine was a success, and he therefore stopped work, went to the hotel, and had a sound sleep. By three o'clock the next day, he had the machine finished, and started with it to New York, taking immediate steps to secure a patent. *It brought him, in a few years, princely wealth.* The peculiarity of this machine is the chain stitch or single thread device, but with the employment of an eye-pointed needle, and other appliances, so as to make it admirably adapted for the general purposes of sewing. On a similar principle are the Ladd and Webster, and Finkle and Lyon, machines.

Other improvements or modifications of the machine have been patented by Messrs. Grover & Baker, Blodgett, Lerow, Wilson, Morey, Johnson, Chapin, Gibbs, Leavitt, Watson, Clark, Weed, Arnold, McKay, Langdon, and others, but which can only be alluded to here. The principle of the double-thread self-regulating machine brought forward by Mr Martin, stopping whenever the thread breaks or a loop is missed, is claimed by several parties. A number of the machines patented after Howe's, use needles of a different kind from his, but produce the same stitch; most of these instruments are equally correct in respect to mechanical principles, but differ widely in certain particulars, one being vertical and the other horizontal, one carrying its own cloth and another requiring that it should be carried by hand; with other differences.

But one of the most ingenious and original devices in this line remains to be mentioned, namely, a combination of the sewing-machine and the melodeon, by Wheeler and Wilson, and by them exhibited, on its completion, to an admiring public. The apparatus had the appearance, externally, of a small parlor sideboard or other similar piece of furniture. On lifting the front, there was seen a handsome set of piano keys. On closing it, and turning back a hoop on the top, there opened to the view a complete sewing-machine, conveniently arranged. Concealed below, within side doors, were two pedals, one for the music, the other for the sewing-machine. Thus, by the use of one of these ingenious contrivances, when the lady operating the machine became tired of playing at sewing, she

could change her foot to the other pedal, open the melodeon part, and discourse music! The 'rotating hook' and feeding apparatus of the Wilson machine constitute an admirable feature; and the same may be said of the Grover & Baker or 'double loop' stitch.

Though at first looked upon as of doubtful utility, the value of the sewing-machine was in a short time abundantly demonstrated. Curiosity and doubt were succeeded by admiration, and soon the demand became extensive both at home and abroad, until, at the present time, the annual production of machines is thought to approximate to half a million. Active minds were also not slow to devise what they deemed to be improvements in the machine and its appurtenances; and to this end, the number of patent-claims filed up to the present time does not vary much from one thousand, though only an extremely small proportion of these are of any really practical importance.

Such a revolution in the processes and results of national industry as that effected by this machine could have entered into no man's mind—not even the mind of one given to the wildest romancing. Thus, in the brief period of some dozen years merely, from the time of the introduction of the machine to the public, the value and practical results of the invention may be understood from the following facts, which appeared in evidence in the contest before the commissioner of patents, for the extension of Howe's patent—namely:

At that time, the amount of the boot and shoe business of Massachusetts was fifty-five million dollars annually, and of this amount, the ladies' and misses' gaiter-boots and shoes involved one-half. About one-eleventh of the sum total above named was paid for sewing labor. From this proportion it appeared that the annual expenditure for sewing upon ladies' and misses' gaiter-boots and shoes was two and a half million dollars, and that it would have cost four times as much if done by hand,—so that the saving in a single year, in one state, by this invention, in the manufacture of one special article only, was nearly eight million dollars.

Similarly conclusive evidence was given in regard to the making of shirts, by an extensive manufacturer in Connecticut, who stated that his factory turned out about eight hundred dozen per week; that he used four hundred sewing-machines, and that one machine, with an attendant, would do the work of five hand-sewers at least, and do it better. He paid, at least, four dollars per week; but, reckoning it at three dollars,—the old price for sewing before machines were introduced,—it showed a saving, in this single manufactory, of two hundred and forty thousand dollars. Allowing, then, the males of the United States, at that time, to wear out two shirts a year apiece, a proportional saving would amount to the large sum of between eleven and twelve million dollars annually, in making the single article of shirts.

Another witness, representing the firm of Brooks Brothers, of New York city, manufacturers of clothing, stated that that house alone did a business, at the period named, of over a million dollars annually, using twenty machines in the store, besides patronizing those that others used, and doing about three-fourths of all their sewing by machines, and paying annually for sewing labor about two hundred thousand dollars; seventy-five thousand dollars of this was saved by machines,—that is, the machines saved seventy-five thousand dollars on every two hundred thousand paid for sewing labor. But the great manufactures of this house did not constitute, at most, but one-hundredth part of the machine-made clothing produced in that city; which fact, putting the proportion at one-hundredth part, made the business of manufacturing machine clothing in the city of New York one hundred million dollars per annum; and thus, at the rate paid by that house for sewing, it brought the cost of sewing in that branch of the business in that city,—even with the assistance of the sewing-machines,—up to twenty million dollars. Applying the

same ratio to the estimated amount of this branch of business in the United States, the total would reach the sum of seventy-five million dollars. All this, be it remembered, was in the comparative infancy of the machine. Its pecuniary importance, as a labor agent, is now estimated to reach $500,000,000 annually.

XXIV.

DISCOVERY OF THE INHALATION OF ETHER AS A PREVENTIVE OF PAIN.—1846.

Performance of Surgical Operations Involving the Intensest Torture, During the Happy Unconsciousness of the Patient —Account of the First Capital Demonstration Before a Crowded and Breathless Assembly.—Its Signal Success.—Thrill of Enthusiastic Joy —Most Beneficent Boon Ever Conferred by Science upon the Human Race.—Instinctive Dread of Pain —Fruitless Search Hitherto for a Preventive.—Terror of the Probe and Knife.—Heroes Quail Before Them.—Case of the Bluff Old Admiral.—Discovery of the Long-sought Secret.—Sulphuric Ether the Prize.—Bliss During Amputation.—Honor Due to America.—A Whole World Elated.—Medical Men Exultant.—Curious Religious Objections.—Test Case in Surgery.—Startling and Romantic Interest.—Value in Public Hospitals.—War-Sufferings Ameliorated —Various Effects while Inhaling.—Amusing and Extraordinary Cases.—"Thocht the Deil had a Grip o' her!"—Odd Talk of an Innocent Damsel.—Old Folks Wanting to Dance —Awards to the Discoverers.

' The fierce extremity of suffering has been steeped in the waters of forgetfulness, and the deepest furrow in the knotted brow of agony has been smoothed forever.'—Prof. O. W. Holmes

RELIEVING PAIN BY THE USE OF ETHER.

HUMANITY — even the hardiest and bravest portions of it — instinctively shrinks, with dread, from the pain attendant upon a deliberate cutting of the living flesh by surgical instruments. The case is related of a bluff old English admiral—one of the stoutest hearts that ever beat, in a service whose men of every grade are, to a proverb, dauntless,—who, in the opening of his distinguished career, had been engaged in cutting out an enemy's frigate. From the gun-boat, he climbed up the ship's steep side, and, foremost of his crew, had reached the bulwarks, when, receiving a stunning blow, he fell into his boat again, striking his back with great violence. Years afterwards, a tumor had grown on the injured part; and at length the admiral—gray, and bent in years—found it advisable that this growth should be removed. The man that never feared death in its most ghastly and appalling form, now shrank from the surgeon's knife; the removal, contemplated by the man of many battles with feeling almost akin to childish fear, was long deferred; and at length, half stupefied by opium though he was, a most unsteady patient did he prove during the operation.

Numberless instances have there been, too, of women—mothers—who, for their kindred, have been at any time ready to sacrifice their lives, by watching and privation, in loathsome and tainted chambers of infectious disease, but, when themselves became victims of that which they knew required a surgical operation, and which, without this, they were well assured must miserably consume them away,— even these noble minds, resolute in the prospect of death, have yet quailed under the fear of surgical suffering; they have studiously concealed their malady from their nearest friends, and deliberately preferred the misery of a fatal, and unchecked, and gnawing cancer, to the apprehended torture of an operation, temporary though it be. This feeling has been universal, in all ages, among the victims of keen physical suffering.

From time immemorial, means have been sought, and with partial success, to relieve and even to destroy pain, during the manipulations of practical surgery. For this purpose, opium, Indian hemp, mesmerism, and nitrous oxide gas and alcohol, have been employed, and all in their turn abandoned, except that opium in many cases, and mesmerism in a few, still continued to be used with imperfect success, and almost always with the subsequent disadvantage of headache, feverishness, or other general disorder.

It was reserved for the simple inhalation of a certain gas — pure sulphuric ether—to achieve in surgery that for which surgeons had for centuries labored, and labored in vain!

This was in 1846. A certain old gentleman, however,—as the case is narrated,— was not altogether a stranger to the comforting effects of this same anodyne process, some forty years previously. He had discovered that the fumes of ether could lull him into forgetfulness of the pains and disquietude of a bustling and checkered life. He was a man of research in his way; curious in beds, baths, and professing to understand disease and its cure better by far than his fellows. But he was loose in principle, as well as weak in science, and no doubt, most deservedly, had many roughnesses in life which he could wish to rub away. His mode was this: Obtaining an ounce or two of ether, he leisurely sniffed up its vapor, sitting softly the while, and manifestly enjoying a time of calmness and repose, greatly to his liking. Indeed, on being interrogated, he was in the habit of blandly answering, "soothing, sir, soothing to an immeasurable degree." In this oblivion to the disgusting harassments of life, he was in the habit of indulging many times a day. He had curiously discovered that the fumes of ether could relieve, temporarily, from the pains of a mind ill at ease; but he was not to know that it could still more wonderfully assuage the body's worst suffering.

The divulgement of this most beneficent boon to the world since man's moral redemption—by which the most dreaded of surgical operations can be performed during a happy unconsciousness of the patient —not merely with little suffering, but absolutely with none—is due to three Americans, namely, Drs. Morton, Jackson, and Wells; but to which of these is due the priority or chief merit of the discovery, is a question long and bitterly discussed, and still undecided. Certainly, however, the proceedings of each of these gentlemen, in connection with the discovery, show undoubted scientific acuteness, ingenuity, zeal and perseverance.

The enthusiasm with which the announcement of this marvelous discovery was received may well be described as unbounded. Wafted across the Atlantic, it was at once hailed with rapturous exultation in England, and speedily adopted in most of the large hospitals throughout the kingdom—also, in the vast hospitals of Paris, and in the numerous institutions of like character in Germany, including those so celebrated at Vienna and Berlin.

Still, there were not wanting those who regarded the discovery with distrust, and some of the public medical institutions barred their doors against the new alle-

viating agent. Objections based on religious grounds were urged against the employment of ether. Pain, it was argued, was the natural and intended consequence of the primal sin, and therefore any attempt to do away with it must be wrong. These objectors failed to see that their argument, if it proved anything, proved too much, since it held with equal cogency against any and every remedial agency, in all cases whatsoever. Others opposed the anæsthetic on the ground that pain is salutary, and that its annihilation would be this, it was alleged that the new agent might be used for infamous purposes. "A fatal habit," it was said, "had sprung up of using ether, like opium, for purposes of exhilaration, to all intents intoxication. A burglar forced his way into a mansion when all its occupants were in profound slumber, and, applying ether to them, he had the house all to himself." Frequent accidents, moreover, resulted from the use of impure ether by unskillful hands, so frequent, indeed, that prosecution was threatened for administering it at all.

THE THREE CLAIMANTS OF THE DISCOVERY OF PAINLESS SURGERY, BY ETHER.

hazardous to the patient. And an eminent physiologist expressed the doubt whether there were a true advantage in suppressing pain. "It is a trivial matter," said this stoic, "to suffer, and a discovery whose object is the prevention of pain is of slight interest."

Then, too, letters came pouring in upon the discoverer from all over the civilized world, upbraiding him with having announced the claims of a humbug. He also received constant visits from professional gentlemen, who questioned the accuracy of the experiments. Worse than

But the domain of the grim demon, Pain, having once been successfully invaded, humanity and science were ill-disposed to yield the vantage ground. One of the most eminent professors of surgery in America, Dr. O. W. Holmes, said: "The knife is searching for disease—the pulleys are dragging back dislocated limbs—nature herself is working out the primal curse, which doomed the tenderest of her creatures to the sharpest of her trials; but the fierce extremity of her suffering has been steeped in the waters of forgetfulness, and the deepest furrow

in the knotted brow of agony has been smoothed forever." So, too, that world-renowned surgeon and anatomist, Dr. John C. Warren,—grave, venerable, and dispassionate,—exclaimed:

"*Who could have imagined, that drawing the knife over the delicate skin of the face might produce a sensation of unmixed delight!—that the turning and twisting of instruments in the most sensitive bladder might be accompanied by a beautiful dream!*"

It was natural enough, certainly, that benevolence should prompt the humane surgeon to such utterances of congratulation, for it supplied to him a desideratum, long sought, for the relief of the excruciating pain they were necessarily obliged to inflict in the practice of their profession. For screaming, and struggles, and intense suffering under the surgeon's knife, etherization substituted complete exemption from pain, associated in some with the quietude, mental and corporeal, of deep sleep; in others, with pleasing dreams, imaginary busy scenes, and sweet music; and in others, with a perfect consciousness of surrounding objects and events. The obstetrician finds in it the means of alleviating that distress with which woman has always been afflicted, when in the act of becoming a mother. To the physician it affords one of the most useful, as it is one of his most prompt, remedies. He, before, had no reliable means of relieving the spasms of tetanus; he not unfrequently failed to procure sleep, in delirium tremens, when the question was one of sleep or death; his before palliative remedy, opium, for the pain of colic, too often purchased temporary relief at the expense of an aggravation of the cause of the disease, and of increased difficulties in its cure; and he occasionally witnessed the breaking up of the system of a neuralgic patient, more as a consequence of repeated large doses of opium, than of the disease itself.

Heretofore, also, the *shock* of all serious operations had been formidable. The patient, however resigned and courageous, was deeply impressed in system; the pulse became feeble, the surface cold and pale, the eye dim, respiration troubled, and the whole powers of life brought low. With the use of ether, this is otherwise. Parturition may take place, thighs may be amputated, stones extracted, tumors removed, dentistry in all its branches performed; the chief deviations from the normal characters of health being, in all these cases, such as are known to be the effects of ether—and, accordingly, both manageable and transient. In the army, it has been found of incalculable service, in cases requiring the use of the probe and and knife, —the sadly ample opportunity in this field during the war in the Crimea, in Mexico, and on the battle-grounds of the South, adding fresh triumphs to the discovery.

It will be interesting to give, at this point, an account of *the first surgical operation performed under the influence of ether*, the result of which so fully demonstrated this glorious truth of science. It occurred at the Massachusetts General Hospital, the operator being Dr. Hayward.

In his own narration of the circumstances of this deeply interesting and most important occasion, Dr. Hayward says: "It was my fortune to perform the first capital operation on a patient rendered insensible by the inhalation of sulphuric ether. It rarely falls to the lot of a professional man to be the witness of a scene of more intense interest. The operating-room was crowded; many were obliged to stand. Besides the class of students in attendance on the lectures, numbering more than one hundred, and many of the principal physicians and surgeons of the city and neighborhood, there were present several clergymen, lawyers, and other individuals, from the various callings of life. When I entered the theater, before the patient was brought in, I found it, to my surprise, filled in every part, except the floor on which the table stood, with persons on whose countenances was depicted the almost painful anxiety with which they awaited the result of the experiment they were about to witness. I simply told them

that I had decided, with the advice of my colleagues, to allow the patient on whom I was to operate, to inhale an article which was said to have the power of annulling pain. The patient was then brought in. She was a delicate looking girl of about twenty years of age, who had suffered for a long time from a scrofulous disease of the knee-joint. It had at length suppurated; there were extensive openings into the cavity of the joint; the cartilages were ulcerated, and partly absorbed; the bones carious, and symptoms of hectic fever had already made their appearance. As soon as she was well arranged on the table I told her that I should let her breathe something which I hoped would prevent her from suffering much from the operation, and that she need not be afraid of breathing it freely." The critical nature of this case can easily be appreciated, even by the unprofessional mind, and the result is fraught with deep and romantic interest.

It being desirable that the amputation should be performed as rapidly as possible, Dr. Hayward decided to accomplish it by means of the flap operation. One person was to compress the artery, another to withdraw the flaps, a third to hand the instruments, and a fourth to watch the pulse. Dr. Hayward grasped the patient's limb with his left hand, and held the amputating knife behind him in his right, carefully concealed from her view. The mouth-piece of the inhaling instrument was then put into her mouth, and she was directed to take long inspirations. After breathing in this way a short time, the nostrils were compressed, so that all the air that went into the lungs must first pass through the machine, and of course be mixed with the vapor of the ether. She breathed with perfect ease, and without struggling, and in about three minutes from the time the instrument was put into her mouth, Dr. Morton said, 'She is ready.' A death-like silence reigned in the room; no one moved, or hardly breathed. The doctor passed the knife directly through the limb, and brought it out as rapidly as he could, and made the upper flap. The patient gave no sign of feeling or consciousness, but looked like one in a deep, quiet sleep. Every other person in the room took a full inspiration that was distinctly audible, and seemed to feel that they could now breathe again. The second flap was then made, the bone sawed, five arteries were tied, and as the doctor was tightening the ligature upon the sixth and last she groaned, being the first indication of sensibility that had been given. Nothing more was done than to bring the flaps together, cover the stump with cloths dipped in cold water, and apply two or three turns of a roller to keep them in place. Her consciousness soon returned; *she was wholly ignorant that the operation had been done!* For some time she would not believe it, and said that she had felt nothing till the doctor tied the last artery. The operation lasted a minute and three-quarters.

The phenomena, or effects, produced by the administration of ether, are extremely various, depending much, of course, upon the temperament, habits, and condition of the patient. Sometimes the dream is exquisitely charming, and the patient seems passed into another and a better world. Sometimes the opposite state obtains, the patient betraying manifest uneasiness while in the trance, by restless, staring, anguished eye-balls, by groaning, and by wrestling movements of the body. And these are not loath to emerge from the effects of the drug, while the former part with them grudgingly. One poor girl, for instance, had struggled hard during an amputation, yet felt no pain; and, on coming to herself, thankfulness was expressed in every feature, as well as by her blithe tongue, for she "*thocht the deil had a grip o' her a' the time.*"

In some cases, the dreamer is falling from a great height rapidly, down and down into some unfathomable abyss. In other cases, the dream is warlike; personal to the dreamer; or of by-gone days, implicating some great military demonstration; and the crack of tooth-pulling has thus passed

off as the din of ordnance. Sometimes, in youth, the dream has been "all fun;" and the dreamer has been anxious to be back into the midst of his pleasant pastime again, even at the cost of another tooth-drawing. The patient, if a wanderer, and then in a strange land, may dream pleasantly of home—"she had been home, it was beautiful, and she had been gone a month;" so said one poor woman in the midst of what, without the ether, would have been agony.

Sometimes the dream passes steadily on to completion, sometimes it is abruptly closed by some critical procedure on the part of the operator—the extraction of a tooth, with a sudden wrench, for example. A soldier dreams of guns and bayonets, and strife, and clamor; a sailor, of ships, and storms, and grog; an Irishman of whiskey and shillalahs, and a "skrimmage;" a boy of marbles, tops, and "lots of fun;" a mother, of home and children; a girl, of gala-days and finery.

A tippler fancies he is in the grog-shop, and there he may enjoy himself hugely—or he may dream "his wife came to fetch him." Quarrelsome men grow pugilistic, and coats may be doffed with appropriate accompaniment of word and action. Young men, having some one in their list of female acquaintance dearer than the rest, grow active lovers, and in lone walks, earnest conversations, or soft whisperings, seem to make rare progress in their suit. The swearing and dissolute may indulge in oaths and profane jests. The man of fervent piety, who is habitually looking heavenward, may not only suppose himself translated to the realms of bliss, but may take part in imagined exercises there. A patient of this class was known thus to employ himself immediately after a painful operation; four verses of a psalm were sung by him very loudly, with his eyes fixed, his body in a tremor, and intense fervor shown in every movement; he would not be interrupted, and could scarcely be prevailed upon to leave the operation-room, seeing that he found himself so wonderfully happy there—said he had been in heaven, and had seen his Savior; on reaching his bed, he fell on his knees and was rapt in prayer.

Not always, however, is the dream consistent with the character. Among the instances showing this, is that of a young, simpering and innocent damsel, who, addressing a most amiable and excellent dentist, knitting her brow into something more than a frown, clenching her fist, and scowling defiance, vowed in the most uproarious tone and manner, that if he ventured near her with his profane touch, "big blackguard, as he was, *she'd knock him down.*" And so, too, staid, demure, elderly persons, have, in most abandoned gayety, insisted on the operator forthwith joining them in a joyous polka!

In plain language, as in plain fact—says an English reviewer, whose interesting *resumé* is here quoted—*the patient is drunk.* Sometimes the consciousness of this condition is made apparent by the sensations which are induced in the early period of inhalation. "You'll have me drunk!" cried one; "Oh, you rascals! I know what you are;" evidently supposing that he had fallen into loose society, and that his companions had a design on him. But it is on coming out of the trance, that the intoxication shows most. The patient sways as he tries to stand; is garrulous, sprightly, and humorous; and often insists on shaking hands with all and sundry. The unsteadiness of gait, and lightness of head, sometimes have an inconvenient duration, as is illustrated in the case of a most worthy lady, who, leaving the dentist too soon, had to grope her way along the railing of the street, in noonday, and ran no slight risk of losing all reputation for sobriety.

Among the many amusing examples of the effect produced by the administration of the anæsthetic—in addition to its primary quality of annulling pain—the following may be cited: An Irish woman, who had never heard of ether previous to calling upon the dentist for the purpose of having a large molar tooth extracted, took it on being told that she would suffer no

part, and would, probably, have an interview with her friends in the old country. Just as its influence commenced, the doctor remarked that he would like to have her observe what occupation her friends were engaged in, if she succeeded in finding them. The tooth was drawn; she moved not a muscle of the face, but remained as in a quiet sleep, for about one minute. Upon opening her eyes, she exclaimed, "I have seen all my friends; they were engaged in spinning—and don't I hear their wheels now, sure?" She said it appeared to her as though she had been absent many months. She recollected that she went home in a steam vessel, heard the noise of steam and machinery, declared herself unhurt by the operation, and wished the doctor to see if there was not "*another tooth what wanted to be drawn.*"

Another example of this class, was that of a middle-aged Irishman, who had sustained compound fracture of the leg. The fracture had not united, in consequence of the presence of a dead piece of bone, and it became necessary to remove this by a painful operation, in the following manner:

MONUMENT ERECTED IN HONOR OF THE DISCOVERY OF ETHER.

The patient was seated on a table, and the inhalation was applied. At first, little effect was produced, but after some minutes, the patient fell backwards, as in a swoon. The operator was then about to proceed; but the man immediately ob-

jected, saying that "he was not asleep, and that he trusted nothing would be done till he was asleep." For full twenty minutes more the inhalation went on, the man confused and talkative, but wide-awake, and occasionally expressing very emphatically his conviction that "it would not do." At length, however, while in this wakeful state, the operation was begun. Incisions were made on the shin, and flaps were dissected off so as to expose the bone beneath. A portion of this was sawn and clipped through, and then the dead bone was removed. Only during the clipping of the bone with strong straining pliers did any sign of feeling escape from the patient, who was busy inhaling all the while, and now and then protesting that "it wouldn't do." The operation occupied about ten minutes, and, from the highly sensitive nature of the parts involved, must have been attended with excruciating suffering under ordinary circumstances. After it was over, the operator said to the patient—

"I suppose you won't let me operate to-day?"

"Certainly not," replied the patient, "it won't do; I must be asleep. The thing hasn't succeeded with me, and I am sure it can't succeed with any one else, for I did everything I could to get asleep, for my own sake, and I'd do anything to plase you."

"Then you won't even let me make a cut into the leg?"

"No; I must be asleep; we can try it another time."

This plain proof of his utter unconsciousness of the operation having been performed was acknowledged by the spectators in a hearty round of applause. The patient then sat up, and, seeing the wound, burst into an immoderate fit of laughter, saying—

"No doubt *there's* blood, or something very like it; but I haven't felt a single thing done to my leg. That *bates* the globe!"

On being asked decidedly as to his having felt anything, he repeatedly answered "Not a ha' porth." He got into amazing spirits, and refused to leave the room until he had told "all about the toldrums of the business." And then, with the manner of a tipsy man, and very happy, he kept surgeons and students in a roar of laughter for some minutes with a narrative of his condition during the inhalation, which, Irish-like, seemed to have an interminable medley of imaginary fights and "killings" going on around him.

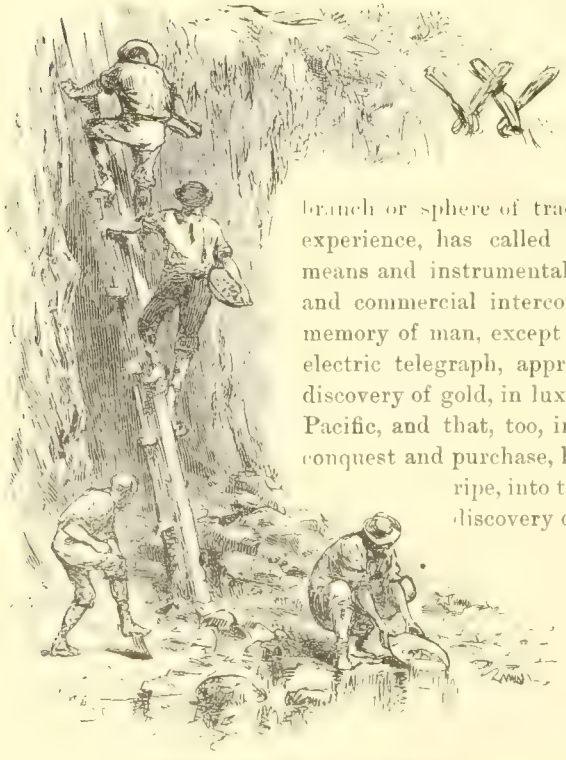
It has already been stated, that Drs. Jackson, Morton, and Wells, respectively, claim the honor of having discovered this great fact in chemical and medical science, and the claim of each is supported by a formidable army of names and evidence. One of the most candid investigators of the character and weight of these several and conflicting claims, has presented the case in this light, namely: That to Dr. Wells unquestionably belongs the merit of having first demonstrated the happy idea of deadening sensibility in painful operations, by using both nitrous oxide and sulphuric ether; that to Dr. Jackson, the thanks of the world are due for lending that influence which his well-earned reputation qualified him to do, in establishing confidence in the public mind in the use of sulphuric ether, as a substitute for the nitrous oxide; and that, to Dr. Morton's indefatigable exertions in securing the attention of leading medical men to the subject, was due the rapid adoption of sulphuric ether in connection with the practice of surgery. But, singularly enough, though the French Academy has acknowledged, by pecuniary and honorary awards, the indebtedness of mankind to the American discoverers of this vast blessing to humanity, the American government has thus far failed to confer any reward upon any one of the distinguished claimants. A costly and superb monument, designed and executed with consummate skill by Ward, the eminent sculptor, and erected at the cost of a wealthy citizen of Boston, in honor of this great discovery, now adorns the public garden of that city.

XXV.

DISCOVERY OF GOLD AT SUTTER'S MILL, CALIFORNIA.—1848.

Widely Extended and Inexhaustible Deposits of the Precious Metal.—The News Spreads like Wild-fire to the Four Quarters of the Globe.—Overwhelming Tide of Emigration from All Countries.—Nucleus of a Great Empire on the Pacific.—California Becomes the El Dorado of the World and the Golden Commonwealth of the American Union.—First Practical Discovery of the Gold.—On John A. Sutter's Land.—Found by J. W. Marshall.—Simple Accident that Led to It.—Marshall's Wild Excitement.—Shows Sutter the Golden Grains.—A Dramatic Interview.—The Discovery Kept Secret.—How it was Disclosed.—A Real Wonder of the Age.—Trials of the Early Emigrants.—Their Bones Whiten the Soil.—All Professions at the Mines.—Impetus Given to Commerce.—Life Among the Diggers.—Disordered State of Society.—Crimes, Outrages, Conflagrations.—Scarcity, Fabulous Prices.—Mining by Machinery.—Order and Stability Reached.—Population in 1857, 600,000.—Gold in Ten Years, $600,000,000.

"Gold to fetch, and gold to send,
Gold to borrow, and gold to lend,
Gold to keep, and gold to spend,
And abundance of gold *in futuro*."



MINING OPERATIONS IN CALIFORNIA.

WITHOUT any exaggeration, it may be asserted that no modern event has been the cause of so much romance in real life,—no branch or sphere of trade, even though perfected by long experience, has called into employment so many of the means and instrumentalities of diversified human industry and commercial intercourse,—indeed, nothing within the memory of man, except the achievements of steam and the electric telegraph, approaches so nearly to magic, as the discovery of gold, in luxurious deposits, on the shores of the Pacific, and that, too, in the soil of a territory which, by conquest and purchase, had but just fallen, like fruit golden ripe, into the lap of the Great Republic. This discovery occurred at Sutter's mill, in Coloma county, California, in February, 1848.

Here, however, it deserves to be stated as a matter of historical interest, that gold placers were worked in certain portions of California, long before the discovery just mentioned. The

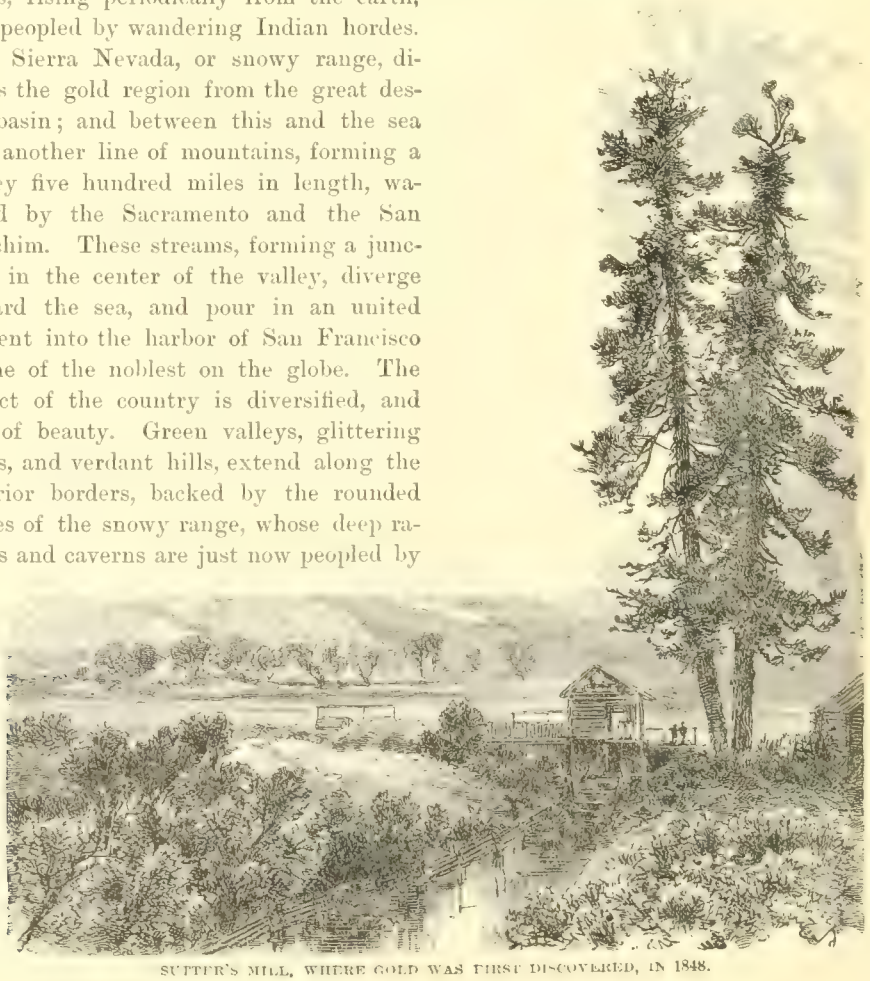
evidence of this appears in a letter addressed by Abel Stearns, of Los Angeles, to Louis R. Lull, secretary of the California Society of Pioneers. Mr. Stearns, who went to California from Mexico in 1829, states that on the 22d of November, 1842, he sent by Alfred Robinson—who returned from California to the states by way of Mexico—twenty ounces California weight, or eighteen and three-fourths ounces mint weight, of placer gold, to be forwarded by him to the United States mint at Philadelphia; the mint assay was returned August 6, 1843. This gold was taken from placers first discovered in March, 1842, by Francisco Lopez, a Californian, at San Francisquito, about thirty-five miles north-west from Los Angeles. It appears that Lopez, while resting in the shade with some companions, during a hunt for stray horses, dug up some wild onions with his sheath knife, and in the dirt discovered a piece of gold. Searching further, he found more pieces, and on returning to town announced his discovery. A few persons, mostly Sonorians, who were accustomed to placer mining in Mexico, worked in the San Francisquito placer from this time until the latter part of 1846 (when the war with the United States disturbed the country), taking out some six thousand to eight thousand dollars in value, per annum. The United States mint certificate for the assay made for Mr. Stearns in 1843, is now in the archives of the "Society of California Pioneers."

Before the great event which made the year 1848 so memorable, the influence of the United States had already become conspicuous in the affairs of California, and had in a degree prepared the way for what was to follow. In the words of a British writer, the United States spread her actual influence long before she planted a flag as the sign of her dominion. For two years previous to the capture of Monterey, in 1846, her authority had been paramount in California. At length, toward the close of the summer of 1845, Fremont appeared in the neighborhood of Monterey, whose park-like scenery — trees scattered in groups over grassy hills, wide sloping fields, plantations of oak and fir, red-tiled houses, yellow-washed church, and white cottages —showed in pleasant contrast to the desolate region of the Rocky mountains he had left. He was accompanied by some of his trappers — men of muscle and daring, dressed in deer-skin coats, with formidable rifles, and mounted on tall, spare horses. They rode in Indian file through the outskirts; their leader viewed the town, and they vanished. Soon again he appeared, with an ominous array of thirty-five followers, encamped on a woody height; was commanded to depart, was driven to the hills, pursued, and again lost sight of. An American ship then sailed into the harbor. Fremont was again at Monterey. The Californians foresaw the probable progress of events, and perhaps secretly desired the fostering protection of the great republic. While balancing between that and independence, two United States vessels simultaneously entered the harbors of Monterey and San Francisco, and in July, 1846, the whole of California came under the rule of America. A new era was again opened. An immediate change appeared. Industry was revived; deserted villages were repeopled; neglected lands were again cultivated; decaying towns were renovated; and the busy hum of toil broke that silence and lethargy which brooded over an ill-governed country.

But another and greater change was at hand, to turn the tide of her fortunes into a new, a wider, and more diffusive channel, and to raise California from the condition of a wild and isolated territory, to be the very focus of the world's attention,—the spot where innumerable streams of emigration from the four quarters of the world, from barbarous and civilized countries, pouring across the Rocky Mountains, or brought over the sea, from distant shores, were to meet in tumultuous confluence, and, flowing upon each other, form an eddying whirlpool of excitement, such as few countries on the globe, in any period of their history, could present to the observation of mankind.

What is the character of this region, independently of its newly-discovered treasures, at the period mentioned? It is wealthy in many natural resources. Its extent is great. From Cape Mendocino, at the borders of the United States, to the root of the peninsula, is seven hundred miles, and Lower California thrusts out its vast tongue to an almost equal distance. The old region is for the most part a broken, hilly, and barren tract of land; but occasional plains of rich fertility alternate with the less favored tracts, and these formed the sites of the old Jesuit missions. Alta California extends from the coast to the provinces of New Mexico. Of the interior desert basin, little is known, except that it is a wild, rocky, and woody territory, watered by a few rivers, and lakes, rising periodically from the earth, and peopled by wandering Indian hordes. The Sierra Nevada, or snowy range, divides the gold region from the great desert basin; and between this and the sea lies another line of mountains, forming a valley five hundred miles in length, watered by the Sacramento and the San Joachim. These streams, forming a junction in the center of the valley, diverge toward the sea, and pour in an united current into the harbor of San Francisco —one of the noblest on the globe. The aspect of the country is diversified, and full of beauty. Green valleys, glittering lakes, and verdant hills, extend along the interior borders, backed by the rounded spires of the snowy range, whose deep ravines and caverns are just now peopled by toiling gold-hunters; and these are drawing more wealth from the bleakest, most barren, and most neglected spots, than a husbandman in the course of many years could derive from the most luxuriantly cultivated land. Along the river banks, light grassy slopes alternate with stony, broken, sandy expanses, honey-combed as it were by time, but now swarming with amateur delvers. However, the country, as a whole, is fertile; producing readily grains, vegetables, and fruits, with fine timber, whilst immense pasture grounds afford nourishment to the flocks and herds that once formed the principal wealth of California.

Up to the year 1847, so comparatively small were the gatherings of gold, in various sections of the globe, that in



SUTTER'S MILL, WHERE GOLD WAS FIRST DISCOVERED, IN 1848.

reckoning the average produce of the precious metal, of all parts of the New and Old World for a series of years previous to 1847, it did not amount to the annual value of twenty-five million dollars.

It was in September, 1847, that Captain John A. Sutter, the great pioneer settler in California, commenced an undertaking

JOHN A. SUTTER.

which led, by a very simple and ordinary circumstance, to *the first practical discovery of the prodigiously valuable gold mines of California*—the long-sought *El Dorado* of ancient and modern times. This undertaking consisted in the erection of a saw-mill at Coloma, on a mountainous spot about one thousand feet above the level of the valley, where the Rio des los Americanos pours down from the Sierra Nevada to swell the united streams of the Sacramento and San Joachim.

Such an enterprise, in such a region, at a time when the political and social condition of the country was so unsettled and uncertain, indicated a mind of energy and executive capacity, on the part of the projector. And it was even so, in full measure, in the case of Captain Sutter. He is described, by his biographers, in the annals of San Francisco, as an intelligent Swiss emigrant, who sailed for and reached New York, in July, 1834; but finally settled and for several years resided in Missouri. The wild west had always possessed a charm for him, and he had removed thither; but now his adventurous spirit looked still further towards the setting sun, and roved along the waters that sped their unknown way to the Pacific. Leaving family and home, in company with Sir William Drummond Stewart, he joined a party, under the charge of Captain Tripps, of the American Fur Company, and started for the broad valleys of California, where he knew that rich and fertile lands only awaited an industrious cultivator, and where Providence had even a still richer yielding field that he knew not of. He left the trappers at their rendezvous on the Wind river among the Kansas Rocky mountains, and with a new party of six decided on proceeding to their destination by way of Oregon. Crossing the valley of the Willamette, he finally arrived at Fort Vancouver, and there ascertained that innumerable delays must elapse before he could reach California. Nothing daunted, and apparently urged, like Columbus, to accomplish his object despite of fate, Captain Sutter sailed for the Sandwich Islands, hoping to embark thence direct for the Spanish coast. But when he arrived there, no vessels were about to sail in that direction. Again he threw down the gauntlet to fate, and re-embarked for Sitka Island, in Russian America, and from that immense distance at last reached Yerba Buena, July second, 1839. Not permitted to land here, he again embarked, and was finally allowed to set foot on California soil at Monterey. Having succeeded in overcoming the Spanish opposition to foreign settlers, he obtained the permission of Governor Alvarado to locate himself in the valley of the Rio del Sacramento; more readily granted, perhaps, because it was then the abode of savage Indians. He explored the Sacramento, Feather and American rivers, and in August, 1839, about eighteen months after he commenced his journey, permanently established himself on the latter river, with a colony of only three whites and eight Kanakas. In a short time, he removed to the location afterwards known as Sutter's Fort, and took possession of the surrounding country under a Mexican grant, giving to it the name of New

Helvetia. From this point he cut a road to the junction of the Sacramento and American rivers, where he established a quay or landing-place, on the site of which has since been built the city of Sacramento. Here he remained for several years, becoming possessor of a large amount of land, and rapidly carrying on various and extensive improvements. At one time he had a thousand acres sown in wheat, and owned eight thousand neat cattle, two thousand horses and mules, as many sheep, and a thousand swine. He was appointed alcalde of the district by Commodore Stockton, and Indian agent by General Kearney; and with all his sympathies with this country, his earnest wish was to see California brought into the American Union.

Among the followers of Sutter was James W. Marshall, who emigrated from New Jersey to Oregon in 1843, and a year later went to California. By trade he was a carpenter, and to him Captain Sutter intrusted the erection of the saw-mill at Coloma, where good water-power and plenty of lumber had determined its location. It was this enterprise which led to the most famous discovery of gold ever known in the history of the globe. How this happened, has been differently related by different authorities, but perhaps by none more authentically than by Mr. Dunbar, president of the Traveller's Club of New York. The saw-mill was completed in January, 1848, and they had just commenced sawing lumber, when, on the night of February 2d, Marshall appeared at Sutter's Fort, his horse in a foam and himself presenting a singular appearance—all bespattered with mud, and laboring under intense excitement.

And now ensued a scene which can scarcely be exceeded in its elements of dramatic representation. Marshall immediately requested Captain Sutter to go with him into a room where they could be alone. This request was granted, and, after the door was closed, Marshall asked Captain Sutter if he was sure they would not be disturbed, and desired that the door might be locked. Captain Sutter did not know what to make of his actions, and he began to think it hazardous to lock himself in the room with Marshall, who appeared so uncommonly strange. Marshall being satisfied at last that they would not be interrupted, took from his pocket a pouch from which he poured upon the table about an ounce of yellow grains of metal, which he thought would prove to be gold. Captain Sutter inquired where he got it. Marshall stated that in the morning, the water being shut off from the saw-mill race, as was customary, he discovered, in passing through the race, shining particles here and there on the bottom. On examination, he found them to be of metallic substance, and the thought flashed over him that they might be gold. *How big with events was this point of time!* Marshall stated that the laborers—white and Indian—had picked up some of the particles, and he thought a large quantity could be collected.

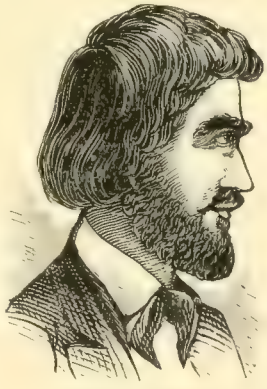
Captain Sutter was at first quite incredulous as to these particles being gold, but happening to have a bottle of nitric acid among his stores, he applied the test, and, true enough, the yellow grains proved to be pure gold. *The great discovery was made!*

The account given above agrees substantially with Captain Sutter's own narrative of the event, namely: That Marshall had contracted with him for the building of a saw-mill for producing lumber, on the south fork of the American River, a feeder of the Sacramento. In the course of his operations, Marshall had occasion to admit the river water into the tail-race, for the purpose of widening and deepening it by the strength of the current. In doing this, a considerable quantity of mud, sand, and gravel, was carried along with the stream, and deposited in a heap at the foot of the tail-race. Marshall, when one day examining the state of his works, noticed a few glittering particles lying near the edge of the heap. His curiosity being aroused, he gathered some of the sparkling objects;

and he at once became satisfied of their nature and the value of his discovery. All trembling with excitement, he hurried to his employer and told his story. Captain Sutter at first thought it was a fiction, and the teller only a mad fool. Indeed, he confesses that he kept a sharp eye upon his loaded rifle, when he, whom he was tempted to consider a maniac, was eagerly disclosing the miraculous tale. However, his doubts were all at once dispelled when Marshall tossed on the table before him some of the shining dust.

Not less interesting is the account given of the manner in which the discovery became public—owing, as appears by Mr. Dunbar's statement, to that which extracts both wit and wisdom, as well as folly, from the brain of man. After some examination, Captain Sutter became satisfied that gold in considerable quantities would be found in that neighborhood; and while the reflections of Marshall were probably confined to the idea of rapidly acquired wealth for himself, Captain Sutter realized at once how impossible it would be to hold his laborers to their work in carrying on his improvements, gathering his crops, and avoid being overrun by new-comers, should the gold prove abundant and the discovery be promulgated. He therefore begged the laborers to say nothing about the gold for six weeks. His grist-mill and some other improvements would then be completed, and his crops all gathered. The laborers promised to comply with his request, and Captain Sutter returned home on the fifth of February. But the great secret could not long be retained. A bottle of whiskey made it known. A teamster, whom Captain Sutter had dispatched to the saw-mill with supplies, heard of the discovery of gold, and managed to obtain some of the precious grains. On returning to the fort, he immediately went to the neighboring store, kept by a Mormon, and demanded a bottle of whiskey. This was a cash article in that country, and, as the teamster was poor pay, the trader refused to sell him the whiskey. The man declared he had plenty of money, and exhibited some grains of gold. The astonished trader, on being satisfied that these were gold, gave his customer the bottle of whiskey, and earnestly inquired where he got the gold. The teamster refused to make known the secret till he had imbibed considerable of the liquor, when his tongue was loosened, and he told all about the discovery of gold at Sutter's mill. The wonderful tale spread like wild-fire throughout the sparsely inhabited territory of California. It ran up and down the Pacific coast, traversed the continent, reached the Atlantic shores, and in a short time the story of California's golden treasures had startled the whole civilized world.

Naturally enough, the first rumors, as they spread abroad, were lightly tossed



JAMES W. MARSHALL.

aside; but confirmation gave them strength, and as each transmission of intelligence to the United States carried fresh accounts of new discoveries, an enthusiastic ardor was awakened, and within four months of that eventful day, five thousand persons were delving on the river's banks, on the slopes, amid the ravines, hollows, and caverns in the valley of the Sacramento.

And now, from the vast population of the great republic, new streams of emigration broke at once to swell that current which for years had set noiselessly toward the valleys of California. Gradually, the knowledge of the auriferous soil was borne to the four quarters of the world, and from

all the ports of all nations sails were spread toward the coasts of that wealthy region. As by a magnetic impulse, the sands of the Sacramento attracted population. Lawyers, clergymen, physicians, hotel-keepers, merchants, mechanics, clerks, traders, farmers, left their occupations, and hurried with basket and spade to the land that glittered. Homes and houses were closed; the grass threatened to grow over whole streets; deserted ships swung on their anchors in silent harbors. The garrison of Monterey abandoned arms and took up the pickaxe and the shovel. Trains of wagons constantly streamed from the coast to the interior. Stores and sheds were built along the river bank, and crammed with provisions to be sold at more than famine prices; whole towns of tents and bushy bowers sprang up as if by magic; every dawn rose upon a motley toiling multitude, swarming in every nook and corner of the modern El Dorado, and every night was illuminated by the flames of a thousand bivouacs.

Half-naked Indians, sharp-visaged Yankees in straw hats and loose frocks, groups of swarthy Spanish-Americans, old Dons in the gaudy costume of a dead fashion, gigantic trappers with their rude prairie garb, and gentlemen traders from all the States of the Union, with crowds of Californian women, jostled in tumultuous confusion through the gold district. Every method, from the roughest to the most ingenious, was devised for the rapid accumulation of gold; and the strange spectacle was presented of a vast population, without law, without authority, without restraint, toiling together in amicable companionship. But the duration of this condition of things was brief. Outrages were perpetrated, robbery commenced, blood was shed, and anarchy in its most hideous form appeared. But the United States government soon laid the foundations of order, and prepared a system of regular legislation for California. A severe code was established; thieving incurred the heavy penalty of a brand on the cheek, with mutilation of the ears; other crimes were punished with similar rigor.

Within a period of five months, the population of the territory had run up to one hundred thousand, having just quadrupled during that time. Of these, some forty-five thousand arrived in the nine thousand wagons that traversed the overland route, and four thousand on mule-back, while the remainder came *via* Panama, and round Cape Horn. One-third of this multitude was composed of farmers, another of tradesmen and mechanics, and the rest of merchants, professional men, adventurers, and gamblers. The vast emigrant armies acted as pioneers on their various routes, hewing down trees, filling up chasms, leveling the grounds, and bridging torrents. But the sufferings endured in these colossal caravans were severe and terrible. Many perished on the route; many became insane, or wasted away, through lack of food and water. The scourge of cholera also overtook the early emigrants, before they were fairly embarked on the wilderness; the frequent rains of the early spring, added to the hardships and exposure of their travel, prepared the way for its ravages, and the first four hundred miles of the trail were marked by graves, to the number of about four thousand. Many also suffered immensely for want of food. Bayard Taylor, in his narrative of what befell these pioneer emigrants, says that not only were they compelled to kill their horses and mules to keep themselves from starvation, but it was not unusual for a mess by way of variety to the tough mule steaks, to kill a quantity of rattlesnakes, with which the mountains abounded, and have a dish of them fried for supper.

And still the tide of emigration rolled onward, as the richness of the gold product, over so vast a region of territory, became a confirmed fact. Notwithstanding the oft-told story of deprivation, famine and death, parties and companies daily went forth to El Dorado, the golden land. Some took the perilous inland route across the Rocky mountains; some went

round Cape Horn; and multitudes took the Panama route. The tens of thousands who thus went, having no other object than to get gold, had neither means nor inclination to grow their own food nor to manufacture their own necessaries; and hence arose a field of enterprise which the commercial world did not neglect. Valuable cargoes were dispatched to San Francisco to be there sold in exchange for gold dust, and that place in time became a populous, busy, thriving city, distinguished also for reckless speculation, fabulous prices for real estate, excesses of all kinds, and disastrous conflagrations. During one week in 1850, gold dust to the value of three million dollars was shipped and exported from San Francisco. In August of the same year the monthly shipment had reached about eight million dollars. On September 15, 1850, there were in that port six hundred and eighty-four vessels, belonging to twenty-one different nations; some of these vessels, small in size, had crossed the whole breadth of the Pacific from Australia and New Zealand, to exchange their produce for gold dust. In the first two weeks of October, in the same year, ninety-four vessels arrived at San Francisco, not including the regular steamers.

But the most strange and wonderful spectacle of all, was that exhibited by the money-diggers at their avocation. Men with long-handled shovels delved among clumps of bushes, or by the side of large rocks, never raising their eyes for an instant; others, with pick and shovel, worked among stone and gravel, or with trowels searched under banks and roots of trees, where, if rewarded with small lumps of gold, their eyes suddenly kindled with pleasure, and the search was more intently pursued. In the water, knee, or even waist deep, regardless of the shivering cold, others were washing the soil in the tin pans or the common cradle rocker, whilst the sun poured a hot flood upon their heads. The common rocking machine for separating the gold was at first in great demand, but this was soon superseded by a cradle of ingenious construction; then came crushing mills, of various kinds, for pounding the auriferous quartz; and in time, machinery of the most effective adaptability was universally introduced. This operated powerfully to regulate mining operations, and to give order and stability to affairs generally throughout the territory. Society assumed the most advanced organization, churches everywhere dotted the land, education was fostered, and the political institutions of the country patterned after those of the older states. Agricultural, industrial, and commercial pursuits were entered upon largely and with great success; California was admitted as a state into the Union in 1850; and in only ten years from Marshall's curious and accidental discovery of gold at Sutter's mill, in 1848, the gold product of California had reached a total of six hundred million dollars, and the population had increased from between twenty and thirty thousand souls to six hundred thousand!

XXVI.

VICTORIOUS RACE OF THE YACHT "AMERICA," IN THE GREAT INTERNATIONAL REGATTA.—1851.

She Distances, by Nearly Eight Miles, the Whole Fleet of Swift and Splendid Competitors, and Wins "the Cup of all Nations."—Grandest and Most Exciting Spectacle of the Kind Ever Known.—Queen Victoria Witnesses the Match —Universal Astonishment at the Result.—Admiration Elicited by the "America's" Beautiful Model and Ingenious Rig —Scenes at the "World's Exhibition" at London —Grand Finale Yet to Come Off—Championship of the Sea.—England Sensitive on this Point.—Her Motto, "Rule Britannia!"—George Steers Builds the America.—Commodore Stevens Takes Her to England —His Challenge to All Countries —An International Prize Race.—Eighteen Yachts Entered. —The Scene on Wave and Shore.—All Sails Set: The Signal.—Every Eye on "the Yankee."—Her Leisurely Movements —Allows Herself to be Distanced —Her Quality Soon Shown.—No "Bellying" of Canvas —Amazing Increase of Speed.—All Rivals Passed, One by One.—They Return in Despair.—Great Odds for the America.—Is Visited by Queen Victoria.

On every side was heard the hail, "Is the America first?"—The answer, "YES!"—"What's second?"—The reply, "NOTHING!"—LONDON TIMES.

GRATIFYING, in the highest degree, to the pride of every American, was the announcement that, in the great and exciting international yacht race,—which formed, in an important sense, the *grand finale* of the "Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations," held in London, in 1851,—the victory had been won by the clipper yacht America, of one hundred and seventy tons, built by Mr. George Steers, of Brooklyn, N. Y., and commanded by Commodore John C. Stevens, also of New York. The prize was no less than *"The Cup of all Nations."*

Making but an indifferent show of contributions to the various departments of art, science, and manufactures, at that renowned exposition, the conclusion had become universal, that the United States would gain but little *eclat* in that magnificent congress of the industries of civilization. One trial of championship, however, was yet to be made and determined,—the supremacy, in respect to architectural model, equipment, nautical skill, and power of speed, upon that element, the dominion of which has ever been the coveted achievement of every maritime coun-

try, and of England in particular,—the high claims put forth by the latter being well understood.

How happily it was reserved for the United States to take this honor to herself, in a manner, too, undreamed of by any compeer or rival, will appear from the following history of the great fact, as given at the time by the press of both England and America. Indeed, in respect to the English journals and the English public, it can truly be said, that *fair play and manly acknowledgment of a fair beat were never more honorably exhibited.* And this last-named fact is all the more creditable, when all the circumstances of the case are considered. A large portion of the British peerage and gentry left their residences and forsook their usual diversions, to witness the struggle between the yachtsmen of England, hitherto unmatched and unchallenged, and the Americans who had crossed the Atlantic to meet them. All the feelings of that vast population swarming in British ports and firmly believing in "Rule Britannia," as an article of national faith; all the prejudices of the nobility and wealthy aristocracy, who regarded the beautiful vessels in which they cruised about the channel and visited the shores of the Mediterranean every summer as the perfection of naval architecture, were roused to the highest degree; and even the Queen of England did not deem the occasion unworthy of her presence.

Until the very day, August twenty-second, 1851, of this celebrated contest, no Englishman ever dreamed that any nation could produce a yacht with the least pretensions to match the efforts of White, Camper, Ratsey, and other eminent builders; and in the pages of the *Yacht List* for that very year (1851), there was an assertion which every man within sight of sea water from the Clyde to the Solent would swear to, namely, that "yacht building was an art in which England was unrivaled, and that she was distinguished pre-eminently and alone for the perfection of science in handling them." Of the seventeen yacht clubs in various parts of the united kingdom, not one of them had ever seen a foreigner enter the lists in the annual matches. It was just known that there was an imperial yacht club in St. Petersburg, maintained, it was affirmed, by the imperial treasury, to encourage a nautical spirit among the nobility, and that a few owners of yachts at Rotterdam had enrolled themselves as a club; but, till the America came over, the few who were aware of the fact that there was a flourishing club in New York did not regard it as of the slightest consequence, or as at all likely to interfere with their monopoly of the glory of the manliest of all sports. The few trial runs made by the America, on her arrival in English waters, proved her to be of great speed, and satisfied the English critics that her owners were not so little justified as at first they had been thought, in offering to back an untried vessel against any other yacht for the large sum of fifty thousand dollars, or for a cup or piece of plate. An interesting reminiscence or two, in this connection, related by Colonel Hamilton, a member of the club, may here be given, namely:

There had previously been some talk among the members of the New York yacht club, of a race with the yachts of England, and Mr. W. H. Brown, the well-known and skillful ship-builder, had undertaken to build a schooner that should outsail any other vessel at home or abroad, and he agreed to make the purchase of her contingent upon her success. His offer was accepted by the yacht club. And now, to the master hand and brain of that accomplished architect, GEORGE STEERS, was confided the task of furnishing the model of this — to be — nautical wonder. *The America was built.* Failing, however, in repeated trials, to beat Commodore Stevens's yacht Maria, the club were not bound to purchase. But the liberality of the original offer was so great, in assuming all risk, and the vessel in fact proved herself so fast, that several gentlemen, the commodore at the head, determined to buy

her and send her out. She was accordingly purchased, and sent to Havre, there to await the arrival of the members of the club, who were to sail her, they following in a steamer.

Everything being made ready and completed at Havre, they sailed thence to Cowes, a seaport of the Isle of Wight—the scene of the contemplated regatta. Their arrival was greeted with every hospitality and courtesy, not only by the noblemen and gentlemen of the royal yacht club, but by the officers of government. Lord Palmerston issued an order that the America should be admitted in all the English ports on the footing of English yachts; the custom-houses were all made free to her; and the admiral of the station at

GEORGE STEERS.

Portsmouth offered every assistance and civility. The Earl of Wilton, and the veteran Marquis of Anglesea, the latter eighty years of age, were among the first visitors on board.

When the time for the regatta came, which was to take place on the most dangerous course possible for a stranger—in the waters of the Isle of Wight, with their currents and eddies, familiar only to those accustomed to the water—great solicitude was naturally felt by the Americans, as to the pilot to be employed. Warnings of all sorts, from various quarters, reached them, not to rely too much on any pilot that might offer; and the commodore was naturally perplexed. But here again the English admiral, with an intuitive perception of the difficulty—of which no mention, nevertheless, had ever been made to him—told Commodore Stevens that he would furnish him with a pilot for whom he himself would be answerable. The offer was as frankly accepted as it was honorably made. The pilot came on board, and never, for a moment, was there a suspicion on any mind that he was not thoroughly honest and reliable. Yet, so strong was the distrust among Americans *outside*, that even after the pilot was in charge, the commodore was warned, by letter, not to trust too much to him, and urged to take another pilot to overlook him. But the commodore's own loyalty of character would not entertain such a proposition—he gave his confidence to the pilot the admiral sent him, and it was completely justified.

The London Times said that never, in the history of man, did Cowes present such an appearance as on the eventful day appointed for this race. Upwards of one hundred yachts lay at anchor in the roads; the beach was crowded; and the esplanade in front of the club swarmed with ladies and gentlemen, and with the people inland, who came over in shoals, with wives, sons, and daughters, for the day. Booths were erected all along the quay, and the roadstead was alive with boats, while from sea and shore arose an incessant buzz of voices mingled with the splashing of oars, the flapping of sails, and the hissing of steam, from the excursion vessels preparing to accompany the race. Flags floated from the beautiful villas which stud the wooded coast, and ensign and bargee, rich with the colors of the various clubs or the devices of the yachts, flickered gayly out in the soft morning air. The windows of the houses which commanded the harbor were filled from the parlor to the attic, and the "old salts" on the beach gazed moodily on the low black hull of "the Yankee," and spoke doubtfully of the chances of her competitors. Some thought "the Volante" might prove a teaser if the wind was light; others speculated on "the Alarm" doing mischief, if there was wind enough to bring out the qualities of that

large cutter in beating up to windward and in tacking; while more were of the opinion that the America would carry off the cup, "blow high—blow low." It was with the greatest difficulty the little town gave space enough to the multitudes that came from all quarters to witness an event so novel and interesting. Among the visitors were countless strangers—Frenchmen *en route* for Havre, Germans in quiet wonderment at the excitement around them, and Americans already triumphing in the anticipated success of their countrymen.

Eighteen yachts were entered, and were moored in a double line from Cowes castle, the Beatrice being nearest that point, the America about midway, and the Aurora farthermost. The mist which hung over the fields and woods from sunrise was carried off about nine o'clock by a very gentle breeze from the westward, which veered round a little to the south soon afterwards, and the morning became intensely warm.

At five minutes before ten o'clock, the preparatory gun was fired from the club-house battery, and the yachts were soon sheeted from deck to topmast with clouds of canvas, huge gaff topsails and balloon jibs being greatly in vogue, and the America evincing her disposition to take advantage of her new jib by hoisting it with all alacrity. The whole flotilla, not in the race, were already in motion, many of them stretching down towards Osborne and Ryde, to get a good start of the clippers. Of the yachts that entered, fifteen started, seven of these being schooners and eight cutters.

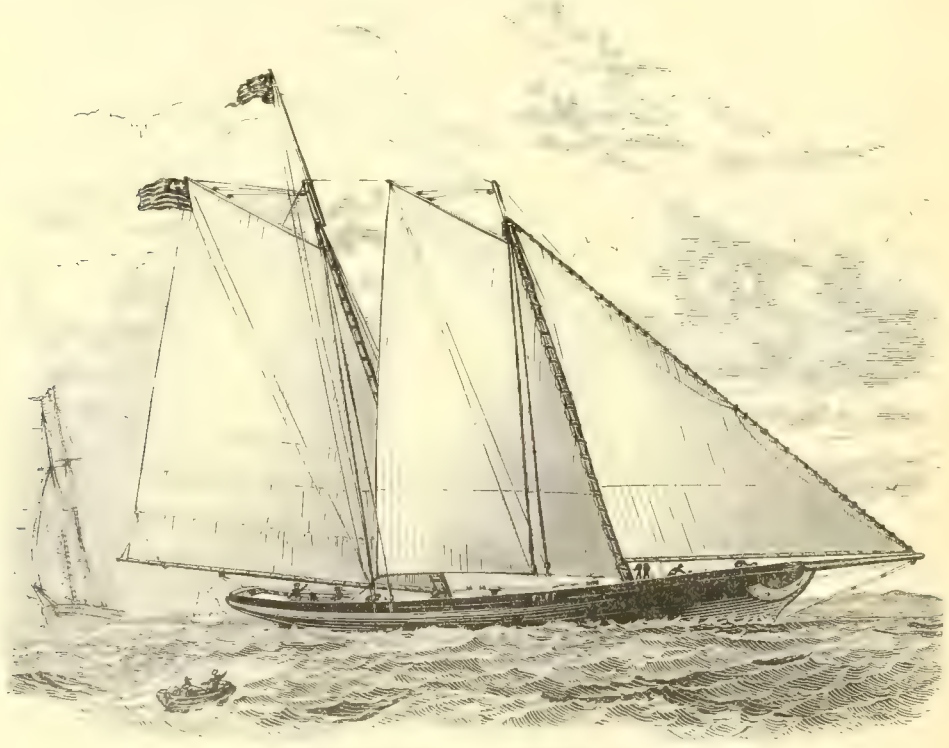
Precisely at ten o'clock, the signal gun for sailing was fired, and before the smoke had well cleared away the whole of the beautiful fleet was under way, moving steadily to the east, with the tide and a gentle breeze. The start was effected splendidly, the yachts breaking away like a field of race-horses; the only laggard was the America, which did not move for a second or so after the others. Steamers, shore-boats, and yachts, of all sizes, buzzed along on each side of the course, and spread away for miles over the rippling sea—a sight such as the Adriatic never beheld in all the pride of Venice—such, indeed, as was never before known in the annals of yachting. Soon after they started, a steamer went off from the roads with the members of the sailing committee —Sir B. Graham, Bart., commodore, of the royal yacht squadron, and other distinguished gentlemen. The American minister, Hon. Abbott Lawrence, and his son, Colonel Lawrence, *attaché* to the American legation, arrived too late for the sailing of the America, but were accommodated on board the steamer, and went round the island in her.

The Gipsey Queen, with all her canvas set and in the strength of the tide, took the lead after starting, with the Beatrice next, and then, with little difference in order, the Volante, Constance, Arrow, and a flock of others. The America went easily for some time under mainsail, (with a small gaff-topsail of a triangular shape, braced up to the truck of the short and slender stick which served as her main-topmast,) foresail, fore-staysail and jib; while her competitors had every cloth set that the club regulations allowed. *She soon began to creep upon them*, passing some of the cutters to windward. In a quarter of an hour she had left them all behind, except the Constance, Beatrice, and Gipsey Queen, which were well together, and went along smartly with the light breeze. Once or twice the wind freshened a little, and at once the America gathered way, and passed ahead of the Constance and Beatrice. Another puff came, and she made a dart to pass the Gipsey Queen, but the wind left her sails, and the little Volante came skimming past her with a stupendous jib, swallowing up all the wind that was blowing. The glorious pageant, passing under Osborne-house, formed a pageant surpassingly fine, the whole expanse of sea, from shore to shore, being filled as it were with a countless fleet, while the dark hull of the Vengeance, eighty-four, in the distance at Spithead, towered in fine relief above the tiny little craft that danced around her;

the green hills of Hampshire, the white batteries of Portsmouth, and the picturesque coast of Wight, forming a fine frame-work for the picture.

As the Volante passed the America, great was the delight of the patriotic, but the nautical knowing ones shook their heads, and said the triumph would be short-lived; the breeze was freshening, and then the sprightly cutter must give way, though she was leading the whole squadron at the time. At half-past ten, the Gipsey Queen caught a draught of wind and ran past the Volante,—the Constance, America, Arrow, and Alarm, being nearly in a line; but in fifteen minutes, the breeze freshened again for a short time and the America passed the Arrow, Constance, and Alarm, but could not shake off the Volante nor come up to the Gipsey Queen, and exclamations were heard of "Well, Brother Jonathan is not going to have it *all* his own way," etc.

Passing Ryde, the excitement on shore was very great, and the vast pier was densely crowded. But the America was forging ahead, and lessening the number of her rivals every moment. The Sandheads were rounded by the Volante, Gipsey Queen, and America, without any perceptible change in point of time, at eleven o'clock, the last being apparently to leeward. Again the wind freshened, and the fast yachts came rushing up before it, the run from the Sandheads being most exciting, and well contested. Here one of the West India mail steamers was observed paddling her best, to come in for some of the fun, and a slight roll of the sea inwards began to impart a livelier motion to the yachts, and to render excursionists, whether male or female, ghastly-looking and uncomfortable.



YACHT AMERICA.—J. C. STEVENS, COM.

The yachts Volante, Freak, Aurora, Gipsey Queen, America, Beatrice, Alarm, Arrow, and Bacchante, were timed off Norman's Land buoy; the other six were staggering about in the rear, and the Wyvern soon afterwards hauled her wind, and went back towards Cowes.

At this point, the wind blew somewhat more steadily, and the America began to show a touch of her quality. Whenever the breeze took the line of her hull, all the sails set as flat as a drumhead, and, without any careening or staggering, she "walked along" past cutter and schooner, and, when off Brading, had left every vessel in the squadron behind her, with the exception of the Volante, which she overtook at half-past eleven, when she very quietly hauled down her jib, — as much as to say she would give her rival every odds,—and laid herself out for the race round the back of the island. The weather showed signs of improvement, as far as yachting was concerned; a few sea-horses waved their crests over the water, the high lands on shore put on their fleecy "nightcaps" of cloud, and the horizon looked delightfully threatening; and now "the Yankee" flew like the wind, leaping over, not against, the water, and increasing her distance from the Gipsey Queen, Volante, and Alarm, every instant. The way her sails were set evinced superiority in the cutting which the English makers would barely allow, but, certain it was, that while the jibs and mainsails of her antagonists were "bellied out," her canvas was as flat as a sheet of paper. No foam, but rather a water-jet rose from her bows; and the greatest point of resistance—for resistance there must be somewhere — seemed about the beam, or just forward of her mainmast, for the seas flashed off from her sides at that point every time she met them. While the cutters were thrashing through the water, sending the spray over their bows, and the schooners were wet up to the foot of the foremast, the America was as dry as a bone. She had twenty-one persons on her deck, consisting of the owners, the crew, cook, and steward, a Cowes pilot, and some seamen. They nearly all sat aft, and, when the vessel did not require any handling, crouched down on the deck by the weather bulwarks. The Gipsey Queen, when a little past Brading, seemed to have carried away her foresail sheets, but even had it not been so, she had lost all chance of success. The America, as the wind increased, and it was now a six-knot breeze, at least, hauled down her wee gaff-topsail, and went away under mainsail, foresail, and fore-staysail, so that it required the utmost the steamer could do to keep alongside of her. *This was her quickest bit of sailing*, for on rounding the east point of the island it was necessary to beat to the westward, in order to get along the back of the Wight.

At 11:37, the Arrow, Bacchante, Constance, and Gipsey Queen, stood away to the north, to round the Nab, imagining that it was requisite to do so, as the usual course was to go outside the lightship, though the cards did not specify it on this occasion. The America and most of the other yachts kept their course round the Foreland and by Bembridge. She ran past the white and black buoys at a tremendous rate, and, at 11:47, tacked to the west, and stood in towards the Culver cliffs, the nearest yacht being at least two miles to leeward or astern of her. She was not very quick in stays on this occasion, and it would seem she was not very regular in that maneuver, sometimes taking a minute, sometimes thirty seconds, to perform it. At 11:58, she stood out again to the south-east, and, having taken a stretch of a mile or so, went about and ran in towards Sandown. The breeze died off at this point, and to keep the cutters and light craft off, the America hoisted her gaff-topsail and jib once more. Under Shanklin Chine the set of the tide ran heavily against her, but still there was nothing to fear, for her rivals were miles away, some almost hull down.

While running under Dunnose, at 12:58, her jib-boom broke short off; it was broken by mismanagement on the part of the men when straining on it with the windlass, and did not snap from the action of the sail. This accident threw her up in the wind, and gave the advantage of about a quarter of an hour to her opponents, while she was gathering in the wreck. But it was of little use to them. Looking away to the east, they were visible at

great distances, standing in shore, or running in and out, most helplessly astern —the Aurora, Freak, and Volante, in spite of light winds and small tonnage, being two or three miles behind. The wind fell off very much for more than an hour, and it was but weary work stretching along the coast against a baffling tide, every moment making the loss of her jib of greater consequence to the America.

"CUP OF ALL NATIONS," WON BY THE AMERICA.

At about 3 : 20, the breeze freshened, and the America, still some miles ahead, slipped along on her way, making tacks with great velocity, and standing well up to windward. Her superiority was so decided that *several of the yachts wore, and went back again to Cowes in despair;* and, for some time, the America increased her distance every second, the Aurora, Freak, and Volante, keeping in a little squadron together — tack for tack — and running along close under the cliffs. This was rather unfortunate in one respect, for, in going about, the Freak fouled the Volante and carried away her jib-boom; and the boatman's pet became thereby utterly disabled, and lost the small glimpse of fortune which the light winds might have given her.

Meanwhile, minute after minute, "the Yankee" was gaining ground, and at 3 : 30 was flying past St. Lawrence towards Old Castle, while the Bacchante and Eclipse, which had been working along honestly and steadily, were about two and a half miles to leeward behind her. Further away still, were visible five or six yachts, some hull down, some dipped further still, digging into the tideway as hard as they could, and lying into the wind as well as their sails might stand it.

By this time, the America had got the wind on her quarter, having gone around Rocken-end, and thus having a tolerably fair course from the south to north-west, up to the Needles, the wind being light and the water somewhat broken. The persons on board the steamers were greatly astonished at seeing ahead of the America, after she had rounded Rocken-end, a fine cutter with a jib and foresail together— "two single gentleman rolled into one," bowling away with all speed, as if racing away for her life, and it was sometime before they could be persuaded she was not the Aurora; but she was in reality the Wildfire, forty-two tons, which was taking a little share in the match to herself, and had passed the End at 3 : 40. The America, however, bore straight down for the cutter, which was thoroughly well-sailed, and passed her after a stern chase of more than an hour, though the Wildfire, when first sighted, was reckoned to be some two and a half miles ahead.

At 5 : 40, the Aurora, the nearest yacht, was fully seven and one-half miles astern, the Freak being about a mile more distant, and the rest being "nowhere." The America was at this time close to the Needles, upon which she was running with a light breeze all in her favor.

Two of the excursion steamers ran into Alum Bay, and anchored there to see the race round the Needles. While waiting there in intense anxiety for the first vessel that should shoot round the immense pillars of chalk and limestone which bear the name, the passengers were delighted to behold the Victoria and Albert, with the royal standard at the main, and the Lord Admiral's flag at the fore, steaming round from the north-west, followed by the Fairy, and the little dock-yard tender. Her majesty, Prince Albert, and the royal family, were visible by the aid of a glass from the deck of the steamers. The royal yacht went past the Needles, accompanied by the Fairy, at 5:35, but quickly returned, and at 5:45 lay to, off Alum Bay. The Fairy was signaled to proceed round the Needles, to bring tidings of the race, and at once started on her errand.

But all doubt and speculation, if any there could have been, was soon removed by the appearance of the America hauling her wind round the cliff, at 5:50. The breeze fell dead under the shore, and the America lowered out her foresail and forestaysail so as to run before it. All the steamers weighed and accompanied her, giving three cheers as she passed, a compliment which owners and crews acknowledged with uncovered heads and waving hats. At 6:04 the Wildfire rounded the Needles, and bore away after the schooner, which by this time had got almost in a line with the Victoria and Albert; and, though it is not usual to recognize the presence of her majesty on such occasions as a racing match—no more, indeed, than a jockey would pull up his horse to salute the queen, when in the middle of his stride,—the America instantly lowered her ensign, blue with white stars, the commodore took off his hat, and all his crew, following his order and example, remained with uncovered heads for some minutes, till they had passed the royal yacht. The steamers, as she passed on, renewed their cheering.

On turning towards the Needles, at 6:30, not a sail was in sight, but the breeze was so very light that all sailing might be said to have finished; and it was evident that the America had won the cup, unless some light cutter ran up with a breeze in the dusk and slipped past her. The steamers returned towards Cowes, and the royal yacht, having run close by the America under half-steam for a short distance, went on towards Osborne. Off Cowes were innumerable yachts, and on every side was heard the hail, "*Is the America first?*" — The answer, "*Yes.*" "What's second?"—The reply, "*Nothing.*"

As there was no wind, the time consumed in getting up from Hurst Castle to the winning flag was very considerable, the America's arrival first not having been announced by gunfire till 8:37. The Aurora, which slipped up very rapidly after rounding the Needles, in consequence of her light tonnage and a breath of wind, was signaled at 8:45; the Bacchante at 9:30; the Eclipse at 9:45; the Brilliant at 1:20 a. m., August 23d. The rest were not timed. Thus the America made good all her professions, and to Commodore Stevens was presented, by the royal yacht squadron, the well-won cup.

On the evening after the race there was a splendid display of fire-works by land and water along the club-house esplanade, at which thousands of persons were present. A re-union also took place at the club-house, and the occasion was taken of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence's presence to compliment him on the success of his countrymen; to which his excellency made a suitable reply, humorously remarking that, though he could not but be proud of his fellow-citizens, he still felt it was but the children giving a lesson to the father —and if the America should be purchased by English friends, the Yankees would nevertheless try to build something better in New York, so as to beat even her!

The queen having intimated her desire to inspect the America, the latter sailed from Cowes to Osborne, where the Victoria and Albert also dropped down. As the queen, with Prince Albert, and suite, neared

the America, the national colors of that vessel were dipped, out of respect to her majesty, and raised again when she had proceeded on board. The queen made a close inspection of the vessel, attended by Commodore Stevens, Colonel Hamilton, and the officers of the yacht, remaining half an hour on board, and expressing great admiration of the famous schooner. Indeed, the America's beautiful and ingenious model, and her remarkable sailing qualities, were the astonishment of everybody.

The triumph of the America was due alike to her superior model and to the unique cut and fit of her sails. The first thing that met the eye, whether the vessel was afloat or in dock, was the position of the greatest transverse section—in appearance situated at about ten-seventeenths of her whole length from forward; at this section, the bottom was nearly straight for several feet out from the keel, while the two sides included an angle of about one hundred degrees. At the forepart, her appearance contrasted strangely with the observances of modern ship-building, namely, the avoidance of hollow waterlines, hers being very concave, and her forefoot exceedingly short, or, in other words, the lower part of the stem and gripe forming a long curve, and therefore only a small rudder being needed; in consequence of this, there was, in steering, but little impediment opposed to her passage through the water; the great draught of her water aft, eleven feet four inches, with only six feet forward, added also to her facility in steering. Any defect that might be expected to result from this in sailing on a wind, was quite avoided by her great depth of keel,—two feet two inches amidships. The copper was placed upon her bottom with great care, and every possible projection avoided, in order to diminish the friction in passing through the water. But by far the most distinguishing feature of the America was the set of her sails. The bellying of the sails of yachts universally — not only when running free, but also when sailing on a wind—was, in the case of the America, avoided to a very great extent, and from this arose much of her superiority.

SUMMARY OF RACES FOR THE AMERICA'S CUP.

DATE.	Course.	American yacht.	Time.	English yacht.	Time.	Result.
			H. M. S.		H. M. S.	M. S.
Aug. 22, 1851.	Around Isle of Wight	America	10 37 00	Aurora . . .	10.55 00.	American boat first home by 18.00.
Aug. 8, 1870.	New York Y. C. course	Magic	3.58 26	Cambria.....	4.37 38	American boat won by 38 12.
Oct. 16, 1871.	New York Y. C. course	Columbia.	6 19 41	Livonia.....	6 46 45	American boat won by 27 04.
Oct. 18, 1871.	20 m. windward and back.	Columbia.	3.07 42	Livonia	3 18 15	American boat won by 10.33.
Oct. 19, 1871.	New York Y. C. course....	Columbia*.	4 17.35	Livonia	4.02.25	English boat won by *15.10.
Oct. 21, 1871.	20 m. windward and back	Sappho....	5 39 02	Livonia.....	6 09.23	American boat won by 30.21.
Oct. 23, 1871.	New York Y. C. course.	Sappho....	4 46.17.	Livonia.....	5.11.44.	American boat won by 25.27.
Aug. 11, 1876.	New York Y. C. course.....	Madeleine.	5.23.54	Countess of Dufferin....	5.34.53.	American boat won by 10.59.
Aug. 12, 1876.	20 m. windward and back	Madeleine	7.18.46	Countess of Dufferin....	7.46 00	American boat won by 27.14.
Nov. 9, 1881..	New York Y. C. course	Mischief...	4.17.09	Atlanta	4.45 39	American boat won by 28.30.
Nov. 10, 1881..	16 m. leeward and back.....	Mischief...	4.54 53	Atlanta	5 33 47	American boat won by 38.54.
Sept. 14, 1885..	New York Y. C. course	Puritan...	6.06 05	Genesta	6 22.24	American boat won by 16.19.
Sept. 16, 1885..	20 m. leeward and back	Puritan	5.03.14	Genesta	5 04.52	American boat won by 1.38.
Sept. 9, 1886..	New York Y. C. course.....	Mayflower.	5.26 41	Galatea	5 38.43	American boat won by 12.02.
Sept. 11, 1886..	20 m. leeward and back.....	Mayflower.	6.49 00	Galatea	7.18 09	American boat won by 29.09.
Sept. 27, 1887..	New York Y. C. course.	Volunteer..	4 53 18	Thistle	5 12.41	American boat won by 19.23.
Sept. 30, 1887..	20 m. windward and back...	Volunteer..	5 42.56	Thistle	5 54 45	American boat won by 11.48.
Oct. 7, 1893..	15 m. windward and back...	Vigilant...	4.05 47	Valkyrie II..	4 11 35	American boat won by 5.48.
Oct. 9, 1893..	30 m. triangular course.....	Vigilant...	3.25.01	Valkyrie II .	3 35 36	American boat won by 10.35.
Oct. 13, 1893..	15 m. windward and back...	Vigilant...	3.24 39	Valkyrie II ..	3 25 19	American boat won by 40
Sept. 7, 1895..	15 m. windward and back...	Defender..	4.59 54	Valkyrie III	5 08 44	American boat won by 8.49.
Sept. 10, 1895..	30 m. triangular course	Defender..	3 55 56	Valkyrie III†	Disqu'fied	American boat won on foul
Sept. 12, 1895 .	15 m. leeward and back	Defender..	4.43 43	Valkyrie III	Withdrew	American boat had walk over
Oct. 16, 1899..	15 m. windward and back...	Columbia..	4 53 53	Shamrock I...	5 04 01	American boat won by 10 08.
Oct. 17, 1899..	30 m. triangular course	Columbia..	3 27 00	Shamrock I...	Disabled.	American boat had walk over.
Oct. 20, 1899..	15 m. leeward and back.....	Columbia..	3 38 09	Shamrock I .	3.44 43	American boat won by 6 34.
Sept. 28, 1901..	15 m. windward and back...	Columbia..	4.30 24	Shamrock II .	4.31.44	American boat won by 1 20.
Oct. 3, 1901..	30 m. triangular course.....	Columbia..	3.12.35	Shamrock II	3 16.10	American boat won by 3.35.
Oct. 4, 1901..	15 m. leeward and back	Columbia..	4 32.57	Shamrock II‡	4 33 38	American boat won by †41.
Aug. 22, 1903..	15 m. windward and back...	Reliance...	3.32.17	Shamrock III	3 39 20	American boat won by 7.03.
Aug. 27, 1903..	30 m. triangular course.....	Reliance....	3.14.54	Shamrock III	3 16.13	American boat won by 1.19.
Sept. 3, 1903..	15 m. leeward and back.....	Reliance....	4 28 06	Shamrock III		English boat lost in fog.

* Columbia disabled.

† Valkyrie finished first, but race awarded American boat on account of foul.

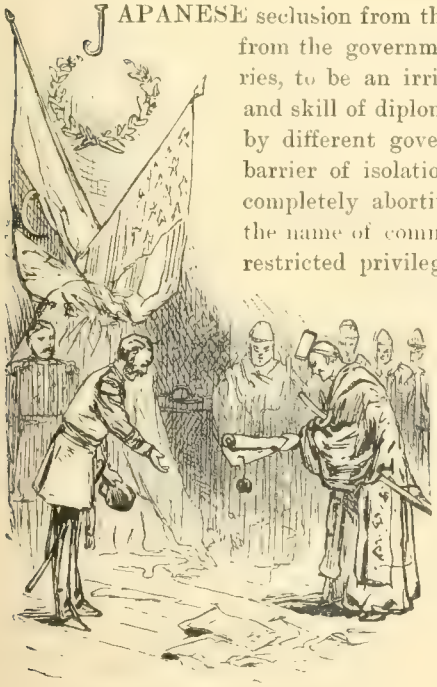
‡ Shamrock II finished first, but lost race on time allowance of 48 s.

XXVII.

NAVAL EXPEDITION TO JAPAN, UNDER COMMODORE M. C. PERRY.—1852.

Negotiations to be Opened for Unsealing the Ports of that Empire to America.—Letter of Friendship from the President of the United States to the Emperor.—Distinguished Favor Shown the Representatives of the Great Republic.—Ceremonies, Entertainments, and Diplomatic Conferences.—Treaty of Peace Amity, and Commercial Intercourse Concluded —Former Japanese Isolation Policy.—Exclusive Privileges to the Dutch.—Effects of this restriction.—European Efforts to Change it.—Mission of Commodore Biddle.—Seeks the Release of United States Sailors.—Ordered to Depart Forthwith.—Firm Conduct of Captain Glynn.—Contempt for Japanese Etiquette.—Champagne as a Mediator.—Commodore Perry's Fine Fleet.—The Letter in a Golden Box —Its Presentation to the Emperor —Commissioners Meet Commodore Perry.—Their Attire, Manners, Etc —The Conference in Session.—Friendliness of the Japanese.—Civilities and Festivals.—Reception on the Flag-Ship.—Substance of the Treaty.—A Talk with the Emperor.—More Privileges Extended.

"I have directed Commodore Perry to assure your imperial majesty that I entertain the kindest feelings towards your majesty's person and government, and that I have no other object in sending him to Japan but to propose to your imperial majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship and have commercial intercourse with each other."—THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO THE EMPEROR.



TREATY OF PEACE, AMITY, ETC.

JAPANESE seclusion from the rest of the nations of the earth, and especially from the governments representing the same, seemed, for centuries, to be an irritating problem, defying the utmost ingenuity and skill of diplomacy to solve; and the various attempts, made by different governments, to break through this impenetrable barrier of isolation, were, until a period comparatively recent, completely abortive,—the only approach to anything deserving the name of commercial intercourse with that country being a restricted privilege to trade at one or two points, granted for a time to the Portuguese, and subsequently to the Dutch, but, in each case, upon conditions most humiliating to the parties thus favored by the Japanese.

But it is a fact which would seem not to admit of any doubt, that this practice of jealous seclusion is fostered rather by the ruling classes, than by the masses of the people, and, therefore, foreign nations have felt all the more justified in endeavoring to break down a policy so manifestly at war with the rights and interests of the human race. Providence having bestowed the whole earth on the children of men, such isolation is defeating alto-

gether that beneficent purpose; for, should other nations follow the example of Japan, and refuse to communicate with their neighbors, there would be an end of all commerce, of all progress, of all civilization,—industry would be smitten with paralysis, and men would regard the inhabitants of adjoining countries as enemies.

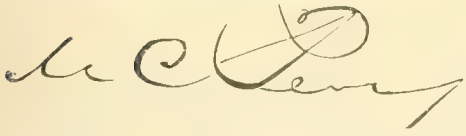
Of the efforts put forth by European nations to establish commercial and political fraternity with Japan, no rehearsal need be here made. On the part of the United States, negotiations were undertaken during the administration of President Polk, through Commodore Biddle, but with no success of a permanent character. The commodore had been especially charged with the duty of bringing home several American sailors, who, having escaped from the wreck of their whale-ship, succeeded in reaching the Japanese coast, but were forthwith imprisoned. As illustrating the rules and conduct of the singular people into whose good graces the commodore thus essayed to propitiate himself, the following circumstances, as related by Mr. Secretary Kennedy and others, will both amuse and instruct, and form a fit preliminary to the account of Commodore Perry's subsequent visit:—

As soon as Commodore Biddle had anchored in the bay of Yeddo, a junk, with the officials of the empire, came out to his ship, having with them a Dutch interpreter. Biddle told the dignitaries that the vessels came with good will, to learn whether Japan had, like China, opened her ports to foreign trade; and, if she had, to negotiate a treaty of commerce. The dignitaries requested that this statement should be reduced to writing, for transmission to the higher authorities. He also stated that all needed supplies would be furnished, but refused any permission to land. In about a week, an officer with a suite of eight persons came on board with the emperor's letter, which read thus: "According to the Japanese laws, the Japanese may not trade except with the Dutch and Chinese. It will not be allowed that America make a treaty with Japan or trade with her, as the same is not allowed with any other nation. Concerning strange lands, all things are fixed at Nagasaki, but not here in the bay; therefore you must depart as quick as possible, and not come any more to Japan." Biddle's instructions being not to do anything "to excite a hostile feeling, or distrust to the United States," he was compelled to refrain from any compulsory proceedings.

It so happened, that when the junk, with the officials, made the visit to the commodore's vessel, as above described, one of the American officers stepped on board; but, in consequence of his having violated Japanese etiquette by boarding a government junk before the official bell had been rung, a Japanese knocked him overboard, and the junk returned to the shore. The officer, very naturally thinking himself badly used, demanded an apology. The next day, therefore, the commodore received a message stating that the Japanese who had knocked the American over the gangway, would be sent on board with his father and mother, brothers and sisters, grandmother, wife, and wife's sister, and that *they would all rip themselves open before the captain, for his satisfaction.* But the captain did not want to witness that sort of satisfaction, and, as he could not ascertain anything about the prisoners, he set sail for home. The Japanese entertained a very poor opinion of the American people, in consequence of the conduct of the captain on that occasion—a nation, they thought, that would not allow men to rip themselves open, must be a nation of cowards. The next squadron to Japan was directed by Captain Glynn, who determined to make an example of the Japanese.

As soon, therefore, as the American ship approached the shore, a junk came off to her, and, when near enough, a parchment was extended towards the ship's officers on a reed. The captain took the parchment and threw it into the water. In an instant, four or five Japanese jumped overboard and recovered the parchment, be-

cause, as the captain was told afterwards, they would have been ripped open if the parchment had been lost. As the anchorage usually allotted to foreigners did not please Captain Glynn, he moved towards a more convenient haven. Suddenly, a voice in the junk shouted, "You must go no furder—you must go no furder!" The captain, on hearing his own language, said to the speaker, "You are the very man I want." He hove to and got the man on deck. "Who are you, sir?" asked the captain. "I am the interpreter," said he. "Are you one of the big men of this country?" asked Glynn. He answered in the negative, but told the captain that he must go no nearer the shore, as it was contrary to the Japanese laws to do so.



"Stranger," said the captain, "I'll go just where I please, and I don't mean to speak to any one on the island under the prince or governor." So, onward he sailed, till he came to a place that suited him, where he dropped his anchor. Next day the prince of the district, with a great cortege, consisting of about fifty men in yellow robes, was seen walking along the shore.

They soon entered a junk, and approached the ship. The yellow men entered first, and as soon as they did so they put their heads to the deck and kept them there. When the great functionary entered, instead of going aft, as is the practice with Americans, he walked forward. Glynn went up to him, clapped him on the shoulder, and said, "Look you here, friend, you must come the other way." The Japanese officers and men were astonished at this audacious familiarity of the Americans, and thought that their prince was going to be martyred. It is customary in Japanese state junks, to have an elevated platform forward, and that is the place of honor. The Japanese officer was surprised, therefore, on going on the quarter-deck of the strange ship, to see that no platform had been provided; and so, after looking round for the seat of honor, he went to the helm and perched himself on the rudder post. Glynn sent for a chair, and pointed to it, and in language which, though not to be found in manuals of politeness, was at least very perspicuous, bade him put himself into it. "Now," said he, turning to the interpreter, "tell him that!" The interpreter replied that he could not do so, as such a remark from him would insure his being ripped open on the spot. The captain told him that if he didn't obey him he would blow his brains out. So the interpreter, as a choice of evils, complied with the command. As soon as the prince had seated himself, the captain ordered a bottle of sherry wine, of which he offered him a glass. The interpreter said, "the prince never drinks." "He is with *me* now, and he *must* drink," replied Glynn. The prince put the glass to his lips, but did not drink the liquor. The captain then turned round to the interpreter and asked, "Will you have it?" He replied in the negative. The captain then offered champagne. When the prince saw how it sparkled, his scruples vanished, and he drank it off. The captain filled another and yet another glass, which the prince enjoyed infinitely. When the captain saw that he had pleased the prince, he told him, through the interpreter, that he had come for the American prisoners, and they must be given up immediately. The prince said forty days would be required to send to Yeddo for them. Glynn replied, "I must sail in three days, and I must have them then." After some demur,

four days were allowed, at which time the prisoners were returned.

In dispatching the expedition under Commodore Perry, the object of the United States government was to obtain some definite stipulations, in the form of a treaty, for mutual commercial transactions, between the two countries; and, in order to suitably impress the Japanese with the serious character of the movement, the fleet sent out was composed of some of the finest and most formidable ships in the American navy, carrying a large number of sailors and marines, and more than the usual complement of guns, mostly heavy ordnance. Each of the steamers mounted a couple of Paixhan shell-guns, of the largest caliber, and placed on revolving trucks, so as to sweep the horizon,—these guns being intended to be used for the discharge of shells of sixty-eight and one hundred and twenty pounds each, and long forty-twos, making twenty-two guns to each steamer. Every ship was provided with two brass twenty-four-pound field pieces.

With this splendid display of naval power, Commodore Perry sailed from the United States, in the steamship Mississippi, November 24, 1852, touched at Madeira and the Cape of Good Hope, reached Hong Kong in April, 1853, and thence sailed for Japan. After uniting all the vessels of the squadron, Perry, leading the fleet in the flag-ship Susquehanna, made Cape Idzu on the eighth of July. Their first anchorage and intercourse with the natives was near the town of Uraga. On the fourteenth, Prince Iwami gave Commodore Perry a formal reception on shore, and took charge of the president's letter to the emperor.

This letter, which was written by Hon. Edward Everett, secretary of state, and signed by President Fillmore, was beautifully engrossed on parchment and deposited in a gold-mounted box of superb workmanship and costing a thousand dollars. The excellent spirit in which it was couched will appear from the opening sentences, namely: "*Great and Good Friend:* I send you this public letter by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, an officer of the highest rank in the navy of the United States, and commander of the squadron now visiting your imperial majesty's dominions. I have directed Commodore Perry to assure your imperial majesty that I entertain the kindest feelings towards your majesty's person and government, and that I have no other object in sending him to Japan but to propose to your imperial majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship and have commercial intercourse with each other. The Constitution and laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the tranquillity of your imperial majesty's dominions;" etc. In this friendly and respectful strain was the whole of the presidential letter written.

Abundant time having been given the Japanese authorities to decide upon what course they would pursue, the American squadron, which had temporarily withdrawn, now re-appeared in the bay of Yeddo. As soon as they had anchored, a number of Japanese officers went on board the flag-ship to welcome the commodore and his officers back, and to inform him that preparations had been made for his reception at Uraga, where an answer from the emperor to the president's letter would be delivered to him, and begged that he would move his squadron down to that place. To this, the commodore, through the captain of the fleet, peremptorily refused to accede, on the ground that the anchorage there was too much exposed at such a season of the year, and even intimated that he might have to go up to Yeddo, the imperial capital!

Several days passed in fruitless arguments on the part of the Japanese to induce the commodore to yield this point. In the meantime, the surveying party had been actively employed, and, as the Japanese began to assume an independent

and intractable tone, a signal was thrown out and the squadron moved up the bay, to a position ten or twelve miles above the 'American Anchorage,' and in front of the city of Kanagawa. Boats were immediately dispatched to make further examinations of the channel in the direction of the capital; but before they returned, the dignitaries from Uraga arrived, and, forgetting their pertinacious obstinacy of a few hours previously, good-humoredly begged that an officer might be sent with them to select a suitable anchorage and place of reception somewhere in the vicinity of where the squadron lay. The commodore assenting to this, the village of Yokohama was chosen on account of the excellent shelter afforded by its harbor.

The squadron then present, consisting of the steam-frigates Powhatan, Susquehanna, and Mississippi, sloops-of-war Macedonian, Vandalia, and Saratoga, and store-ships Southampton and Lexington, anchored in a line off the town, and the Japanese set to work with a will to erect suitable buildings for the conferences.

On the eighth of March, the accommodations being completed, the commodore, by appointment, landed with a suite of officers and an escort of five hundred seamen and marines. He was received by five commissioners appointed by the emperor to confer with him, consisting of the supreme counselor, the prince of Tsa-Sima, the prince of Mimi-Saki, a member of the board of revenue, and one other officer of high rank. The seamen and marines were all armed, and, with drums beating, colors flying, bands playing at intervals, and salutes fired on the arrival of the officials, the scene was indeed a striking one. Thousands of Japanese soldiers crowded the shore and neighboring heights, looking on with curious interest. The house was a plain frame-building, containing one large room—the audience hall—and several smaller ones for the convenience of attendants, etc. The floor was covered with mats, and very prettily painted screens adorned the sides. Long tables and benches, covered with red woolen stuff, placed parallel to each other, three handsome braziers, filled with burning charcoal, on the floor between them, and a few violet-colored crape hangings suspended from the ceiling, completed the furniture of the room. The Americans took their seats at one of the tables, and the Japanese commissioners placed themselves at the other table opposite; while behind them both, seated on the floor on their knees—their usual position, as they do not use chairs—was a crowd of Japanese officers, forming the train of the commissioners. The business was carried on in the Dutch language, through interpreters.

First of all, after an exchange of compliments, the communication from the emperor to the president of the United States was delivered in due form by the commissioners, and then they expressed themselves prepared to commence discussions upon the various points contained in the president's letter, and also to receive any further propositions that might be made,—the commissioners stating that, in the determination of the emperor to make some modification in their laws of seclusion, he relied upon the friendly disposition of the Americans towards Japan, and, as such negotiations were entirely novel to them, they would trust with confidence to the commodore's superior experience, to his generosity, and his sense of justice. A real desire was manifested by the Japanese to cultivate friendly feelings with their guests; in fact, the general bearing of the people had already convinced the Americans that Japanese distrust of them had measurably worn away.

Refreshments were served in elegantly lacquered dishes—first of all, tea, which, as in China, is the constant beverage; then different kinds of candy and sponge cake; and, lastly, oranges, and a palatable liquor, distilled from rice, and called saki. What was left on their plates, by the Americans, at the close, was wrapped in paper, and given them to carry away, according to the usual custom in Japan. The commissioners were intelligent looking men,

richly dressed in gay silk petticoat pantaloons, and upper garments resembling in shape ladies' short gowns. Dark-colored stockings, and two elegant swords, pushed through a twisted silk girdle, finished the costume. Straw sandals are worn, but are always slipped off on entering the house. They do not cover the head, the top and front part of which is shaved, and the back and side hair, being brought up, is tied so as to form a tail, three or four inches long, that extends forward upon the bald pate, terminating about half way between the apex and the forehead; this is beautiful locomotive, tender, and passenger car, one-fourth the ordinary size, also a mile of magnetic telegraph, the operations of which were exhibited on shore. These excited a great deal of interest among the Japanese, particularly the telegraph, when they came to comprehend its utility in the transmission of intelligence, communications being made in their presence in the English, Japanese, and Dutch languages. They were also delighted with the railroad, when they saw the engine and car flying along the track at the rate of twenty miles an hour, but thought it would be impossi-

NAVAL EXPEDITION TO JAPAN UNDER COMMODORE M. C. PERRY.

a very comfortable fashion, and, were it not for the quantity of grease used in it, would be a cleanly one.

The negotiations proceeded harmoniously, but, on account of the exacting ceremony peculiar to the Japanese, very slowly. Thus, a question proposed had to pass first through the interpreters, and then through several officers ascending in rank, before it could reach the commissioners, every one bowing his head to the floor before he addressed his superiors. Among the presents intended for the emperor was a small railroad track, with a ble to construct them to advantage in Japan, owing to the very uneven surface of the country!

The policy of the commodore had been, on both this and his former visit, to observe a strict exclusiveness, and the Japanese were, on all occasions, given to understand that, with a desire on the part of the Americans to establish friendly relations, no unworthy restrictions or exactions would be submitted to; that they came among them not to beg, but to dispense favors; that, conscious of the power of their government, they were,

nevertheless, desirous of meeting them on equal and honorable terms, and upon no other conditions whatever could they consent to hold amicable intercourse with them. The favorable effect of this course was very apparent; they were glad to be admitted on board the ships, and the commissioners offered no objections to the officers strolling about the country in the neighborhood of the anchorage.

Whilst the negotiations were pending, the commodore gave an entertainment to the commissioners, on board the flag-ship. They also visited other vessels of the squadron. The engines of the steamers were put in motion, that their operation might be witnessed. The ships' companies were drilled at general quarters, and attention was called to the caliber of the heavy guns in use among western nations. Their usual stoicism and self-possession were not proof against such novelties, and they were unable to withhold their admiration and surprise. During the entertainment, toasts to the emperor and the president were drank with all the honors, the guests did ample justice to the sumptuous dinner, and the company did not disperse until a very late hour.

At length, after much diplomacy on the part of the Japanese, — the Americans strenuously refusing to accept any proposition to go to Nagasaki,—a treaty of amity, peace, and commerce, was agreed to and ratified, three copies in Japanese being delivered to Commodore Perry, and three copies in English, signed by himself, with Dutch and Chinese translations, being delivered to the imperial commissioners. Article first of the treaty established peace and amity between the United States and Japan; article second assigned the ports of Simoda, in the principality of Idzu, and of Hakodadi, in the principality of Matsmai, for the reception of American ships, and where they might obtain wood, water, provisions, and coal, payment to be made in gold and silver; articles third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, provide for good treatment, security to property, etc., in the case of American vessels and crews shipwrecked on the coast; article seventh provided that ships of the United States resorting to the ports opened to them, should be permitted to exchange gold and silver coin, and articles of goods, for other articles of goods, under such regulations as the Japanese government might temporarily establish for that purpose, it being also stipulated that the ships of the United States should be permitted to carry away whatever articles they received in exchange. These articles were the most important embraced in the treaty, which was signed March 31, 1854. The treaty privileges thus obtained by Commodore Perry for the United States, were the most liberal and advantageous of any which, up to that time, had been accorded by Japan to a foreign people; but the same or equal privileges were afterwards permitted to other nations, and, subsequently, new treaties were made with the United States, greatly enlarging the liberty of trade.

As already stated above, one of the articles of the treaty gave to citizens of the United States the right of free access to the two Japanese ports of Simoda and Hakodadi, and, with this, unrestricted liberty in the surrounding country embraced by a radius of about sixteen English miles. These, with some other stipulations of a certain character, it was thought desirable to make a practical test of, before the departure of the squadron from the waters of Japan.

Accordingly, a few days after the conclusion of the treaty, which were occupied in completing the surveys on hand of portions of Yeddo Bay, the ships sailed for Simoda, it being a short distance to the south and westward,—a capital harbor, and surrounded by a charming and highly cultivated country. Accustomed to a system of unrelenting espionage, it required much patience and address to bring the inhabitants to a proper appreciation of the new condition of things; but in a short time, however, the movements of the officers and men about the city and coun-

try became as unhampered and safe as in any part of the United States.

After making an accurate survey of the harbor and its approaches, the squadron sailed for Hakodadi; and, although six weeks had elapsed since the signing of the treaty, the authorities protested that they had heard nothing of it, and consequently nothing of the intended visit of the squadron, and gave as an evidence that the women and children had all fled to the interior, frightened at the approach of the ships off the harbor. On delivering a letter from the commissioners, however, and showing them the treaty, their anxiety was at once allayed, and all were very kindly received. The deputies dispatched from Yeddo, by the commissioners, to meet the commodore at Hokodadi, did not arrive till he was on the eve of sailing, and stated that they had been upwards of fifty days on the road, although the distance by the air line was less than four hundred miles. Still, the intercourse with the authorities and inhabitants had been very satisfactory, and the parting was one of sincere mutual regret.

The subsequent treaty, made by Mr. Townsend Harris, United States consul-general at Japan, secured several additional ports to American commerce. Mr. Harris was in direct contact with the emperor, at Yeddo, during a portion of the time employed in negotiating this treaty, —a contact as interesting as it was unique. Mr. Harris states that after passing through the various fortified gateways, up to the gate of the palace itself, he was received at the entrance by two chamberlains, who conducted him to an apartment where a chair had been placed for his use. Tea, bon-bons, and other refreshments, were offered, and a large number of princes came to be presented to him. Passing through a large hall, in which some three or four hundred nobles of the empire, all dressed in their court costume, were kneeling, all silent and motionless as statues, Mr. Harris entered the supreme audience chamber. At this moment, a chamberlain called out, 'Merrican Embassador,' and then the prince of Sinano threw himself down and crawled along, as the consul walked in. Advancing up the room, and making three bows as he proceeded, Mr. Harris halted at the head of two lines of men, who were prostrate on their faces; those on the right were members of the council of state, with the prince of Bittsu at their head, and those on the left were brothers of the emperor.

His majesty was seated on a chair placed on a dais, elevated some three feet above the floor of the chamber. He was dressed in yellow silk, and wore a black lacquered cap of indescribable peculiarity. After a short pause, the consul made an address to the emperor; and, after a similar pause, his majesty replied in a clear and pleasant voice. At the close of the emperor's speech, the consul's secretary passed the president's letter intended for the emperor to Mr. Harris; the latter removed the silk cover—striped, red and white,—opened the box, and displayed the writing to the prince of Bittsu, who now stood up, and then, closing the box, Mr. Harris handed it to the prince, who placed it on a lacquered stand, prepared for the purpose. The prince again became prostrate, and then the emperor bowed to the consul, smiling pleasantly as he did so. This ended the audience, and Mr. Harris retired from the room, still facing the emperor, and making the customary three bows.

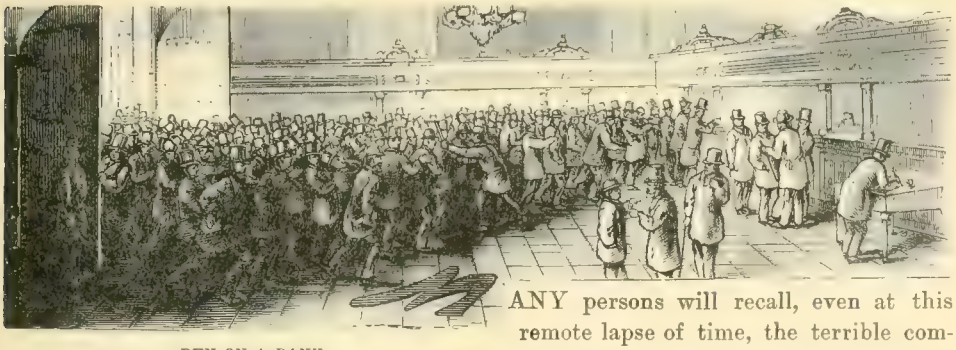
From the audience chamber, the consul was taken to another room, where the great councilors of state congratulated him on the interview just held, and expressed much wonder and astonishment at what they called his 'greatness of heart.' On asking their meaning, they told the consul that they were filled with admiration to see him stand erect, look the awful 'tycoon' in the face, speak plainly to him, hear his reply—and all this without any trepidation, or any 'quivering of the muscles of the side!'

XXVIII.

TERRIBLE CRISIS IN THE BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL WORLD.—1857.

Known as "the Great Panic."—A Sudden, Universal Crash in the Height of Prosperity.—Caused by Wild Speculations and Enormous Debt.—Suspension of Banks all Over the Country.—Failure of the Oldest and Wealthiest Houses.—Fortunes Swept Away in a Day.—Prostration of Every Branch of Industry.—Prolonged Embarrassment, Distrust, and Suffering.—The Panic of 1837 a Comparison.—Extravagance and High Prices.—Chimerical Railroad Schemes.—Mania for Land Investments.—Reckless Stock Gambling.—Western Paper Cities.—Fabulous Prices for "Lots."—Money Absorbed in this Way.—Bursting of the Bubble.—The First Great Blow.—A Bomb in Money Circles.—Widespread Shock and Terror.—Fierce Crowds at the Banks.—A Run Upon Them for Specie.—They "Go to the Wall."—Savings Bank Excitement.—Rare Doings at the Counters.—Wit, Mirth, Despair, and Ruin.—Forty Thousand Persons in Wall Street.—Factories, Foundries, etc., Stopped.—Business Credit Destroyed.—Root of the Whole Difficulty.

"The most extraordinary, violent, and destructive panic ever experienced in this country."—GIBBON'S HISTORY OF BANKS AND BANKING.



RUN ON A BANK.

ANY persons will recall, even at this remote lapse of time, the terrible commercial and business revulsion which preceded, by just a score of years, that more general and calamitous one of 1857,—the latter being universally known to this day as "*the Great Panic.*" During the first-named, every bank in the Union failed and suspended specie payment, with a comparatively few exceptions. Extravagance pervaded all classes of society, and so general and feverish was the excitement in western lands' speculation, that men grasped at "lots" in that boundless and then almost untracked region, as if the supply was about to be exhausted. Indeed, the picture is but slightly if at all overdrawn, which represents the land mania of that period as swallowing up, in its mad whirl, all classes. The "man of one idea" was visible everywhere; no man had two. He who had no money begged, borrowed, or stole it; he who had, thought he made a generous sacrifice, if he lent it cent per cent. The tradesman forsook his shop; the farmer his

plough; the merchant his counter; the lawyer his office; the clergyman his study to join the general chase. The man with one leg, or he that had none, could at least get on board a steamer, and make for Chicago or Milwaukee; the strong, the able, but above all, the "enterprising," set out with his pocket map and his pocket compass, to thread the dim woods, and see with his own eyes,—for who could be so demented as to waste time in planting, in building, in hammering iron, in making shoes, when the path of wealth lay wide and flowery before him! A ditcher, hired by the job to do a certain piece of work in his line, was asked—

"Well, John, did you make anything?"

"Pretty well; I cleared about ten dollars a day, but I could have made more by standin' round"—that is, watching the land market, for bargains.

The host of travelers on their western speculating tours met with many difficulties, as might be supposed. Such searching among trees for town lines!—such ransacking of the woods for section corners, ranges, and base lines!—such anxious care in identifying spots possessing "particular advantages!" And then, alas! after all, such precious blunders,—blunders which called into action another class of operators, who became popularly known as "land lookers." These were plentiful at every turn, ready to furnish "water-power," "pine lots," or anything else, at a moment's notice. It was impossible to mention any part of the country which they had not "personally surveyed." They would state, with the gravity of astrologers, what sort of timber predominated on any given tract, drawing sage deductions as to the capabilities of the soil! Did the purchaser incline to city property? Lo! a splendid chart, setting forth the advantages of some unequaled site.

But at last this bubble burst—thousands of fortunes vanished into thin air—the crisis and the panic came like a whirlwind.

Similar was the state of things preceding the awful crash in 1857. The times were characterized by excessive debts and almost incredible extravagance and speculations. The cities, and many parts of the country, were drained of means for legitimate purposes, being devoted, instead, to the construction of unproductive railroads, or absorbed in western land speculations. The new territories, and some parts of the western states, were almost covered with paper cities, selling to the credulous at almost fabulous prices. In Kansas alone, where scarcely one legal title had as yet been granted, there were more acres laid out for cities, than were covered by all the cities in the northern and middle states. Nearly the whole west swarmed with speculators, who neither intended to cultivate the soil nor settle there, but who expected to realize fortunes, without labor, out of the bona fide settler. Lots in "cities," where was scarcely a house, were sold to the inexperienced and the unwary, at prices equaling those in the large cities. These operations, with others of a similarly chimerical character, made money scarce everywhere, and diverted thousands of men, and much of the capital of the country, from the business of producing,—tending, of course, to extravagant prices of food.

But the omens of disaster began to cast their spectral shadows athwart the financial sky, the first manifestation being a regular decline in the value of leading railroad stocks, especially the western roads. But the first great blow to public confidence was given by the unexpected failure, in August, of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company. The magnitude and importance of the operations of this institution throughout the country, amounting to millions of dollars, and involving so many individuals and corporations, rendered its suspension a fearful disaster. The announcement fell like a bomb in the money circles, and, by the first or second week of September, banks and business houses began to stop payment, and a panic ensued, which became almost universal during the month. The

best mercantile paper was at a discount of from three to five per cent. a month. Toward the close of the month three of the leading banks of Philadelphia failed, and the remainder resolved upon a temporary suspension of specie payments. This was followed by a similar step on the part of most of the banks of Pennsylvania, Maryland, the District of Columbia, and New Jersey.

No such intense excitement had ever before prevailed in Philadelphia, as that which reigned when the bank of Pennsylvania closed its doors. Crowds of people poured into Third street from the distant extremities of the city, and the street became a perfect jam, everybody who had any money in those banks which had not yet stopped specie payment, being in haste to obtain their dues. From this vast mass of people there radiated lines reaching to the counters of all the banks, demanding coin for bills and deposits; and all the various applicants, as they presented themselves, received their money, and retired in good order. This scene continued until the hour of closing, the amount of coin thus paid out, from eleven to three o'clock, being nearly two million dollars. Very early on the same day, the Girard and Commercial banks ceased paying their deposits, but continued to pay their bills. Checks were marked good and returned to the holders. After three o'clock, the city was full of all sorts of rumors, and, at a meeting of the bank presidents, a universal suspension was agreed upon. These tidings became rapidly known throughout the towns and villages of the state, and the next morning a vast number of anxious people flocked into the city by steam-boat and railroad. As if unwilling to believe the unwelcome news, they gathered in crowds opposite the various banks, patiently awaiting the hour for opening. All appeared bent on getting coin for their checks and bills. At ten o'clock the doors opened, police officers being everywhere about, to preserve order. Each customer went up in turn, presented his check, and had it marked good; while such as held bills were told that the redemption of them in specie was temporarily suspended.

EXCITEMENT IN BUSINESS CIRCLES DURING THE GREAT PANIC.

And now, all over the land, east, west, north, and south, the dark days of fear, alarm, and ruin, settled down upon the

people, and panic raged like a pestilence. Indeed, the extent of the crash far exceeded what it would have been, but for the shock and terror which so needlessly possessed men's minds at the instant, and unbalanced their judgment. Universal distrust prevailed—a loss of that mutual confidence between man and man, without which, the foundations of mercantile credit are washed away as so much sand, but with which, temporary difficulties, even though stringent, may be surmounted, and total ruin to individuals and the public prevented. No more fitting illustration of the working of this principle of confidence could be cited, in sustaining or overturning the steadiness of business affairs, than the anecdote of the little Frenchman who loaned a merchant five thousand dollars, when times were good, but who called at the counting-house on the times becoming "hard," in a state of agitation only faintly portrayed in the following hasty colloquy which ensued:

"How do you do?" inquired the merchant, as the French creditor presented himself at the counter.

"Sick—ver sick,"—replied monsieur.

"What is the matter?"

"De times is de matter."

"*De times?*—what disease is that?"

"De malaide vat break all de marchants, ver much."

"Ah—the times, eh? Well, they are bad, very bad, sure enough; but how do they affect you?"

"Vy, monsieur, I lose de confidence."

"In whom?"

"In everybody."

"Not in me, I hope?"

"Pardonnez moi, monsieur; but I do not know who to trust à present, when all de marchants break several times, all to pieces."

"Then I presume you want your money."

"Oui, monsieur, I starve for want of *l'argent*" (the silver).

"Can't you do without it?"

"No, monsieur, I must have him."

"You must?"

"Oui, monsieur," said little dimity breeches, turning pale with apprehension for the safety of his money.

"And you can't do without it?"

"No, monsieur, not von other leetle moment longare."

The merchant reached his bank book, drew a check on the good old 'Continental' for the amount, and handed it to his visitor.

"Vat is dis, monsieur?"

"A check for five thousand dollars, with the interest."

"Is it *bon?*" (good,) said the Frenchman, with amazement.

"Certainly."

"Have you *l'argent* in de bank?"

"Yes."

"And is it parfaitement convenient to pay de same?"

"Undoubtedly! What astonishes you?"

"Vy, dat you have got him in dees times."

"Oh, yes, and I have plenty more. I owe nothing that I cannot pay at a moment's notice."

The Frenchman was perplexed.

"Monsieur, you shall do me von leetle favor, eh?"

"With all my heart."

"Well, monsieur, you shall keep *l'argent* for me some leetle year longare."

"Why, I thought you wanted it!"

"*Tout au contraire.* I no vant de *argent.* I vant de grand confidence. Suppose you no got de money, den I vant him ver much—suppose you got him, den I no vant him at all. *Vous comprenez,* eh?"

After some further conference, the little chatterer prevailed upon the merchant to retain the money, and left the counting-house with a light heart, and a countenance very different from the one he wore when he entered. His *confidence* was restored—he did not stand in need of the *money.*

The banks of New York and New England remained firm, far into the month of October, but so rapid and numberless were the failures, each succeeding day, of

railroad and other corporations, and business houses which had—some of them—breasted all the financial storms of the last half century, that these were finally obliged to succumb to the avalanche of pressure, and fell into the vortex of universal suspension. Tuesday, the thirteenth of October, the day preceding the suspension, was the climax of the struggle, and Wall street, New York, as the great center of money operations in the United States, presented a scene of wild excitement never before witnessed.

The account of that scene, as given by the reporter for the Tribune, is here in part reproduced. At ten o'clock in the morning, says that journal, the fronts of the different institutions indicated, by the crowds gathered around them, that the ability of the vaults to yield up their treasure at the call of depositors and bill-holders was to undergo no ordinary test. Check after check was presented and paid, and still they came. Word soon went forth that a run had commenced on the banks, and it passed from one house to another until the whole lower part of the city was alive with excitement. Bank books were examined; but a moment was required to prepare a check—a signature was hurriedly dashed off at its foot, and in another moment it was on its way to the bank.

The crowd increased in numbers. Each person took his place in the line and awaited his turn, while policemen kept those out who were present only from motives of curiosity. One after another was paid, and with the shining treasure departed. Scores of hands, skilled by long experience in counting coin, were taxed to their utmost in their efforts to keep pace with the demand for gold. Altogether, the scene presented was one of the wildest excitement. *Thirty to forty thousand persons were at the same moment in the street*—some rushing onward in the hope to secure their deposits before the hour of closing should arrive, and others clustered together, discussing the condition of affairs. One after another of the announcements made, of banks failing under the continued drain upon them, fell with dismay among the crowd, and confident predictions were uttered that ten o'clock of Wednesday would tell the story of the suspension of all. But not a few there were, whose belief in the ability of the moneyed institutions was still unshaken, and they asserted, with earnestness, that

EFFECTS OF THE HARD TIMES.

every demand in checks and bills would be met to the last, and Panic be laughed to scorn.

But, with all the anxiety and resoluteness depicted upon so many countenances, there were those who laughed and cracked jokes about their deposits in banks which had suspended, and about their stock in smashed-up railroads, as though the whole thing were a huge joke. From the top of Wall street to the bottom—from Broadway to Water street—the sidewalks were crowded with people, desirous to know the truth of the rumors which filled the air.

In other parts of the city, stirring scenes were transpiring, and not a few that were quite illustrative of human nature in its different veins. During the run upon the Bowery Savings Bank, an old Irishwoman, short, thick, resolute, and 'a little in for it,' made herself conspicuous by elbowing her way through the distrustful depositors, very unceremoniously, and denouncing, in no measured terms, "the big blackguards that would be afther chating a poor body out iv her hard earned wagis." Some order of precedence is customary at such times, but the heavy shoes of the Irishwoman did such execution upon the corns of all who stood in her way, that she soon obtained a good place near the door, in spite of the remonstrances of a dozen or two of younger Biddys, Maggies, Marys, and Kathleens, who had been waiting an hour or two. At the door, she had a wordy quarrel with a broad-shouldered black man in advance of her, calling him a "runaway nagur;" and anon she varied her performances by shaking her fist in the face of a policeman—who, as an official conservator of the peace, had undertaken to check her,—and, at length, very red and sweaty, she stood before the paying teller and presented her book, with a vocal invocation to him to do the clean thing. "What's this mean?" said he, looking at her somewhat impatiently. "What's your name?" "Can't yoos rade writin' hand?" she rejoined sharply; "shure, me nam's on the book!" "But this," said he, "is only a grocer's old pass book! What's your name, I say?" "Mary McRagan I was christened, but I married Pat Millikens." The teller turned rapidly to his index of depositors. "You have got no money in this bank!" said he, when he had ascertained the fact. She left the premises in company with an officer, to whom she confessed that she had found the pass book near the crowd, and thinking it had been dropped accidentally by a depositor, she had thought to obtain the money before the depositor applied for it. At the same bank, one man who drew out his deposits was so intoxicated that he could hardly stand; quite likely, he lost the savings of years before the night was over. At another savings bank, one poor girl had her pocket picked of her little all—about seventy-seven dollars, before she had got out of the crowd. A vast deal of chaffing occurred among those who thronged the doorways of the banks. "I don't know," said one to a bystander, "where to put my money when I get it!" "Give it to me," rejoined the other. "Sew it up in your shirt," said another; and several other methods were promptly and merrily suggested by the sympathizing spectators, such as "Stick it in your wig"—"Let the old woman have it"—"Put it in your boots, and let me wear them;" etc.

At the Sixpenny Savings Bank, a little newsboy, without a jacket, and only one suspender (and that a string), confronted the teller on Monday, and demanded to know whether "She was all right"—meaning the Institution—because if she was, he didn't mean to be scared, if everybody else was. He'd got forty-two cents salted down there, and all he wanted was his (the teller's) word of honor that it wouldn't spile. The teller assured him that his money was ready for him at any moment. "'Nuff said, 'tween gen'l'men, but I don't want it," rejoined the youth, and with a self-complacent, well-satisfied air, walked out of the bank. "Is she good?" cried two or three other newsboys who were awaiting the result, at the doorsteps. "Yes, s-i-r-r-e-e!" he replied.

was as good as wheat. Ketch *our* bank to stop! Yoos ought to seed the gold I seed in der safe!" "How much was they?" inquired a companion. "More'n a house-full!" was the prompt response, "an' yoos don't ketch dis 'ere chile a-makin' an oold woman of his-self, an' drawin' out his money; I ain't so green—I ain't!"

It will require but little strain of the imagination to realize, to one's mind, the case of Mrs. Jones, who, on receipt of the news of the banks suspending specie payments, hastened to her savings bank, elbowed her way smartly to the desk, presented her book, and demanded her money.

"Madam," said the clerk, persuasively, "are you sure you want to draw this money out in specie?"

"Mrs. Jones," said a director, with an oracular frown, "do you know that you are injuring your fellow depositors?"

"And setting an example of great folly to less educated persons in this community?" struck in another director.

"Let us advise you simply to reflect," interposed the clerk, blandly.

"To wait for a day, at least," said the director.

At last there was a pause.

Mrs. Jones had been collecting herself. She burst now. In a tone which was heard throughout the building, and above all the din of ordinary business, and at which her questioners turned ashy pale, she said:

"*Will you pay me my money?*—YES *or* NO!"

They paid her instantly.

Not only in the great centers of business and finance, like New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New Orleans, but in every town and village, the scarcity of money and the failure of banks and commercial houses, operated to paralyze industry and bring want to thousands of families. In consequence of the universal stoppage of factories, the poorer classes in some of the manufacturing communities saw winter approaching, with no prospect of earning a livelihood. Whole families began to suffer for bread—the fathers willing and eager to work, but absolutely nothing to do. Tales of distress were to be heard at almost every step, for the factories, forges, and foundries, had all ceased their cheerful hum of activity, and every day's intelligence from different parts of the land was that of fresh accumulations of disaster, increasing the severity of the situation, and adding to the general gloom. The oldest, heaviest, richest, and firmest moneyed institutions, corporations, companies and firms, which were considered equal to any pressure that might be brought to bear against them, were daily chronicled as having "gone to the wall." Fortunes were swept away, like ashes in a whirlwind. Not even in 1837, when the banking system of the country was in so precarious a condition, was there such a terrible downfall of old and wealthy houses. At the west, there was one short, tremendous collapse, that seemed to bring ruin, at one quick blow, upon everything and everybody; and at the south, the devastation was no less wide-spread and fatal.

Various means were resorted to, to realize cash for stocks of goods on hand, even at a ruinous discount. At numberless shop windows were to be seen in staring letters, such announcements as: 'These goods sold at wholesale prices.' 'Selling off at half cost.' 'Bargains to be had for two days—now or never!' 'We must realize ten thousand dollars to-day, at any sacrifice;' etc. Indeed, in all the large cities, the dry goods dealers, being severely pressed for money, offered their goods in this way, and effected large sales. A large number of the most prominent wholesale dealers threw open their vast warehouses to retail customers, and by this means, probably, not a few houses, of that class, managed to escape the hard fate that befell others.

Thus, in a word, there was exhibited the melancholy spectacle of a great nation's commercial, financial, manufacturing, and industrial interests in utter ruin, from one end of the broad land to the other; prosperity succeeded by abject adversity; con-

fidence supplanted by total distrust; a paralysis of all trade; the stoppage of almost every bank in every part of the United States, the cessation of factories, the discharge of thousands of laborers, the inability to bring our large crops of produce to market, the ruinous rate of two or three per cent. a month on the strongest paper, and a ruinous depreciation in the price of all stocks. The steamers on the great rivers and lakes stood still; the canal boats ceased to ply; the railroad trains conveyed less than half the usual amount of travelers and merchandise; the navigating interest shared the common distress, so that the cargoes, brought from abroad, either passed into the public stores, or were re-exported at great loss; the freighting business was nearly annihilated. Alarmed, too, at the prospect before them, ship-loads of emigrants were taken home to their native land, in the packets running from Boston and New York to Europe. Nor did the fortune-tellers fail to drive a brisk business in informing ignorant and credulous inquirers what was to "turn up."

That this great national calamity had its root in the fever for land and railroad speculation, involving enormous debt, with no corresponding sound basis or adequate means, cannot be doubted. Mr. Gibbons, one of the very ablest of American financial writers, argues, in respect to this point, that, notwithstanding the appearances of prosperity previous to the panic, there existed all the conditions of extraordinary financial disturbance. A prodigious weight of insolvency had been carried along for years in the volume of trade. Extravagance of living had already sapped the foundations of commercial success, in hundreds of instances where credit supplied the place of lost capital. Mismanagement and fraud had gained footing in public companies to an incredible degree; hundreds of millions of bonds were issued with little regard to the validity of their basis, and pressed upon the market by dishonest agents, at any price, from sixty down to thirty cents on the dollar. False quotations were obtained by sham auction sales. The newspaper press, in particular instances, was bribed into silence, or became a partner in the profits to be derived from the various schemes which it commended to general confidence. The land grants by congress to railway companies gave added impetus to speculation, and state legislatures were bribed to locate roads to serve individual interests. Public, as well as private credit, was compromised.

It could not be otherwise than that bankruptcy and an overwhelming crash should succeed such an inflated and precarious state of things. Even when trade and business are conducted in accordance with fair and legitimate rules, the records of insolvency among American merchants tell a woful tale. Thus, General Dearborn, who for twenty years was collector of the port of Boston, and who had ample opportunities for observing the vicissitudes of trade, ascertained, on investigation, that among every hundred of the merchants and traders of that city —whose character for carefulness and stability will compare favorably with that of merchants in any other portion of the land—not more than three ever acquired an independence. This conclusion was not arrived at without great distrust; but an experienced merchant, who was consulted, fully confirmed its truth. A Boston antiquarian in the year 1800 took a memorandum of every person doing business on Long Wharf, and in 1840 only five in one hundred remained; all but these had either failed or died insolvent. The Union Bank commenced business in 1798, there being then only one other bank. The Union was overrun with business, the clerks being obliged to work till midnight, and even on Sundays. An examination, some fifty or sixty years from the starting of the bank, showed that of one thousand accounts opened at the commencement, only six remained; all the others had either failed, or died insolvent,—houses whose paper had passed without question, the very parties who had constituted the solid men of the city, all had gone down in that period.

Of the direful havoc, therefore, created by a sudden and violent panic, sweeping over the whole country like a hurricane, some idea may be formed from the statistics here given.

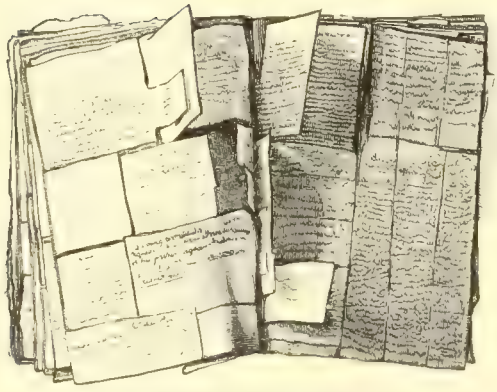
Notwithstanding the resumption of business on a specie basis, in about two months from the time of their suspension, by most of those banks which were in a solvent condition, it was a long while before trade and industry recovered from their crippled state; and the embarrassment and suffering which consequently weighed, during so protracted a period, upon all classes of the community, were painful to the last degree.

XXIX.

THE "GREAT AWAKENING" IN THE RELIGIOUS WORLD; AND THE POPULAR REVIVAL MOVEMENT (IN 1875-6) UNDER MESSRS. MOODY AND SANKEY.—1857.

Like a Mighty Rushing Wind, it Sweeps from the Atlantic to the Pacific.—Crowded Prayer-Meetings Held Daily in Every City and Town, from the Granite Hills of the North to the Rolling Prairies of the West and the Golden Slopes of California.—Large Accessions, from all Classes, to the Churches of Every Name and Denomination.—The "American Pentecost."—Early American Revivals.—Dr. Franklin and Mr. Whitefield.—The Revival of 1857 Spontaneous.—No Leaders or Organizers.—Its Immediate Cause.—Universal Ruin of Commerce.—Anxiety for Higher Interests.—All Days of the Week Alike.—Business Men in the Work.—Telegraphing Religious Tidings.—New York a Center of Influence.—Fulton Street Prayer-Meeting.—Scenes in Burton's Theater.—New Themes and Actors.—Countless Requests for Prayers.—A Wonderful Book.—Striking Moral Results.—Men of Violence Reformed.—Crime and Suicide Prevented.—Infidels, Gamblers, Pugilists.—Jessie Fremont's Gold Ring.—"Awful" Gardner's Case.

"What nothing earthly gives, or can destroy,
The soul's calm sunshine and the heartfelt joy."



BOOK OF REQUESTS FOR PRAYERS.

REVIVALS of religious feeling and interest, attended with great numerical accessions to the church, have been not unfrequent among the various denominations of Christians in America, from the very earliest period of the country's settlement; and, during the eighteenth century, under the labors of such men as Whitefield, Edwards, the Tennents, and others, such results followed as had never before characterized any age or people. The labors of Whitefield, in especial, stirred the public mind to its depths, and reached all hearts. Even Dr. Franklin, rationalist though he was, was won upon, head, heart, and pocket, by the power of this mightiest of pulpit orators. Happening to attend one of his meetings in Philadelphia, and perceiving, in the course of the sermon, that Whitefield intended to finish with a collection, Franklin silently resolved that the preacher should get nothing from him, though he had in his pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As Whitefield proceeded, Franklin began to soften, and determined to give the copper. Another stroke of the preacher's oratory, made Franklin ashamed of that, and determined him to give the silver instead; but

the preacher finished so admirably, that the philosopher emptied his pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all. On the same occasion, another gentleman, suspecting a collection might be intended, had, by precaution, emptied his pockets before leaving home. Towards the conclusion of the discourse, however, he felt a strong inclination to give, and applied to a neighbor, who stood near him, to lend him some money for the purpose. The request was made to, perhaps, the only man in the assembly who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer was, "At any other time, friend Hodgkinson, I would lend to thee freely; but not now, for thee seems to be out of thy right senses." The multitudes, of all denominations, that went to hear this wonderful man, were enormous—indeed, one great secret of his success was, his freedom from sectarian prejudice and animosity. As an illustration of this quality, it is related that in the midst of one of his most overpowering discourses, he stopped short for an instant, and then uttered the following impressive apostrophe: "Father Abraham, who have you in heaven? any Episcopalians?" "No." "Any Presbyterians?" "No." "Any Baptists?" "No." "Have you any Methodists, Seceders, or Independents there?" "No, no!" "Why who have you there?" "We don't know those names here. All who are here are Christians, believers in Christ—men who have overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of his testimony." "Oh, is that the case? then God help me, God help us all, to forget party names, and to become Christians, in deed and in truth." The labors of such a champion could not be otherwise than fruitful of good.

Without dwelling upon the scenes and results relating to the early religious efforts alluded to above, it may be said of the revival in 1857–8—known as "the *Great Awakening*," and which is the subject of this chapter,—that it depended not upon any leader or preacher, however eloquent, but was the spontaneous outgrowth of the heart's necessities, felt in common by the great mass of the public, in view of the financial tornado which, sweeping with such universal destructiveness over the land, had given impressive weight to the truth, that "the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." No words could convey a better idea of the general feeling which thus possessed men's minds at this period of mercantile ruin on the one hand, and of religious anxiety on the other, than those uttered by a prominent merchant of New York, at one of the business men's daily prayer-meetings in that city. "Prayer," said he, "was never so great a blessing to me as it is now. I should certainly either break down or turn rascal, except for it! When one sees his property taken from him every day, by those who might pay him if they were willing to make sacrifices in order to do it, but who will not make the least effort even for this end, and by some who seem designedly to take advantage of the times, in order to defraud him—and when he himself is liable to the keenest reproaches from others if he does not pay money, which he cannot collect and cannot create — the temptation is tremendous to forget Christian charity, and be as hard and unmerciful as anybody. If I could not get some half hours every day to pray myself into a right state of mind, I should either be overburdened and disheartened, or do such things as no Christian man ought." Testimonies like this were innumerable from business men,—they, as well as the laity in general, being most prominent in carrying on the work.

But, though this movement was, in a very great degree, spontaneous, it was early accompanied by a systematic plan of family visitation, in the principal cities, and by noonday prayer-meetings, in almost every city, town, and village, from one end of the country to the other. In such places as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, Richmond, as well as farther south and west, not only were the usual houses of worship crowded daily, but

the largest public halls were hired for the same purpose, and resounded every day with fervent prayers, songs of praise, and earnest exhortations.

Thus, in Philadelphia, the vast audience room of Jayne's Hall, and, in New York, Burton's well-known theater, were appropriated for religious assemblings. The room hitherto occupied in the first-named hall, contained accommodations for about three hundred persons, and when it was decided upon to remove into the large hall, it was with no expectation that the room would be filled, at such an hour as noonday. To the amazement of all, however, it was densely crowded, every seat being occupied, including the settees in the aisles, and a large portion of the immense galleries, and those who left for want of room upon the main floor, are said to have exceeded the number who could not gain admission on the day previous, when the meeting was held in the small room adjoining. It was estimated that there were certainly not less than three thousand persons who entered the hall during the hour, and it was conceded, by those whose means of knowledge enabled them to judge, that this was the largest meeting convened for the simple purpose of prayer to God, that had ever been assembled in this country.

From New York city, a vast religious influence went forth to all parts of the land, and details of the daily proceedings in the prayer-meetings held at Burton's theater, and in the Fulton street and John street church vestries, were published far and wide by the secular press. Indeed, the fullness and candor characterizing the reports contained in the city journals, were, with scarcely an exception, most honorable to those influential mediums of public enlightenment. Of the now almost world-renowned Fulton street prayer-meeting, held at first in one room, but to which, as the revival progressed, it was found necessary to add two more, the Daily Tribune of March 6, 1858, said: "All three are now not only filled to their utmost capacity, but would be still more largely attended if there were sitting or even standing-room to be offered to the multitude. A placard is posted on the gate, inviting persons to enter, though such an invitation seems no longer necessary: 'Step in for five minutes, or longer, as your time permits.' Inside notices are hung on the walls, to the effect that prayers and remarks should be brief, 'in order to give all an opportunity,' and forbidding the introduction of 'controverted points,' for the purpose of preventing theological discussion. These precautions are taken, in order to give as much variety as possible to the exercises, for it is always unpardonable to render a crowded meeting dull. The frequenters of this meeting come from all classes of society, and are invited as such, without regard to their differences. Many clergymen of the city churches, and many prominent laymen, including merchants and gentlemen in the legal and medical professions, are seen there every day—as they ought to be seen—side by side with the mechanic and the day laborer, and even the street beggar. Draymen drive up their carts to the church, and, hitching their horses outside, go in with the crowd; and 'fine ladies,' who sometimes have Christian hearts in spite of unchristian fashions, driven down from 'up town' in their fine carriages, also step in and mingle with the same multitude. The exercises consist about equally of prayers, remarks, and singing. Of course it is impracticable for so many to take part in the speaking or the audible praying, but they all join in the singing with great zeal and emphasis. On one occasion, the volume of sound was so heavy as to dislodge from its place on the wall the clock which had been securely fastened, as was supposed, and bring it crashing to the floor. It is not unfrequent, during the continuance of the meeting, to see a crowd of persons collected in the street in front of the church, to listen to the spirit-stirring hymns that are sung inside. The prayer-meeting held in the old Methodist church in John street is similar to this. The attendance here is already found sufficient

to crowd the entire ground floor of the building. Many Methodist brethren attend this meeting in preference to the other, but the proceedings are characterized with entire catholicity and freedom from sectarianism." Perhaps no better illustration could be afforded of this unsectarian feeling, as well as of the prevailing spirit of the times, than the following dispatch, which was sent by telegraph, at noon, March 12th, to the great union prayer-meeting in Jayne's Hall, Philadelphia:

"*Christian Brethren*—The New York John street Union Meeting sends you greeting in brotherly love: 'And the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of Hosts—I will go also. Praise the Lord—call upon his name—declare his doings among the people—make mention that his name is exalted.'"

To the above message, the following dispatch from Mr. George H. Stuart, a prominent Old School Presbyterian and chairman of the Philadelphia meeting, was immediately telegraphed and read to the John street meeting:

"Jayne's Hall daily Prayer Meeting is crowded; upwards of three thousand present; with one mind and heart they glorify our Father in heaven for the mighty work he is doing in our city and country, in the building up of saints and the conversion of sinners. The Lord hath done great things for us, whence joy to us is brought. May He who holds the seven stars in his right hand, and who walks in the midst of the churches, be with you by His Spirit this day. Grace, mercy, and peace, be with you."

Even among those denominations unaccustomed to what are known as 'revival measures' for the furtherance of religion, such as the Unitarian, Universalist, and Episcopalian, a disposition was manifested to co-operate, in prayers and labors, for the success of the good work. In Boston, and other places, prayer-meetings were conducted by the Unitarian clergy and laity, which were thronged to the utmost capacity of the halls used for the purpose. In New York, the Orchard Street Universalist church, Rev. Dr. Sawyer, exhibited a warm sympathy with the revival, and took an active part in its progress; prayer-meetings were held twice a week, which were fully attended, a deep religious feeling pervaded the congregation, and large numbers united with the church. The card of invitation to their prayer-meeting, which, like that of other denominations, was extensively circulated, read as follows: A general prayer-meeting will be held every Wednesday and Friday evening, at half-past seven o'clock, in the lecture-room of the Rev. Dr. Sawyer's church, Orchard street, near Broome. 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.'

Among the Episcopalians, meetings of deep interest were held, including regular evening services for prayer and short addresses, at the Church of the Ascension, New York, Rev. Dr. Bedell's. One of these meetings was of a very impressive character. The meeting commenced with singing the hymn, "Stay, thou insulted Spirit, stay," a series of prayers followed, after which Rev. Mr. Dickson delivered a short address, founded on the words, "Lord, are there few that be saved?" Other hymns were sung, and then remarks made by Rev. Drs. Dyer and Cutler, Episcopal rectors. Doctor Cutler said that, twenty years ago, such a meeting as the present one would have been denounced as Methodistical; but he felt that he could almost say, with Simeon of old, "Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace," for he had witnessed that glorious "leviathan," the Episcopal Church, which for forty years he had lamented to see, with all its noble qualities and precious gifts, being fast in the stocks, at last launched and making full headway in the river that flows from the City of God.

Next to the Fulton street prayer-meeting, in point of wide-reaching influence,

GROUP OF EMINENT REVIVAL PREACHERS DURING THE NATIONAL CENTURY.

the meetings for prayer held daily, at noon, in Burton's theater, may be spoken of as most conspicuous. It was hired for this purpose by the New York Young Men's Christian Association, and was crowded daily with earnest-minded men and women, fervent in their songs, prayers, and exhortations. The place made so famous, in years past, by the histrionic performances of Burton, Blake, Placide, Holland, Davenport, Johnston, Lester, Jordan, Fisher, Brougham, and other celebrities, now resounded with the soul-stirring appeals of such men as Cuyler, Beecher, Hatfield, Armitage, and a host of warm-hearted merchants and professional men, all enlisted in the good work of extolling the glad tidings of salvation. Instead of polkas, schottisches, and waltzes —instead of fiddle and bow, orchestra and overture,—there were the grave and serious hymns, "Children of the Heavenly King," and "Salvation, O the joyful sound," "Return, my wandering soul, return," etc. With the exception of now and then a fervid "Amen," or a hearty "Yes, Lord," the order and quiet of the audience during the speaking were entirely uninterrupted.

At all the multitudinous prayer-meetings held in different places throughout the country, one marked feature of the proceedings was that of receiving and reading requests for prayers. The requests of this character sent to the Fulton street meeting have all been carefully preserved in a book, constituting a volume upon which no one can look without the deepest interest. The scope and variety of these requests afford so apt a reflection of the state of feeling during the revival period, that a few specimens of those presented at different times and places, will be a fair illustration of all:

'A Christian merchant earnestly desires the prayers of God's people for his co-partners in business, and for all the young men in their employment unconverted to God.'

'An anxious wife is praying earnestly at this hour for her husband, who once made a profession of religion, but is now fearful that he never was born of the Spirit, and is in darkness. She asks for an interest in your prayers in his behalf.'

'The prayers of those who are accustomed to intercede with God, are requested by a San Franciscan, that the Almighty would visit the city of San Francisco with a gracious outpouring of his Spirit. Remember your brothers and fathers on the Pacific coast.'

'The prayers of this meeting are requested for a young lady who scoffs at religion. Don't forget her, brethren. She has no one to pray for her but the writer of this. Oh, pray for her.'

'A widow asks for the prayers of the brethren and sisters for a son brought up under careful religious instruction, who last night *cursed his mother*—that he may this day be brought to the feet of Jesus.'

'Prayers are requested for a sister who is given to intemperance.'

'The prayers of Christians are most earnestly requested by a son in behalf of an aged father, nearly seventy years old. A family of ten children are praying morning, noon, and night for him.'

'The prayers of Christians are requested for a young man—the son of a clergyman —who is an idle jester on the subject of religion, and who has, within the last hour, been heard to ridicule these meetings, and to jest upon these subjects.'

'My husband is not a Christian, though often thoughtful. I have prayed for his conversion every day since our marriage —nine years. May I ask an interest in your prayers that my husband may seek *now* an interest in Christ, and that we may both become devoted, earnest, Bible-Christians?'

'The prayers of the Fulton street meeting are earnestly requested for a bible class of twenty-two young ladies, connected with one of the Dutch Reformed churches in this vicinity, some of whom appear to be anxious for their souls.'

It was in this spirit that the Great Awakening showed its character and its power in all sections of the land, north,

south, east, and west, the Wind of God sweeping benignly from the Atlantic to the Pacific,—reaching across the length and breadth of the continent,—from the granite mountains of the north to the rolling prairies of the west and the golden slopes of California. It was, in a word, the American Pentecost,—the great religious epoch of the national century, unequaled in earnestness, union, and universality, by any similar movement that had preceded it, in the history of the western world. The spiritual activities of the denominations were everywhere constant and fruitful, the accessions to the churches being numbered by scores of thousands. In places the most obscure, remote and isolated, the most fervid religious engagedness was to be found, while, in the larger towns and cities, no business man, whatever his location, needed to go forty rods to find a prayer-meeting in operation, with a printed invitation outside for him to enter and listen to the prayers and experiences of others, and, if he so desired, take a part in the exercises himself. There were special meetings for prayer, also, in behalf of firemen, policemen, waiters at hotels, seamen, and boys, maintained wholly or in part by the classes specially named, and resulting in a large amount of good. Men of established Christian character were strengthened in their good purposes; the indifferent and heedless were awakened to thoughtfulness on religious themes; and multitudes, everywhere, who had led lives of immorality and wickedness, dangerous to society, were reclaimed, and henceforth walked in the path of virtue and honor.

Of the many interesting incidents which transpired during this wonderful period, only a few can here be cited.

Just after the commencement of the great panic, (says Rev. Mr. Adams, a well-known Methodist preacher in New York,) a young man called on me late on Saturday night. He was the picture of distress and despair. Supposing him to be one of the many cases that daily came under my notice, I invited him in. He sat some minutes in perfect silence, and finally burst into tears. It was some time before he could control himself sufficiently to go on, and then said, "Can you do anything for me?" I requested him to state his case. He said he was miserable beyond description—had been blessed with pious parents and a religious education, but had gone far away from the counsels of his fathers; he had fallen into shameful sin, until his soul loathed himself, and he had been on the verge of self-destruction. "This afternoon," said he, "feeling a hell within, I went and bought poison,—went into my room, and was about to take it, when something seemed to say to me, 'Go down and see the minister,' and I have come. Will you pray for me?" He fell on his knees and cried aloud for mercy. After two hours of prayer, he grew calm, and finally joyful. He gave me a package, and requested me to destroy it; there was laudanum in it—enough to have killed half a dozen men.

One of the first conversions among the sailors, was that of a man who had been greatly addicted to gambling, and to other vices that usually accompany this. When he went to the meeting, he had just left the gaming-table; but when he returned, his first act was to consign his cards and dice to the flames. He then knelt down, prayed, and was converted. He went to sea, and on board the ship daily prayer-meetings were held both in the cabin and forecastle.

A merchant, after having attended one of the crowded prayer-meetings held in the city, determined, on returning home, to make an effort for the spiritual good of some of his friends and neighbors. One of these was a man who avowed himself an infidel. A prayer-meeting was organized, to which this man with others was invited, and, after several days' attendance, rose on one occasion, and requested that prayer should be made in his behalf. To the surprise and almost astonishment of his acquaintances, he shortly afterward renounced infidelity, and embraced the Christian religion.

At many of the telegraph offices, messages were constantly being sent to all parts of the land, announcing conversions. Some of these were exceedingly tender and touching, such as, 'Dear mother, the revival continues, and I, too, have been converted.' 'My dear parents, you will rejoice to hear that I have found peace with God.' 'Tell my sister that I have come to the Cross of Christ.' 'At last I have faith and peace.'

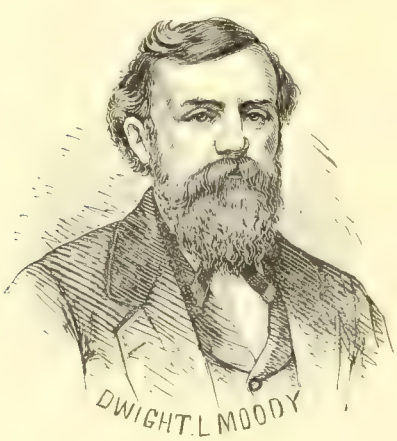
The influence of personal effort and a good example was forcibly illustrated in the following case of a man and wife, who were utterly regardless even of the forms of religion, the husband, indeed, being an infidel. The wife had, however, been taken by some one to the meetings in a neighboring Methodist church, and, unknown to her husband, had become interested in them. One day he was scoffing in her presence at the revival, expressing his disbelief in everything of the kind, especially ridiculing the Methodist modes of labor, and winding up with a threat that he would soon stop any of *his* family who should be guilty of the folly of going up to the altar. "Why," said his wife, throwing her arms round his neck, and giving him a kiss, "do you know that *I* was there last night?" "No," he replied, returning her kiss; "but I am glad of it." He was softened; that same evening he accompanied her to meeting, and went up to the altar himself.

St. Paul's Episcopal church, on Broadway, New York, was filled with multitudes, on Wednesday and Friday evenings, in attendance on the devotional services performed there. On one of these occasions, soon after the exercises commenced, the large and fashionable congregation was surprised by the entrance of three Indian maidens, wrapped in their blue blankets. They paused for an instant at the door, and then advanced to the front of the altar with quiet dignity and self-possession, and knelt down to their devotions. As the solemn ceremonies drew near to a close, they rose, crossed themselves, and, saluting the altar, glided down the aisle and from the church. They were of the Caughnewaga tribe, residing near Montreal, and had visited New York for the purpose of selling their trinkets, bead moccasins, and baskets. Being mostly Catholics, they usually worshiped in the church of that order on Canal street; but it seemed that they had observed the brilliantly illuminated church in passing by, and had entered, forgetful of form or sect, to kneel with their white sisters before the common Father of all.

In Mr. Beecher's church, Brooklyn, at the close of one of the morning meetings, a charitable collection was taken up. Among the audience was Mrs. Fremont ("Our Jessie"), who, happening to have no money in her pocket, as the plate was passed, took from her finger a heavy gold ring, and threw it in as the only contribution which she was able at the moment to make. The ring contained on the outside an engraved *bee*,—in allusion to a beautiful incident in Fremont's passage of the Rocky Mountains,—and, on the inside, the inscription, 'March 4, '57.'

One of the most remarkable conversions among the dangerous and criminal classes, was that of Orville Gardner, commonly called "Awful" Gardner, a noted prize-fighter and trainer of pugilists. He was induced to attend one of the Methodist meetings, and, to the surprise of multitudes, he requested the prayers of the congregation, a request which on three different occasions he repeated. At this time, he was residing in the vicinity of New York. Having some unimportant business to do in that city, a friend asked him if he would "jump into the cars and go down and attend to it." He replied, "I have more important business to attend to first, and I shall not go to the city till it is done." He had then three men under his training for a prize-fight. On being asked if he would give them further lessons, he replied that "he would go to them soon, but on a different errand from boxing and training—he would try to persuade them to reform, and to embrace religion."

A young man, hearing himself prayed for by some friends, became so angry, that he resolved to sell his farm and go west, away from such interfering relatives. They continued to pray, and he finally sold his farm, and was going to start for Albany, on his way to the west. While going to take the cars, he passed the prayer-meeting, and, having some time to wait for the train, thought he would just step in, to pass the time away, and see what was going on. He went in, was deeply impressed, and his case was immediately added to the great multitude of similar instances of reformation, which made the Great Awakening of 1857–8 so memorable in the religious history of the nation.



But, in addition to the Great Awakening thus distinguishing the periods described, and which wrought such mighty results, there was to succeed another, which, in some of its aspects, was to prove even more noteworthy. Indeed, it may be said, without exaggeration, that one of the most happy, conciliatory, and widely useful religious movements characterizing the history of our country, and, in fact, the history of modern times,—creating an enthusiasm as genial and far-reaching as it was decorous and practical,—was that which commenced in the fall of 1875, under the personal auspices of Messrs. Moody and Sankey, lay evangelists of world-wide fame, who had some time previously been on a tour of active and successful religious labor in different parts of Europe. Returning to their native land, they devoted themselves, for consecutive months, and with great and disinterested earnestness, among the masses, and this, too, as it appeared, not only without stated or assured pecuniary compensation, but absolutely without consideration of money or hire, beyond what was voluntarily contributed by friends for their current expenses.

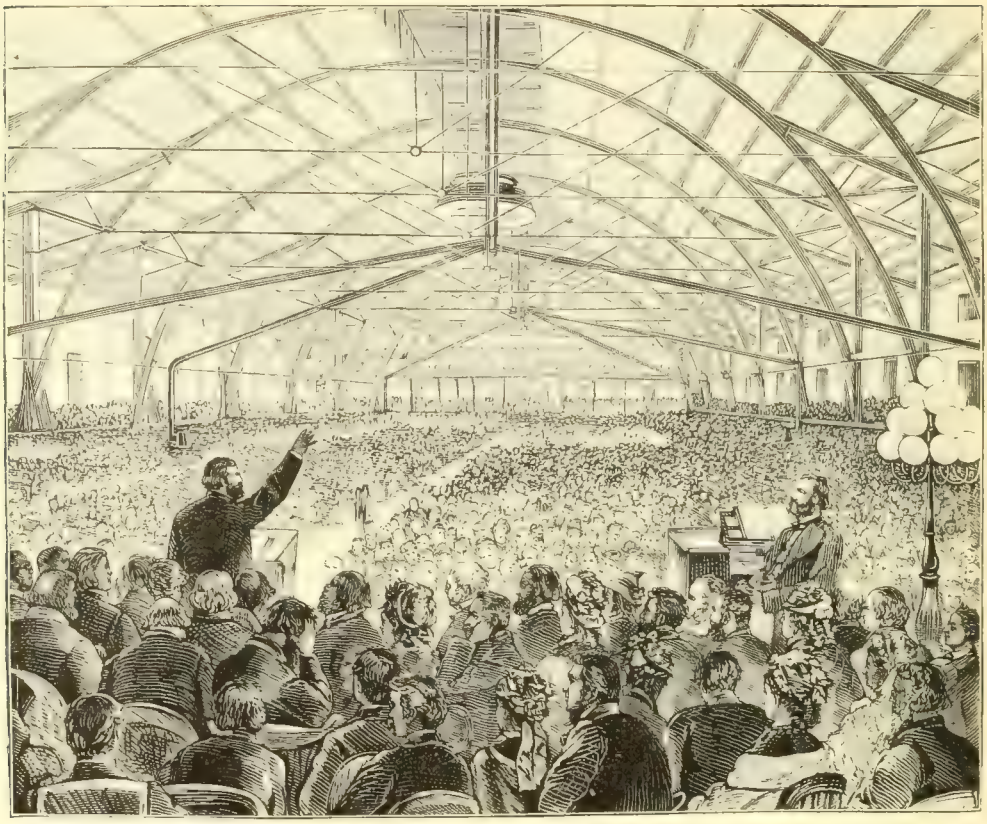
Never before, perhaps, were the fountains of the higher life in man opened up so abundantly and universally in our land, as by the efforts of these simple-spoken but intrepid and warm-hearted reformers, as they went from town to town and from city to city, with the proclamation, by fervent discourse, and cheering, melting song, of the "glad tidings of good."

Standing aloof from even the shadow of sectarian propagandism or theological disputation, they enlisted the co-operation—or, at least, the good will and God-speed—of all denominations of Christians, and, so conciliatory was their speech, and so rational their methods, in appealing to the irreligious or indifferent, that, unlike the experience which would probably have attended a different course, little if any time was lost in provoking criticism or combating objections. And this, in a word, was

the cause of the welcome extended them, wherever they went, and of the almost invariably rich harvests which accompanied their labors. Nothing, in fact, could better evince the favorable impression made by these evangelists upon society, than the judgments of the value of their work, expressed by those not holding their opinions. Thus, the Tablet, an influential journal of the Roman Catholic faith, published in New York, spoke of Mr. Moody as affording, in "the midst of an age of mocking and unbelieving, a kind of earnest testimony to Jesus, and we can not find it in our heart to say it is not of God;" and, though guarding its concessions by the claim for its own Church of possessing solely the real truth, it admitted, nevertheless, that "it is something in cities where the divinity of Christ and His divine teaching are openly blasphemed, and where to the great bulk of the population the Christian religion is a matter of complete indifference, when it is not one of scorn, that their ears should be accustomed to words of adoration and love of Him, and that even the dreary wastes of heresy should echo with the name of Jesus. . . . This work of Mr. Moody's is not sin. It cannot be sin to invite men to love and serve Jesus Christ."

And in a similar spirit to that just cited, the Jewish Messenger, referring to the meetings contemplated to be held by these evangelists, in the vast hippodrome, New York city, expressed it as its opinion that, whatever objection might be urged to emotional religion as spasmodic, lacking in substantial good, no man of sense could declaim against such services, if conducted in the same orderly and earnest way that had characterized the meetings elsewhere. In the same vein was the utterance of a distinguished preacher in Brooklyn, N. Y.,—one representing the extreme wing of the 'liberal' school,—who declared, in a sermon, that, if Moody and Sankey could reach the masses of the people, "they would perform a work for which all lovers of mankind would be grateful." That this hope was largely realized, in the case of Brooklyn itself, is well known.

One of the events in Mr. Moody's career which peculiarly conspired to awaken popular enthusiasm in behalf of him and his cause, on this side of the Atlantic, was the account, which preceded his arrival in America by some weeks, of the extraordinary occasion attending the close of the evangelists' wonderful labors in London, and which, on being read by their friends in this country, seemed like a prophecy of great things in store for their native land, when their homeward voyage should be accomplished. It appeared, according to the account of the meeting referred to—the last of the immense gatherings of this kind in that metropolis — that, for some days prior to its taking place, the anxiety of the people to obtain admission to the hall amounted almost to a frenzy, and not altogether a harmless one. Numbers were waiting for admission as early as three o'clock in the morning, or hours before the opening,—all the approaches were crowded with surging throngs, some of whom had come from great distances, — and, all around, dense masses of men, women, and children, were present, worked up to the highest point of interest and expectation. Mr. Moody found entrance through a private house adjoining, and with the help of a ladder. Meetings were held outside, but nothing less than seeing and hearing Mr. Moody would satisfy the densely packed multitude. Among the great dignitaries present were the Queen of the Netherlands and the Duchess of Sutherland. The last words of the evangelist were very impressive, as, indeed, was the whole scene of this most memorable occasion, and his sentiments, as then and there uttered—rapid, spontaneous, gushing, — may be said to fitly represent the preacher's character and power. 'It is," he said, "the last time I shall have the unspeakable privilege of preaching the gospel in England. I have never enjoyed preaching so much as I have in this country." "Have another week," shouted a man. "I want to have you *all* saved *to-night*," said Mr. Moody, looking



REVIVAL MEETING IN BROOKLYN, CONDUCTED BY MESSRS. MOODY AND SANKEY.

toward the speaker. "If I were to stay another week, I could tell you no more. I have not told you a hundredth part of the story, but I have done the best I can with this stammering tongue. I don't want to close this meeting until I see you safe behind the walls of the city of refuge. During the past thirty days I have been preaching here, I have tried to allure you away to that world of light. I have told you of hell to warn you, and I have told you of the love of God. To-night I have been trying to illustrate salvation. You can receive Christ and be saved, or reject him and be lost. By-and-by there will be a glorious future, and I want to know how many there are willing to join me for eternity. How many will stand up here before God and man, and say, by that act, you will join me for heaven? Those who are willing to do so to-night, will you just rise?" Multitudes rose to their feet.

Of this remarkable European tour of the evangelists, one of them afterwards said, "I remember when we left home, not knowing what was before us. We landed in Liverpool, and found the friends who invited us over both dead. We were strangers, but God led us; His Spirit directed us up to a dead town, where we held a prayer-meeting, at which, at first, there were *but four persons present.* Afterward more came. People thought we were two Americans with sinister designs. The meetings, however, increased in interest and power, and then the work began."

In due time, after returning to this country, the evangelists commenced their public labors, selecting Brooklyn, N. Y., as their first field. No church edifice, however, in that city, having the seating capacity to accommodate the throng of people who desired to listen to Mr. Moody's powerful exhortations and Mr. Sankey's

singing, the large structure known as the rink, on Clermont avenue, was fitted up for this purpose. It accommodated five thousand persons. The interior of this vast building, as viewed from the platform, a large semi-circular dais, was in the highest degree inspiring. Mr. Moody's position, when speaking, was at the center of this platform, in front; on his left were seats for visiting clergymen; on his right, in front, was Mr. Sankey's position, at a small organ, on which he played the accompaniment to his admirable rendering of the hymns which formed such a marked and helpful feature of these services. It was in this rink, that, day after day and night after night, for successive weeks, dense throngs assembled, and discourse, song, and prayer united to bring thousands of hearts to religious consecration. Outdoor meetings, as well as meetings in the neighboring churches, were also held daily, with the most beneficial results, the pastors joining heartily in the work,—and, in fact, all over the land, the stimulus to renewed zeal and activity in spiritual things, received from this source, was most decided.

Commencing in Brooklyn, October 24th, and continuing some weeks, only a brief interval elapsed before the revivalists commenced their labors in Philadelphia, namely, on Sunday morning, November 21st, the meetings being held in the old freight depot, at Thirteenth and Market streets, which had been fitted up for this use. The inclemency of the weather did not prevent the assembling of at least ten thousand persons at the opening services, including hundreds of prominent persons. Indeed, long before the hour of opening, the streets leading to the building were alive with people of every age and condition, and of both sexes; thousands came by the various lines of passenger railway running by or near the spot, and other thousands wended their way thither on foot, many of them coming weary distances. Within the building, the sight of such a vast sea of humanity—now eager to catch the earnest words of the speaker, and, again, with heads bowed in solemn prayer—was most impressive; nor was it less so, when, under Mr. Sankey's inspiring leadership, the joyous multitude united in singing those sweet and favorite songs, "Hold the Fort," "The Ninety and Nine," "Jesus of Nazareth Passeth by," etc. The interest and enthusiasm in these meetings continued without abatement for consecutive weeks, not the least interested among the attendants, during one of the December sessions, being President Grant, with members of his cabinet.

New York city was the next field of labor chosen by the evangelists, the hippodrome being chosen by the Young Men's Christian Association of that city, for the meetings, the opening one taking place February 4, 1876. Both halls, the larger containing seven thousand persons, and the smaller, containing four thousand were filled, and several thousand persons more stood outside. Distinguished preachers occupied the platform; a choir of twelve hundred voices conducted the singing; Mr. Moody preached with great power; and the spectacle altogether was truly sublime. Mr. Sankey carried all hearts with him while he sang "Hold the Fort," the people joining in the chorus. There was not only no diminution in enthusiasm or attendance while the meetings were in progress, but rain and storm offered no obstacle to the pressing throngs. Mr. Moody gained favor constantly by the judicious judgment which he showed in his management both of the people and himself; and when, on one occasion, he said, "I want no false excitement," the expressions of approval were unmistakable. On Sunday, February 13th, the entire attendance was estimated to be from twenty to twenty-five thousand; even as early as eight o'clock, A. M., at a special meeting for Christians, the admission being by ticket, over four thousand persons were present; at three o'clock, P. M., a meeting specially for women was attended by more than six thousand of them; and in the evening, when men alone were admitted, the audience numbered some ten

thousand. At all these services the order was perfect, and all hearts seemed in accord. Though a Roman Catholic, Dom Pedro, emperor of Brazil, being in the city on his American tour, during the holding of the meetings, became an auditor, and was not only deeply moved by such a vast and unusual spectacle, but expressed his admiration of Mr. Moody's fervid preaching and Mr. Sankey's beautiful songs. The New York meetings were succeeded by visits from the evangelists to the south and west, with the most beneficial results.

XXX.

POLITICAL DEBATE BETWEEN ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, IN ILLINOIS.—1858.

Cause of this Remarkable Oratorical Contest.—Intense Interest in All Parts of the Land.—the Heart of Every American Citizen Enlisted in the Momentous Issue Involved.—Eminent Character of the Combatants.—their Extraordinary Ability and Eloquence Universally Acknowledged.—the Discussions Attended by Friends and Foes.—Victory, Defeat, Life and Death.—Condition of the New Territories.—Form of Constitution to be Decided.—Domestic Institutions: Slavery.—Mr. Douglas Advocates "Popular Sovereignty."—"Prohibition" Urged by Mr. Lincoln.—National Importance of the Question.—The Public Mind Divided.—Joint Debates Proposed.—Agreement between the two Leaders.—Personal Appearance and Style.—Plans, Places, Scenes.—Theories and Arguments Advanced.—Skill and Adroitness of the Disputants.—Immense Concourses.—Result Impartially Stated.—Mr. Douglas Re-elected Senator.—Mr. Lincoln Nominated for President.—His Election to that Office.—Douglas' Magnanimity —The Olive Branch.—Shoulder to Shoulder as Unionists.—Sudden Decease of the Great Senator.

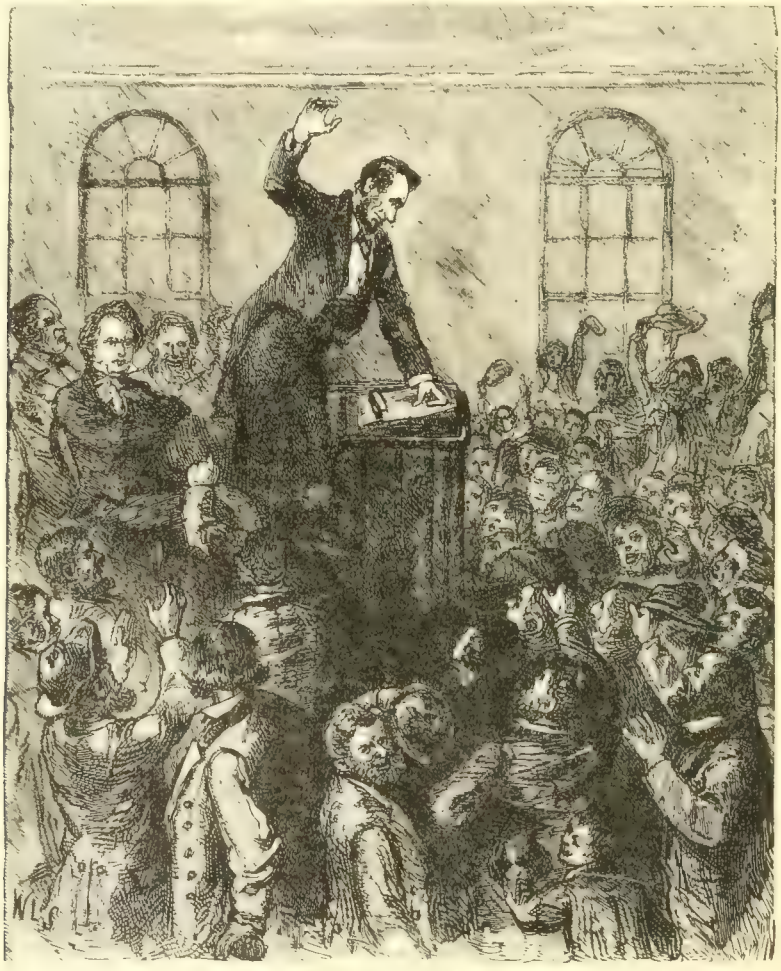
"I regard Lincoln as a kind, amiable, and intelligent gentleman, a good citizen, and an honorable opponent."—JUDGE DOUGLAS.
"The man who stumps a State with Stephen A. Douglas, and meets him, day after day, before the people, has got to be no fool."
HORACE GREELEY.

THE tremendous political excitement which convulsed the nation in 1858, growing out of the agitation of the slavery question, in its relation to the vast territories of Kansas and Nebraska, found two of the most able and conspicuous men in the great west, and especially Illinois, pitted against each other in the discussion of that issue,—representing, respectively, the two prevailing political parties in public affairs,—and the interest created by this fact throughout that region, and, indeed, from one end of the whole land to the other, was still farther heightened by those two gentlemen being not only candidates—the one of the democratic and the other of the anti-slavery party—for the senatorial seat of that State in the capitol at Washington, but their names were also looming up in the near presidential horizon of 1860.

STATE CAPITOL OF ILLINOIS.

The question at issue was immense—permanent not transient—universal not local,

and the debate attracted profound attention on the part of the people, whether democratic or free soil, from the Kennebec to the Rio Grande. Briefly stated, Mr. Douglas took the position in this controversy, that the vote of a majority of the people of a territory should decide this as well as all other questions concerning their domestic or internal affairs, and this theory came to be known as that of "Popular Sovereignty." Mr. Lincoln, on the contrary, urged in substance, the necessity of an organic enactment excluding slavery in any form,—this latter to be the condition of its admission into the Union as a State.



DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS.

The public mind was divided, and the utterances and movements of every public man were closely scanned. Finally, after the true western style, a joint discussion, face to face, between Lincoln and Douglas, as the two great representative leaders, was proposed and agreed to,—seven public debates, one each at Ottawa, Freeport, Jonesboro', Charleston, Galesburg, Quincy, and Alton,—the seven oratorical tournaments being thus held in all quarters of the state, from the extreme of one point of the compass to the extreme of the opposite, and everywhere the different parties turned out to do honor to their champions. Processions and cavalcades, bands of music and cannon-firing, made every day a day of excitement But far greater was the excitement of such oratorical contests between two such skilled debaters,

before mixed audiences of friends and foes, to rejoice over every keen thrust at the adversary, and, again, to be cast down by each failure to "give back as good," or to parry the thrust so aimed.

In person, appearance, voice, gesture, and general platform style and impression, nothing could exceed the dissimilarity of these two speakers. Mr. Douglas possessed a natural build or frame and physique uncommonly attractive,—a presence which would have gained for him access to the highest circles, however courtly, in any land; a thick-set, finely-built, courageous man, with an air, as natural to him as his breath, of self-confidence that did not a little to inspire his supporters with hope. That he was every inch a man, no friend or foe ever questioned. Ready, forceful, animated, keen and trenchant, as well as playful, by turns, and thoroughly unartificial, he was one of the most admirable platform speakers that ever appeared before an American audience,—his personal geniality, too, being so abounding, that, excepting in a political sense, no antagonism existed between him and his opponent.

Mr. Lincoln's personal appearance was in unique contrast with that presented by Mr. Douglas. He stood about six feet and four inches high in his stockings; long, lean, and wiry; in motion, he had a great deal of the elasticity and awkwardness which indicated the rough training of his early life; his face genial looking, with good humor lurking in every corner of its innumerable angles. As a speaker he was ready, precise, fluent, and his manner before a popular assembly was just as he pleased to make it, being either superlatively ludicrous, or very impressive. He employed but little gesticulation, but, when desiring to make a point, produced a shrug of the shoulders, an elevation of his eyebrows, a depression of his mouth, and a general malformation of countenance so comically awkward that it never failed to 'bring down the house.' His enunciation was slow and emphatic, and his voice, though sharp and powerful, at times had a tendency to dwindle into a shrill and unpleasant sound. In this matter of voice and of commanding attitude, so as to affect the multitude, the odds were quite in favor of Mr. Douglas.

The arrangements, places, etc., for the great debate, having, as already remarked, been perfected, the first discussion took place, August 21st, at Ottawa, in La Salle county, a strong republican district. The crowd in attendance was a large one, and about equally divided in political sentiment—the enthusiasm of the democracy having brought out more than a due proportion, if anything, of that party, to hear and see their favorite leader, Douglas. His thrilling tones, his manly defiance towards the enemies of the party, assured his friends, if any assurance were wanting, that he was the same unconquered and unconquerable democrat that for twenty-five years he had proved to be. Douglas opened the discussion and spoke one hour; Lincoln followed, the time assigned him being an hour and a half, though he yielded a portion of it before the expiration of its limit.

In this first debate, Mr Douglas arraigned his opponent for the expression in a former speech of "a house divided against itself," etc.,—referring to the slavery and anti-slavery sections of the country; and Mr. Lincoln reiterated and defended his assertions on that subject. It was not until the second meeting, however, and those held subsequently, that the debaters grappled with those profound constitutional questions and measures of administration which were so soon to convulse the whole land and cause it to stagger almost to the verge of destruction. But, as Mr. Lincoln's position in relation to one or two points growing out of the former speech referred to had attracted great attention throughout the country, he availed himself of the opportunity of this preliminary meeting to reply to what he regarded as common misconceptions. 'Anything,' he said, 'that argues me into the idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro, is but a specious

and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to be a chestnut horse. I will say here, while upon this subject, that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it now exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon a footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a matter of necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary, but I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But, in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of any one else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal, and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.'

Touching the question of respect or weight of opinion due to deliverances of the United States Supreme Court,—an element which entered largely into this national contest, — Mr. Lincoln said: 'This man sticks to a decision which forbids the people of a territory from excluding slavery, and he does so not because he says it is right in itself—he does not give any opinion on that,—but because it has been decided by the court, and being decided by the court, he is, and you are bound to take it in your political action as law; not that he judges at all of its merits, but because a decision of the court is to him a 'Thus saith the Lord.' He places it on that ground alone, and you will bear in mind that, thus committing himself unreservedly to this decision, commits him to the next one just as firmly as to this. He did not commit himself on account of the merit or demerit of the decision, but it is a 'Thus saith the Lord.' The next decision, as much as this, will be a 'Thus saith the Lord.' There is nothing that can divert or turn him away from this decision. It is nothing that I point out to him that his great prototype, Gen Jackson, did not believe in the binding force of decisions,—it is nothing to him that Jefferson did not so believe. I have said that I have often heard him approve of Jackson's course in disregarding the decision of the Supreme Court pronouncing a National Bank unconstitutional. He says I did not hear him say so; he denies the accuracy of my recollection. I say he ought to know better than I, but I will make no question about this thing, though it still seems to me that I heard him say it twenty times. I will tell him though, that he now claims to stand on the Cincinnati platform, which affirms that Congress *cannot* charter a National Bank, in the teeth of that old standing decision that Congress *can* charter a bank. And I remind him of another piece of history on the question of respect for judicial decisions, and it is a piece of Illinois history belonging to a time when the large party to which Judge Douglas belonged were displeased with a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois, because they had decided that a Governor could not remove a Secretary of State. I know that Judge Douglas will not deny that he was then in favor of overslaughing that decision by the mode of adding five new judges, so as to vote down the four old ones. Not only so, but it ended in the Judge's sitting down on that very bench as one of the five new judges to break down the four old ones'. In this strain Mr. Lincoln occupied most of his time.

But, if the opponents of Judge Douglas were elated at the animated effort put

forth by his rival, at Ottawa the debate which followed at Freeport gave ample opportunity for the Judge to exhibit his great intellectual prowess, nor did he fail to improve it.

At this meeting, Mr. Lincoln propounded certain questions, and to these prompt and vigorous response was made. 'He desires to know, If the people of Kansas shall form a Constitution by means entirely proper and unobjectionable, and ask admission into the Union as a state before they have the requisite population for a member of Congress, whether I will vote for that admission? Well, now, I regret exceedingly that he did not answer that interrogatory himself before he put it to me, in order that we might understand, and not be left to infer, on which side he is. Mr. Trumbull, during the last session of Congress, voted from the beginning to the end against the admission of Oregon, although a free state, because she had not the requisite population for a member of Congress. Mr. Trumbull would not, under any circumstances, consent to let a state, free or slave, come into the Union until it had the requisite population. As Mr. Trumbull is in the field fighting for Mr. Lincoln, I would like to have Mr. Lincoln answer his own question, and tell me whether he is fighting Trumbull on that issue or not. But I will answer his question. In reference to Kansas, it is my opinion that, as she has population enough to constitute a slave state, she has people enough for a free state. I will not make Kansas an exceptional case to the other states of the Union. I hold it to be a sound rule, of universal application, to require a territory to contain the requisite population for a member of Congress before it is admitted as a state into the Union. I made that proposition in the Senate in 1856, and I renewed it during the last session, in a bill providing that no territory of the United States should form a Constitution and apply for admission until it had the requisite population. On another occasion, I proposed that neither Kansas, nor any other territory, should be admitted until it had the requisite population. Congress did not adopt any of my propositions containing this general rule, but did make an exception of Kansas. I will stand by that exception. Either Kansas must come in as a free state, with whatever population she may have, or the rule must be applied to all the other territories alike.'

Mr. Douglas next proceeded to answer another question proposed by Mr. Lincoln, namely, Whether the people of a territory can in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state Constitution. Said Mr. Douglas: 'I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state Constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska Bill on that principle all over the state in 1854, in 1855, and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour unless it is supported by local police regulations Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will, by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave territory or a free territory is perfect and com-

plete under the Nebraska Bill' This right or freedom of the people thus to act, and which Mr. Douglas so strenuously advocated, was commonly termed 'Popular Sovereignty,' and, as one of the battle-cries in the great contests, was most effectively used.

One of the most interesting features of this memorable debate, covering as it did almost the whole issue involved in the canvass, consisted of the following interrogatories propounded by Mr. Douglas, and Mr Lincoln's replies:—

Mr. Douglas: I desire to know whether Lincoln to-day stands, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law?

Mr. Lincoln: I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law

Mr. Douglas: I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave states into the Union, even if the people want them?

Mr. Lincoln: I do not now, or ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave states into the Union.

Mr. Douglas: I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new state into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that state may see fit to make?

Mr. Lincoln: I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new state into the Union, with such a Constitution as the people of that state may see fit to make.

Mr. Douglas: I want to know whether he stands to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?

Mr. Lincoln: I do not stand to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Douglas: I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different states?

Mr. Lincoln: I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different states.

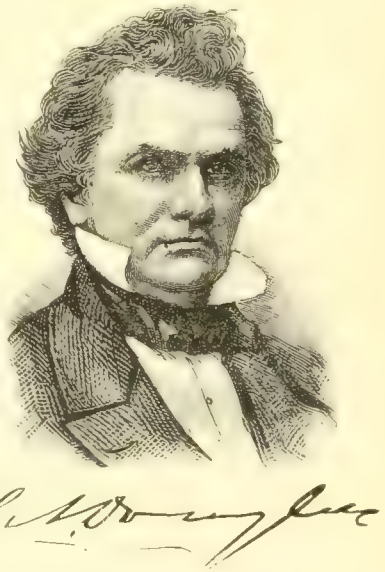
Mr. Douglas: I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States, North as well as South of the Missouri Compromise line?

Mr. Lincoln: I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the *right* and *duty* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States territories.

Mr. Douglas: I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein?

Mr. Lincoln: I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, according as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves.

It was with great vigor and adroitness that the two distinguished combatants went over the ground covered by the above questions, at the remaining five places of debate, all of which were attended and



listened to by immense concourses. On both sides the speeches were able, eloquent, exhaustive. It was admitted by Lincoln's friends, that, on several occasions, he was partly foiled or, at least, badly bothered, while on the other hand,

Douglas' admirers allowed that, in more than one instance, he was flatly and fairly floored by Lincoln's logic, wit, good humor and frankness. Douglas, while more brusque and resolute, was also rather the superior of the two in a certain force, directness and determination, that greatly helped his side. But it was, altogether, about an equal match in respect to the ability displayed by these foremost champions. Both of them were self-made men; both of them able lawyers and politicians; both sprang from obscurity to distinction; both belonged to the common people; and both were strong and popular with the masses. The portrait which we give of Mr. Douglas (Mr. Lincoln's will be found in another part of this volume) represents him at this victorious stage in his career.

As for the result, Lincoln took more of the popular vote than Douglas, but the latter secured a majority in the legislature, —sufficient to insure his re-election to the United States senate, and this majority would probably have been greater, but for the hostility towards him of a certain portion of his own party, who favored a more thorough southern or pro-slavery policy than Douglas would consent to.

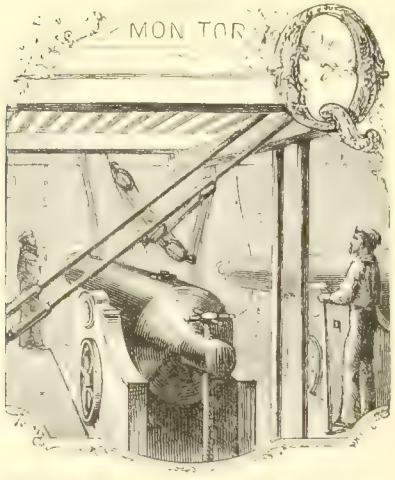
In May, 1860, the Republican Nominating Convention met at Chicago, Ill., and after successive ballots, Mr. Lincoln was chosen standard-bearer of the party in the presidential contest. His election followed in November ensuing. Mr. Douglas failed of a nomination at the Democratic convention. Secession raised its gory front. Forgetting past differences, Douglas magnanimously stood shoulder to shoulder with Lincoln in behalf of the Union. It was the olive branch of genuine patriotism. But, while proudly holding aloft the banner of his country in the councils of the nation, and while yet the blood of his countrymen had not drenched the land, the great senator was suddenly stricken from among the living, in the hour of the republic's greatest need.

XXXI.

EXTRAORDINARY COMBAT BETWEEN THE IRON-CLADS MERRIMAC AND MONITOR, IN HAMPTON ROADS.—1862.

Sudden Appearance of the Merrimac Among the Federal Frigates.—Their Swift and Terrible Destruction by Her Steel Prow.—Unexpected Arrival of the "Little Monitor" at the Scene of Action.—She Engages and Disables the Monster Craft in a Four Hours' Fight.—Total Revolution in Naval Warfare the World Over by this Remarkable Contest.—How the Merrimac Changed Hands.—Burned and Sunk at Norfolk, Va.—Her Hull Raised by the Confederates.—She is Iron Roofed and Plated.—Proof Against Shot and Shell.—A Powerful Steel Beak in Her Prow.—Most Formidable Vessel Afloat.—In Command of Commodore Buchanan.—Departs from Norfolk, March 8th.—Pierces and Sinks the Cumberland.—Next Attacks the Congress.—The Noble Frigate Destroyed.—Fight Begun with the Minnesota.—Suspended at Nightfall.—Trip of the Monitor from New York.—Her New and Singular Build.—Lieutenant Worden Hears of the Battles.—Resolves to Grapple with the Monster.—The Two Together, Next Day.—A Scene Never to be Forgotten.—Worden Turns the Tide of Fortune.—Repulse and Retreat of the Merrimac.

"BE IT RESOLVED, ETC., That the thanks of Congress and of the American people are due, and are hereby tendered, to Lieutenant J. L. Worden, of the United States Navy, and to the officers and men of the iron-clad gun-boat Monitor, under his command, for the skill and gallantry exhibited by them in the late remarkable battle between the Monitor and the rebel iron-clad steamer Merrimac."—RESOLUTION PASSED BY CONGRESS.



INTERIOR OF THE TOWER OF THE MONITOR.

QUITTING the city of Norfolk, Va., on the eighth of March, 1862, the confederate iron-clad steam-ram Merrimac sailed down Elizabeth river into Hampton Roads, Chesapeake Bay, and there signalized the naval history of the civil war in America by an action not only memorable beyond all others in that tremendous conflict, but altogether unprecedented in the annals of ocean warfare in any country or in any age. On the abandonment and destruction, by fire, of the Norfolk navy yard, in April, 1861, by the United States officers in charge, among the vessels left behind was the steam frigate Merrimac, of four thousand tons burden, then under repair. In the conflagration she was burned to her copper-line, and down through to her berth-deck, which, with her spar and gun-decks, was also burned. Soon after the confederate authorities took possession of the navy yard, the Merrimac was raised and converted into an iron-plated man-of-war of the most formidable character. Immediately after this, she was placed upon the dry

dock, and covered with a sloping roof of iron plates three inches thick, the weight of which nearly broke her down upon the dock. Owing to some miscalculation when launched, she sank four feet deeper than before, and took in considerable water. She was, in consequence, obliged to be docked a second time. Her hull was cut down to within three feet of her water-mark, over which the bomb-proof house covered her gun-deck. She was also iron-plated, and her bow and stern steel-clad, with a projecting snout of iron for the purpose of piercing an antagonist. She had no masts, and there was nothing to be seen over her gun-deck but the pilot-house and smoke-stack. Her bomb-proof was three inches thick, and consisted of wrought iron. Her armament consisted of four eleven-inch navy guns, broadside, and two one-hundred-pounder rifled guns at the bow and stern. She was now named the Virginia, though she continued to be known as the Merrimac. She was commanded by Com. Franklin Buchanan, formerly commandant of the Washington navy yard.

The time chosen for her departure for Hampton Roads was one peculiarly adapted for the trial of her prowess. The federal fleet in that vicinity comprised the sloop-of-war Cumberland, the sailing-frigate Congress, the steam-frigates Minnesota, St. Lawrence, and Roanoke—the latter in a disabled condition from a broken shaft, together with a number of improvised gun-boats of a small grade. The Cumberland and Congress were anchored before the entrenched federal camp at Newport News, the Roanoke and St. Lawrence near the Rip Raps, and the Minnesota in front of Fortress Monroe.

On the Merrimac coming out, on Saturday, the eighth of March, she stood directly across the roads toward Newport News. What followed was, according to the narrative published in the Baltimore American by one who had unusually favorable opportunities of observation, in the order of occurrence given below:

As soon as the Merrimac was made out and her direction ascertained (says the narrative referred to), the crews were beat to quarters on both the Cumberland and Congress, and preparations made for what was felt to be an almost hopeless fight, but the determination to make it as desperate as possible. The Merrimac kept straight on, making, according to the best estimates, about eight miles an hour. As she passed the mouth of Nansemond river, the Congress threw the first shot at her, which was immediately answered. The Merrimac passed the Congress, discharging a broadside at her,—one shell from which killed and disabled every man except one at gun No. Ten,—and kept on toward the Cumberland, which she approached at full speed, striking her on the port side near the bow, her stem knocking port No. One and the bridle-port into one, whilst her ram, or snout, cut the Cumberland under water. Almost at the moment of collision, the Merrimac discharged from her forward gun an eleven-inch shell. This shell raked the whole gun-deck, killing ten men at gun No. One, among whom was mastermate John Harrington, and cutting off both arms and legs of quarter-gunner Wood. The water rushed in from the hole made below, and in five minutes the ship began to sink by the head. Shell and solid shot from the Cumberland were rained upon the Merrimac as she passed ahead, but the most of them glanced off harmlessly from the incline of her iron-plated bomb-proof.

As the Merrimac rounded to and came up, she again raked the Cumberland with a heavy fire. At this fire, sixteen men at gun No. Ten were killed or wounded, and all subsequently carried down in the sinking ship. Advancing with increased momentum, the Merrimac now struck the Cumberland on the starboard side, smashing her upper works and cutting another hole below the water-line.

The ill-fated Cumberland now began to rapidly settle, and the scene became most horrible. The cock-pit was filled with the wounded, whom it was found impossible to bring up. The forward magazine was under water, but powder was still supplied

from the after-magazine, and the firing kept steadily up by men who knew that the ship was sinking under them. They worked desperately and unremittingly, and amid the din and horror of the conflict gave cheers for their flag and the Union, which were joined in by the wounded. The decks were slippery with blood, and arms and legs and chunks of flesh were strewed about. The Merrimac laid off at easy point-blank range, discharging her broadsides alternately at the Cumberland and the Congress. The water by this time had reached the after-magazine of the Cumberland. The men, however, kept at work, and several cases of powder were passed up and the guns kept in play. A number of men in the after shell-room lingered there too long in their eagerness to pass up shell and were drowned.

By this time the water had reached the berth or main gun-deck, and it was felt hopeless and useless to continue the fight longer. The word was given for each man to save himself; but after this order, gun No. Seven was fired, when the adjoining gun, No. Six, was actually under water. This last shot was fired by an active little fellow named Matthew Tenney, whose courage had been conspicuous throughout the action. As his port was left open by the recoil of the gun, he jumped to scramble out, but the water rushed in with so much force that he was washed back and drowned. When the order was given to cease firing, and to look out for their safety in the best way possible, numbers scampered through the port-holes, whilst others reached the spar-deck by the companion-ways. Some were unable to get out by either of these means, and were carried by the rapidly sinking ship.

The Cumberland sank in water nearly to her cross-trees. She went down with her *flag still flying*, and, for some time after, it might still be seen flying from the mast above the water that overwhelmed the noble ship,—a memento of the bravest, most daring, and yet most hopeless defense that was ever made by any vessel belonging to any navy in the world. The men

Franklin Buchanan

fought with a courage that could not be excelled; there was no flinching, no thought of surrender. The whole number lost, of the Cumberland's crew, was one hundred and twenty. Many of the scenes on board were deeply affecting. Two of the gunners at the bow-guns, when the ship was sinking, clasped their guns in their arms, and would not be removed, and went down embracing them. One gunner had both his legs shot away; but he made three steps on his bloody thighs, seized the lanyard and fired his gun, falling back dead. Wood, who lost both arms and legs, on being offered assistance, cried out, "*Back to your guns, boys! Give 'em fits! Hurrah for the flag!*" He lived till she sank.

Having thoroughly demolished the Cumberland, the Merrimac now proceeded to deal with the Congress, the officers of which, having seen the fate of the Cumberland, and aware that the Congress must also be sunk if she remained within reach of the iron monster's beak, had got all sail on the ship, with the intention of running her ashore. The tug-boat Zouave also came out and made fast to the Cumberland, and assisted in towing her ashore.

The Merrimac then surged up, gave the Congress a broadside, receiving one in return, and getting astern, raked the Congress fore and aft. This fire was terribly destructive, a shell killing every man at one of the guns except one. Coming again broadside to the Congress, the Merrimac ranged slowly backward and forward, at less than one hundred yards distant, and fired broadside after broadside into the Congress. The latter vessel replied manfully and obstinately, every gun that could be brought to bear being discharged rapidly, but with little effect upon the iron monster. Some of the balls caused splinters of iron to fly from her mailed roof, but still she seemed well nigh invulnerable. The Merrimac's guns appeared to be specially trained on the after-magazine of the Congress, and shot after shot entered that part of the ship.

Thus slowly drifting down with the current and again steaming up, the Merrimac continued for an hour to fire into her opponent. Several times the Congress was on fire, but the flames were kept down. Finally, the ship was on fire in so many places, and the flames gathering such force, that it was hopeless and suicidal to keep up the defense any longer. The federal flag was sorrowfully hauled down and a white flag hoisted at the peak. After it was hoisted, the Merrimac continued to fire, perhaps not discovering the white flag, but soon after ceased firing.

A small confederate tug that had followed the Merrimac out of Norfolk then came alongside the Congress, and a young officer gained the gun-deck through a port-hole, announced that he came on board to take command, and ordered the officers on board the tug. The officers of the Congress refused to go, hoping from the nearness to the shore that they would be able to reach it, and unwilling to become prisoners whilst the least chance of escape remained. Some of the men, thinking the tug was a federal vessel, rushed on board. At this moment, the members of an Indiana regiment, at Newport News, brought a Parrott gun down to the beach and opened fire upon the tug. The latter hastily put off, and the Merrimac again opened fire upon the Congress. The fire not being returned from the ship, the Merrimac commenced shelling the woods and camps at Newport News.

By the time all were ashore, it was seven o'clock in the evening, and the Congress was in a bright sheet of flame fore and aft. She continued to burn until twelve o'clock at night, her guns, which were loaded and trained, going off as they became heated. Finally, the fire reached her magazines, and with a tremendous concussion her charred remains blew up. There were some five tons of gunpowder in her magazines, and about twenty thousand dollars in the safe of paymaster Buchanan, the latter officer being an own brother to the commander of the Merrimac. The loss of life on board the Congress was lamentable.

After sinking the Cumberland and firing the Congress, the Merrimac (with her companions the Yorktown and Jamestown,) stood off in the direction of the Minnesota, which, in trying to reach the scene of action, had run aground, and could not be moved. An exchange of shot and shell, however, took place between the vessels, after which, nightfall setting in, the Merrimac steamed in under Sewall's Point, expecting the next day to capture the Minnesota as a prize, instead of destroying her. The day thus closed dismally for the federal side, and with the most gloomy apprehensions of what would occur the next day. The Minnesota was at the mercy of the Merrimac, and there appeared no reason why the iron monster might not clear the Roads of the whole fleet, and

destroy all the stores and warehouses on the beach. Saturday, therefore, was a night of terror at Fortress Monroe.

But just here, the chief event of interest centers. It was at night, the moon shining brightly, when, totally unexpected, there came into those blood-dyed waters, the little gun-boat *Monitor*, from New York, —a vessel which had just been completed, from designs of Mr. Ericsson, and differing materially from any vessel ever before constructed, and believed by its inventor to be absolutely invulnerable. Externally, it had the appearance of a long, oval raft, rising only eighteen inches above the water, with a low, round tower upon its center. This raft was the upper part of the hull of the vessel, and was plated with iron so as to be ball-proof; it projected on every side beyond the lower hull, which contained the machinery. The tower, containing two heavy guns, the only armament of the battery, was of iron, and nearly a foot in thickness, and so constructed as to revolve, bringing the guns to bear upon any point. This tower, nine feet high and twenty in diameter, and a pilot-house, rising three feet, were all that appeared upon the smooth, level deck. She was commanded by Lieutenant Worden, U. S. N., and, though a mere pigmy, in size and armament, compared with the Merrimac, was soon to measure her prowess with the latter, in a contest such as had never entered into the imagination even of Mr. Ericsson himself.

The succeeding day, Sunday, dawned fair. As the sun broke on the horizon, a slight haze was visible on the water, which prevented an extended vision. At half past six, A. M., this haze cleared away. Looking toward Sewall's Point, there appeared the Merrimac, and her attendants, the steamers Yorktown and Patrick Henry. They were stationary,—the Merrimac to the right of the others, blowing off steam. They seemed deliberating what to do—whether to move on to attempt the destruction of the Minnesota, which was yet aground, or move on to the federal fleet anchored near the Rip Raps. At seven o'clock, a plan seemed to have been adopted, and the Merrimac steamed in the direction of the Minnesota, which was still aground. The Yorktown and Jamestown were crowded with troops, and steamed slowly after the Merrimac. The latter steamed along with boldness until she was within three miles of the Minnesota, when the Monitor essayed from behind the latter, and proceeded toward the Merrimac. It should here be mentioned, that when Lieutenant Worden first arrived in the Roads and was informed of what had occurred, though his crew were suffering from exposure and loss of rest from a stormy voyage around from New York, he at once made preparations for taking part in whatever might take place the next day. To this end, the Monitor moved up, before daylight on Sunday morning, and took a position alongside the Minnesota, lying between the latter ship and the fortress, where she could not be seen by the enemy, but was ready, with steam up, to slip out.

At the sudden appearance of so strange-looking and diminutive a craft as the Monitor, the confederate monster seemed nonplussed, and hesitated, no doubt in wonderment that such an unaccountable and apparently insignificant an object should be making so bold an approach.

The Merrimac now closed the distance between her and the Monitor, until they were within a mile of each other. Both batteries stopped. The Merrimac fired a shot at the Minnesota, to which no reply was made. She then fired at the Monitor; the latter replied, hitting the Merrimac near the water-line. The Merrimac then commenced firing very rapidly, first from her stern gun at the Monitor, and then her broadside guns, occasionally firing a shot at the Minnesota. The fight went on in this way for an hour or two, both vessels exchanging shots pretty freely. Sometimes the Merrimac would retire, followed by the Monitor, and sometimes the reverse.

While the fight between the batteries was going on, one hundred solid nine-inch shot were sent up from Fortress Monroe on the steamer Rancocas to the Minnesota.

NAVAL COMBAT BETWEEN THE MERRIMAC AND MONITOR.

At a quarter-past ten o'clock, the Merrimac and Monitor had come into pretty close quarters, the former giving the latter two broadsides in succession. It was replied to promptly by the Monitor. The firing was so rapid that both craft were obscured in columns of white smoke for a moment or more. The ramparts of the fort, the rigging of the vessels in port, the houses, and the bend, were all crowded with sailors, soldiers and civilians. When the rapid firing alluded to took place, these spectators were singularly silent, as if doubtful as to the result. Their impatience was soon removed by the full figure of the Monitor, with the stars and stripes flying at her stern, steaming around the Merrimac, moving with the ease of a duck on the water. The distance between the vessels was forty feet. In this circuit, the Monitor's guns were not idle, as she fired shot after shot into her antagonist, two of which penetrated the monster's sides.

At eleven, A. M., the Minnesota opened fire, and assisted the Monitor in engaging the Merrimac. She fired nine-inch solid shot with good accuracy, but with apparently little effect. The Merrimac returned the fire, firing shell, one of which struck and exploded the boiler of the gun-boat Dragon, which was alongside the Minnesota, endeavoring to get her off. For the next hour, the battle raged fiercely between the Merrimac on the one side, and her antagonists, the Monitor, Minnesota, and Whitehall, but with no important result. The Minnesota being the best mark for the Merrimac, the latter fired at her frequently, alternately giving the Monitor a shot. The Merrimac made several attempts, also, to run at full speed past the Monitor, to attack and run down the Minnesota. All these attempts were parried, as it were, by the Monitor. In one of these attempts by the Merrimac, she ran her prow or ram with full force against the side of the Monitor; but it only had the effect of careening the latter vessel in the slightest degree. The Yorktown and Patrick Henry kept at a safe distance from the Monitor. The former vessel, at the beginning of the

fight, had the temerity to come within respectable range of the Monitor. The latter fired one shot at her, which carried away her pilot-house, and caused her to lose no time in retiring.

As the Monitor carried but two guns, whilst the Merrimac had eight, of course she received two or three shots for every one she gave. The fight raged hotly on both sides, the opposing batteries moving around each other with great skill, ease, and dexterity. The Merrimac, though the strongest, did not move with the alertness of her antagonist; hence the Monitor had the advantage of taking choice of position. At a quarter before twelve o'clock, noon, Lieutenant Hepburn, the signal officer on the ramparts at Fortress Monroe, reported to General Wool that the Monitor had pierced the sides of the Merrimac, and in a few minutes the latter was in full retreat. Whether true, or not, that the Merrimac's armor had actually been penetrated, her iron prow had become so wrenched in striking the sides of her antagonist, that the timbers within were started, and the vessel leaked badly. The little Monitor followed the retreating Merrimac until she got well inside Sewall's Point, and then returned to the Minnesota. It is probable that the pursuit would have been continued still farther, but Lieutenant Worden had previously had his eyes injured, and it was felt that, as so much depended on the Monitor, it was imprudent to expose her unnecessarily. At the time he was injured, Lieutenant Worden was looking out of the eye-holes of the pilot-house, which were simply horizontal slips, half an inch wide. A round shot struck against these slits as Lieutenant Worden was looking through, causing some scalings from the iron and fragments of cement to fly with great force against his eyes, utterly blinding him for some days, and permanently destroying the power of his left eye. Stunned by the concussion, he was carried away helpless.

On recovering sufficiently to speak, he asked—

"*Have I saved the Minnesota?*"

"*Yes, and whipped the Merrimac,*" was the answer.

"*Then I don't care what becomes of me,*" said Lieutenant Worden.

No other real damage was received by the Monitor, during the action; the deepest indentation received by her was on the side, amounting to four and one-half inches; on the turret, the deepest was one and one-half inches; and on the deck, one-half inch. The Merrimac, in addition to the injury already mentioned, had her anchor and flag-staff shot away, her smoke-stack and steam-pipe riddled, two of her crew killed and eight wounded, including her commander, Buchanan. The latter officer went out on his deck, was seen by the federal sharp-shooters at Camp Butler, and was shot with a minie rifle ball in his left leg, which maimed him for life. His exploits gained him great favor at the south, and he was subsequently made Admiral of the Confederate States navy. The praises of Lieutenant Worden filled every loyal mouth, and he was successfully promoted to the highest rank in the service.

Withdrawing to Norfolk, the Merrimac underwent extensive repairs for some weeks, and was provided with ordnance of great power. She then took her station at the mouth of the Elizabeth river, guarding it, and threatening the United States vessels in the Roads, but, on account of some defects in her working, not venturing an attack. Finally, Norfolk having surrendered to the Union forces, May 10th, and the Merrimac being found to draw too much water to admit of her being removed up the river, she was on the 12th abandoned and set on fire, and soon after blew up.

The loss of two such fine war vessels as the Cumberland and Congress, with some four hundred brave men, cast a gloom over the nation, the weight of which was only relieved by the heroism displayed in their defense. Indeed, one of the greatest instances of patriotic devotion ever recorded in our own or any other nation's naval history, is that which narrates the closing

scene on board the Cumberland. Neither the shots of the Congress, nor of the Cumberland, had any more effect, for the most part, upon the iron-mailed Merrimac, than if they had been so many peas. But if they could have kept the Merrimac off, she never could have sunk the Cumberland. They had then nothing to do but stand and fight and die like men. Buchanan asked their commander, Lieutenant Morris—

"Will you surrender the ship?"

"Never," said Morris, "never will we surrender the ship."

Buchanan then backed his huge ram off again, and the Cumberland fired as rapidly as she could, but the Merrimac came once more and ran her steel beak in; and now it was that Buchanan asked Lieutenant Morris, calling him by name—

John L. Worden

"Mr. Morris, will you surrender that ship?"

"Never," said Morris, "*sink* her!"

The remaining act in this startling drama is well known. The guns of the Cumberland were coolly manned, loaded and discharged, while the vessel was in a sinking condition, and the good ship went down with her flag flying defiantly at the gaff

Similar was the bravery exhibited on board the ill-fated Congress. The father of the gallant commander of that ship (Lieutenant Joseph Smith), who lost his life in that terrible encounter, was Commodore Joseph Smith, of Washington. It appears that the elder Smith had exerted himself specially to finish the work on the Monitor, and hasten her departure. The son, too, had written repeatedly to the naval authorities at Washington, expressing his fears for the consequences of an attack from the Merrimac, and urging plans for guarding against it. The father knew the spirit of his son, and that the only issue of a battle for him was death or victory. When he saw, therefore, by the first dispatch from Fortress Monroe, that the Congress had raised the white flag, he only remarked quietly, "Joe is dead!" No Roman father ever paid a nobler or more emphatic tribute of confidence to a gallant son than is contained in the words so uttered, nor ever gave that son to his country with more cheerful and entire devotion. The sad assurance was well founded. The flag was not struck until his son had fallen.

Not less conspicuous was the conduct of Charles Johnston, boatswain of the Congress—a fine specimen of the thorough seaman, who had been in the navy some thirty odd years—who greatly excited the admiration of the officers by his cool, unflinching courage. Stationed in the very midst of the carnage committed by the raking fire of the Merrimac, he never lost his self-possession, and not for a moment failed to cheer on and encourage the men. Blinded with the smoke and dust, and splashed with the blood and brains of his shipmates, his cheering words of encouragement were still heard. After the engagement, from which he escaped unwounded, his kindness and care in providing for the removal of the wounded, were untiring. The fact has already been mentioned that the paymaster of the Congress was an own brother of the commander of the Merrimac. His position was one of extreme agony, but his loyal heart did not fail him. "Just before the sanguinary engagement," said paymaster

Buchanan, "I volunteered my services to Lieut. Commanding Joseph B. Smith for duty on either of the upper decks, although the rebel steamer Merrimac was commanded by my own brother, when I received an order to take charge of the berth-deck division, which order I promptly obeyed, and, thank God, I did some service to my beloved country."

The character of this contest may truly be said to have astonished the world, and its effect has been to revolutionize the principles and mode of naval warfare, rendering wooden vessels of war practically useless for active service.

XXXII.

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION, AS A WAR MEASURE, BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN.—1863.

More than Three Millions, in Bondage at the South, Declared Forever Free.—Most Important American State Paper Since July 4th, 1776.—Pronounced, by the President, "the Great Event of the Nineteenth Century."—The Whole System of Slavery Finally Swept from the Republic, by Victories in the Field and by Constitutional Amendments.—Mr. Lincoln's Views on Slavery.—Opposed to all Unconstitutional Acts.—His Orders to Union Generals.—Prohibits the Arming of Negroes.—Alarming Progress of Events.—The Great Exigency at Last.—Slavery *versus* the Union.—Solemn and Urgent Alternative.—Emancipation Under the War Power.—Preparation of the Great Document.—Its Submission to the Cabinet.—Opinions and Discussions.—Singular Reason for Delay.—Mr. Lincoln's Vow to God.—Waiting for a Union Triumph.—Decided by the Battle of Antietam.—Final Adoption of the Measure.—Mr. Carpenter's Admirable Narrative.—Public Reception of the Proclamation.—Promulgation at the South.—Scenes of Joy Among the Freedmen.—Enfranchisement Added to Freedom.

"And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God."—THE PROCLAMATION.

PEN USED IN SIGNING THE PROCLAMATION.

JEALOUSLY cherishing the humane personal wish, "that all men everywhere might be free,"—as expressed by himself in one of his most memorable political letters,—and inflexibly objecting to the introduction of slavery into the new national territories, President Lincoln, nevertheless, on every occasion avowed his opposition to all unconstitutional measures of interference with that system, as it existed in the States of the South. Only under the stupendous exigency precipitated upon him and upon the country, by the war inaugurated at Fort Sumter, and now carried on with such direful loss of blood and treasure for two long years, for the destruction of the Union, did he avail himself of the high and solemn prerogative of his position, as the sworn protector and defender of the nation, to decree, substantially, the utter extinction of slavery throughout all the borders of the land.

It was a war measure, done "upon military necessity," and in the grave performance of which President Lincoln said: "I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even *tried* to preserve the Constitution, if, to preserve slavery, or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and constitution altogether. When, early in the war, General Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, General Cameron, then secretary of war, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military

emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When, in March and May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border states to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come, unless averted by that measure.

They declined the proposition; and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter." It will thus be seen that, so far from being rash or aggressive in his anti-slavery policy, he favored no step in that direction, until driven to it as a last and remediless alternative, from which there seemed no possible escape.

William H. Seward

Singularly enough, this great measure —involving as mighty a moral, social, and political revolution as was ever accomplished in any age or in any country—was distinctly expounded and foreshadowed by John Quincy Adams, in a remarkable debate which took place in the lower house of congress, in 1842, and in the course of which he said: "I believe that, so long as the slave states are able to sustain their institutions, without going abroad or calling upon other parts of the Union to aid them or act on the subject, so long I will consent never to interfere. I have said this; and I repeat it; but, if they come to the free states and say to them, 'You must help us to keep down our slaves, you must aid us in an insurrection and a civil war,' then I say that, with that call, comes a full and plenary power to this house, and to the senate, over the whole subject. It is a war power; I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, congress has power to carry on the war, and must carry it on according to the laws of war; and, by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and martial law takes the place of them. This power in congress has, perhaps, never been called into exercise under the present constitution of the United States. But, when the laws of war are in force, what, I ask, is one of those laws? It is this: that when a country is invaded, and two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory." In proof of the correctness of his assertion, Mr. Adams cited the well-known historical case of the abolition of slavery in Colombia, first by Murillo, the Spanish general, and subsequently by Bolivar, the American general, in each case as a military act, and observed and maintained to this day.

Though the great American Proclamation of Emancipation did not appear until January 1, 1863, President Lincoln's mind had for some months previously been drifting in the direction of some such act. As he himself expressed it, everything was going wrong—the nation seemed to have put forth about its utmost efforts, and he really didn't know what more to do, unless he did this. Accordingly, he prepared a preliminary proclamation, nearly in the form in which it subsequently appeared, called the cabinet together, and read it to them, with the following result, as reported:

Mr. Montgomery Blair was startled. "If you issue that proclamation, Mr. President," he exclaimed, "you will lose every one of the fall elections."

Mr. Seward, on the other hand, said, "I approve of it, Mr. President, just as it stands. I approve of it in principle, and I approve the policy of issuing it. I only object to the time. Send it out now, on the heels of our late disasters, and it will be construed as the convulsive struggle of a drowning man. To give it proper weight, you should reserve it until after some victory." The president assented to Mr. Seward's view, and held the document in reserve. It appeared to the president, that Mr. Seward's opinion was of great wisdom and force.

Perhaps no account of this most memorable event can be said to equal, in reliability and graphic interest, that which is furnished by Mr. F. B. Carpenter, in his reminiscences of "Six Months at the White House," while employed there in

Edwin M. Stanton

executing that unrivaled masterpiece of American historical painting—the Proclamation of Emancipation — which, by universal consent, has placed Mr. Carpenter's name second to none on the roll of eminent modern artists. Enjoying, too, as he did, the most intimate personal relations with the author of that proclamation, the information which he thus obtained from the president's own lips, as to its origin, discussion, and final adoption, must forever be the source from which, on this subject, all historians must draw.

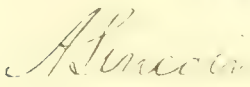
As already stated, the opinion of the secretary of state in regard to the effect of issuing such a proclamation at such a time, impressed Mr. Lincoln very strongly. "It was an aspect of the case that"—said President Lincoln to Mr. Carpenter,—"in all my thought upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for a victory. From time to time I added or changed a line, touching it up here and there, anxiously watching the progress of events. Well, the next news we had was of Pope's disaster at Bull Run. Things looked darker than ever. Finally, came the week of the battle of Antietam. I determined to wait no longer. The news came, I think, on Wednesday, that the advantage was on our side. I was then staying at the Soldiers' Home (three miles out of Washington). Here I finished writing the second draft of the preliminary proclamation; came up on Saturday; called the cabinet together to hear it, and it was published the following Monday." At the final meeting of September 20th, another incident occurred in connection with Secretary Seward. The president had written the important part of the proclamation in these words:—

"That, on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever FREE; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will *recognize* the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom."

"When I finished reading this paragraph," resumed Mr. Lincoln, "Mr. Seward stopped me, and said, 'I think, Mr. President, that you should insert after the word "recognize," in that sentence, the words "and maintain."' I replied that I had already considered the import of that ex-

pression in this connection, but I had not introduced it, because it was not my way to promise what I was not entirely *sure* that I could perform, and I was not prepared to say that I thought we were exactly able to 'maintain' this. But Seward insisted that we ought to take this ground, and the words finally went in. It is a somewhat remarkable fact," he subsequently added, "that there were just one hundred days between the dates of the two proclamations issued upon the 22d of September and the 1st of January."

bany, N. Y., in 1864; it is in the proper handwriting of Mr. Lincoln, excepting two interlineations in pencil, by Secretary Seward, and the formal heading and ending, which were written by the chief clerk of the state department. The final proclamation was signed on New Year's Day, 1863. The president remarked to Mr. Colfax, the same evening, that the signature appeared somewhat tremulous and uneven. "Not," said he, "because of any uncertainty or hesitation on my part; but it was just after the public reception, and



The original draft of the proclamation was written upon one side of four half-sheets of official foolscap. "He flung down upon the table one day for me," continues Mr. Carpenter, "several sheets of the same, saying, 'There, I believe, is some of the very paper which was used—if not, it was at any rate just like it.'" The original draft is dated September 22, 1862, and was presented to the Army Relief Bazaar, at Al-

three hours' hand-shaking is not calculated to improve a man's chirography." Then changing his tone, he added: "The south had fair warning, that if they did not return to their duty, I should strike at this pillar of their strength. The promise must now be kept, and I shall never recall one word."

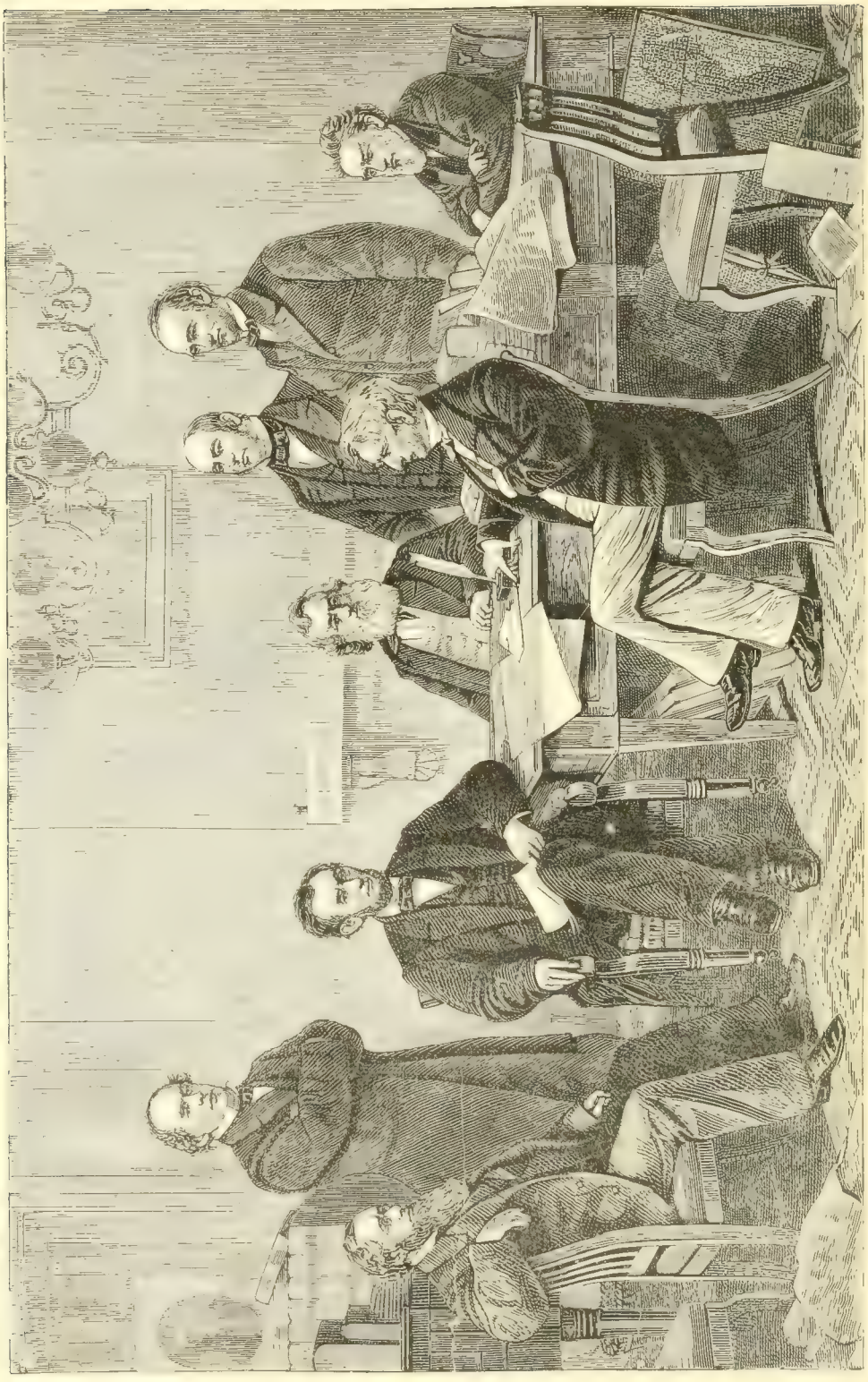
In answer to a question from Mr. Carpenter, as to whether the policy of eman-

cipation was not opposed by some members of the cabinet, the president replied: "Nothing more than I have stated to you. Mr. Blair thought we should lose the fall elections, and opposed it on that ground only." "I have understood," said Mr. Carpenter, "that Secretary Smith was not in favor of your action. Mr. Blair told me that, when the meeting closed, he and the secretary of the interior went away together, and that the latter said to him, that if the president carried out that policy, he might count on losing Indiana, sure!" "He never said anything of the kind to me," responded the president. "And what is Mr. Blair's opinion now?" I asked. "Oh," was the prompt reply, "he proved right in regard to the fall elections, but he is satisfied that we have since gained more than we lost." "I have been told," I added, "that Judge Bates doubted the constitutionality of the proclamation." "He never expressed such an opinion in my hearing," replied Mr. Lincoln; "no member of the cabinet ever dissented from the policy, in conversation with me."

It is well known that the statement found very general currency and credence, that, on the proclamation having been read to the cabinet, Secretary Chase objected to the appearance of a document of such momentous character without one word beyond the dry phrases necessary to convey its meaning, and finally proposed that there should be added to the president's draft, the sentence—'And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the constitution, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.' The facts of the case, however, as learned by Mr. Carpenter were these: While the measure was pending, Mr. Chase submitted to the president a draft of a proclamation embodying his views of the subject, and which closed with the solemn and appropriate words referred to. Mr. Lincoln adopted the sentence intact, as Mr. Chase wrote it, excepting that he inserted after the word 'constitution,' the words 'upon military necessity;' and in that form the document went to the world, and to history.

Mr. Carpenter also makes an interesting statement touching the religious aspect of Mr. Lincoln's mind, concerning this momentous matter, as follows: Mr. Chase told me that at the cabinet meeting, immediately after the battle of Antietam, and just prior to the September proclamation, the president entered upon the business before them, by saying that "the time for the annunciation of the emancipation policy could be no longer delayed. Public sentiment," he thought, "would sustain it —many of his warmest friends and supporters demanded it — *and he had promised his God that he would do it!*" The last part of this was uttered in a low tone, and appeared to be heard by no one but Secretary Chase, who was sitting near him. He asked the president if he had correctly understood him. Mr. Lincoln replied: "I made a solemn vow before God, that if General Lee was driven back from Pennsylvania, I would crown the result by the declaration of freedom to the slaves." In February, 1865, a few days after the passage of the Constitutional Amendment, Mr. Carpenter went to Washington, and was received by Mr. Lincoln with the kindness and familiarity which had characterized their previous intercourse. I said to him at this time, (says Mr. Carpenter,) that I was very proud to have been the artist to have first conceived the design of painting a picture commemorative of the Act of Emancipation; that subsequent occurrences had only confirmed my own first judgment of that act as the most sublime moral event in our history. "Yes," said he,—and never do I remember to have noticed in him more earnestness of expression or manner,—"as affairs have turned, *it is the central act of my administration, and the great event of the nineteenth century.*"

The scope of this most important state paper ever issued since the Declaration of Independence, was, to give liberty to more than three millions of people,—a number equal to the whole population of the



PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION.

United States when the revolutionary struggle with Great Britain commenced, and about four-fifths of the whole slave population. The work of emancipation throughout all the borders of the land was completed by victories in the field, and the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment, Article XIII., by which slavery was forever and entirely swept from the Republic.

The reception of the proclamation by the millions who were ranged on the side of their country, praying and fighting for the success of the union cause, was warm and enthusiastic, the feeling being almost universally prevalent that the nation had entered upon a new and auspicious era, and that, under such a banner, heaven would crown our armies with victory, and give perpetuity to our republic among the governments of the earth. Generally, the great document was the theme of earnest and eloquent discourses from the northern pulpits, the current of the preachers' thoughts showing itself in the various subjects or titles under which the event was discussed, such as 'The Conflict between Despotism and Liberty,' 'The duty of uniting with our whole energies in executing the Emancipation Edict of the president, to accomplish, by the blessing of God, its beneficent results, without possibility of failure,' 'The Jubilee of Freedom,' 'The Influence of Christianity on the Abolition of Slavery,'—these, though but a few among thousands elicited by the proclamation, indicate the hearty appreciation of President Lincoln's course in issuing the decree. From countless pulpits, too, the momentous document was simply read, without comment.

Great public meetings of congratulation and rejoicing were held in almost every large town and city in the various northern states. At the Cooper Institute, New York, a grand jubilee came off, the colored people of that city and of the surrounding towns for many miles, gathering together to do honor to so great a boon to their race. The large hall was completely packed, long before the hour at which the proceedings were appointed to take place, and multitudes had to be turned away from the feast of eloquence and music which was there enjoyed for several hours.

Two days after the issue of the proclamation, a large body of people assembled before the White House, in Washington, with a band of music, and called for the president. He appeared, and made an address of thanks to them for their courtesy, in which, alluding to the proclamation, he said, "What I did, I did after a very full deliberation, and under a heavy and solemn sense of responsibility. I can only trust in God I have made no mistake." From the colored people of Baltimore, Mr. Lincoln was the recipient of a superb copy of the Bible, of the largest size, and bound in violet-colored velvet. The corners were bands of solid gold, and the event carved upon a plate also of gold, not less than one-fourth of an inch thick. Upon the left-hand cover, was a design representing the president in a cotton-field, knocking the shackles off the wrists of a slave, who held one hand aloft as if invoking blessings upon the head of his benefactor,—at whose feet was a scroll upon which was written "Emancipation;" upon the other cover was a similar plate, bearing the inscription: "To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, the friend of Universal Freedom. From the loyal colored people of Baltimore, as a token of respect and gratitude. Baltimore, July 4, 1864."

But the greatest interest necessarily attaches to the reception which such an amazing document met with on the part of those who were or had recently been slaves. Although by the terms of the proclamation, the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, Va., were excluded from its operation, the slaves fully believed that 'Massa Lincoln' had emancipated them all; with this view, they refused to work without wages, and, their former masters acceding to this, virtual emancipation was the result in that region. On New Year's day, the slaves of Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Gosport, with the African strangers gathered there, to the number of some

thousands, turned out *en masse*, and by processions, speeches, hymns and songs of jubilation, and by other demonstrations, celebrated what was ever afterward to be their Fourth of July. The exultation of the slaves was great, and many a noticeable incident presented itself. "Massa," said an old woman to a stranger near by, "I have had twenty children. My Massa and Missus sole 'em all off; one of my gals was sole to buy young Missus her piano. I used to stop my ears when I heard her play on dat ar; I thought I heard my chile a crying out dat it was bought wid her blood. Dey was all sole off,—I'se not got one left to bury me. But I'se *free!* and my ole heart is glad agin. I'll go happy to my grave." In one of the colored churches in Norfolk, the preacher took for his text, "Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free," and with great ingenuity, and without irreverence, the preacher showed how President Lincoln, in emancipating them, had stood in Christ's stead to them, and how it was now their duty to stand fast, and fight for the liberty which he, under God, had given them. Singular enough, there rose from the whole congregation a cry, as if with one voice, "Amen! glory be to God! we'll fight till de cows' tails drop off!"

In the Department of the South, embracing Port Royal, S. C., and other islands, it was very difficult to convince the colored people that they were free, and that the government, or Yankees, could be in earnest. Christmas was to most of them a sad day. General Saxton, therefore, who spared no effort to disabuse their minds and inspire them with confidence, issued his proclamation inviting the people to assemble at the head-quarters of the First South Carolina Volunteers, on the first of January. Missionaries, ministers, superintendents and teachers, officers and privates, joined heartily in the gathering. The word went out far and near, but the people were suspicious. Mischievous ones had told them it was a trap to force them into the army; others that they were to be collected on steamboats that would run them to Cuba; others that they were to be got away from their homes and sent into exile. But, at an early hour of the sublimely beautiful day, the people began to arrive at the camping-ground, and, despite their fears, thousands were there. The proceedings opened with prayer and music, after which, Judge Brisbane, of Wisconsin, but a son of South Carolina who, twenty-five years previously, set all his slaves free, read the emancipation act amidst the jubilant shouts of the vast multitude; and when, succeeding this, the proclamation of General Saxton was read, declaring that the great act should be enforced, twelve deafening cheers burst forth from the thousands of grateful and joyous hearts to whom the good tidings of liberty and protection had thus come. An original ode was then sung to the tune of 'Scots wha' ha' wi' Wallace bled," and then came the crowning feature of the day, the presentation by the Rev. Mr. French of a splendid silk flag, with the embroidered inscription:

"To the First South Carolina Regiment. The year of jubilee has come."

It was a very elegant flag, a gift from Doctor Cheever's church in the city of New York. As it passed from the hands of Mr. French, the negroes struck up the national air, "My country, 'tis of thee," with fine effect. Colonel Higginson, who had received the flag, stood waiting his time to reply, with the golden tassels in his hands. After an eloquent speech by the colonel, he called the sergeant of Company A, "Prince Rivers," and a corporal of another company, named Sutton, both black men, and, handing over the flag which had been presented, called upon both to speak, which they did with great acceptance. Other exercises of rejoicing took place, and then attention was paid to the physical wants of the happy throng. For this purpose, ten beeves had been slaughtered and were roasting in their pits; and these, with several hundred gallons of molasses and water,—a favorite beverage of the negroes,—and a full supply

of hard bread, awaited the hungry expectants. Thus ended the grand celebration of the emancipation of the slaves of South Carolina.

The observance of the event in other parts of the south, wherever the authority of the union forces was present to permit it, was so similar in its character and enthusiasm to what has already been narrated, that it is unnecessary here to extend the descriptions. By the army and its officers, with here and there an exception, the proclamation was regarded as an act to which things had long been tending, and which, under the circumstances of peril in which the union had so long been placed, was inevitable. Of course, no such proclamation, in time of war, could have any weight in the section of country at which it was aimed, excepting as the union military successes made it effective. Those successes in due time reached every portion of the south, and the fetters of every bondman on American soil were thus broken. Congress subsequently passed an amendment to the constitution, forever prohibiting slavery in any portion of the republic, and this amendment, on being ratified by the requisite number of states, became a part of the organic law of the land.

The original draft of the emancipation proclamation, in the president's handwriting, was presented by Mr. Lincoln to the great Northwestern Sanitary Fair, held at Chicago, in the autumn of 1863. The following letter accompanied the gift:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, October 26, 1863.

To the Ladies having in charge the Northwestern Fair for the Sanitary Commission, Chicago, Illinois:—

According to the request made in your behalf, the original draft of the emancipation proclamation is herewith enclosed. The formal words at the top, and the conclusion, except the signature, you perceive, are not in my handwriting. They were written at the State Department, by whom I know not. The printed part was cut from a copy of the preliminary proclamation and pasted on, merely to save writing.

I had some desire to retain the paper; but if it shall contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldier, that will be better.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

This chief treasure of that great fair was purchased for three thousand dollars, by the Hon. Thomas B. Bryan, for the Chicago Soldiers' Home, of which he was president. Lithographic copies of the document were also sold for the benefit of the same institution, and netted it thousands of dollars.

One of the most important results of this great measure, whether considered from a moral, political, or social point of view, was the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, by which all citizens were made equal before the law.

It was on the twenty-seventh of February, 1869, that congress passed a resolution in the following words:

A resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as a part of the Constitution, namely: —ARTICLE 15, *Section* 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. *Section* 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

In about one year's time from the passage of this resolution, proclamation was made by the secretary of state, Hon. Hamilton Fish, that the proposed amendment had been ratified by the legislatures of the

states of North Carolina, West Virginia, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Maine, Louisiana, Michigan, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, New York, New Hampshire, Nevada, Vermont, Virginia, Alabama, Missouri, Mississippi, Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Nebraska, and Texas,—twenty-nine in all, and constituting three-fourths of the whole number of states, and thus becoming valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the constitution of the United States.

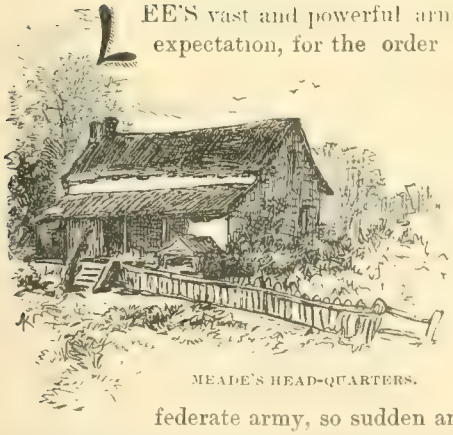
Though not obligatory, as an executive duty, President Grant communicated the fact of the ratification to congress, in a special message, on the thirtieth of March, 1870. "The measure"—said the president—"which makes at once four millions of the people voters who were heretofore declared by the highest tribunal in the land not citizens of the United States, nor eligible to become so, with the assertion that at the time of the Declaration of Independence the opinion was fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race, and regarded as an axiom in morals as well as in politics, that black men had no rights which white men were bound to respect, is, indeed, a measure of grander importance than any other one act of the kind from the foundation of our free government to the present time. Institutions like ours, in which all power is derived directly from the people, must depend mainly upon their intelligence, patriotism, and industry. I call the attention, therefore, of the newly enfranchised race to the importance of their striving, in every honorable manner, to make themselves worthy of their new privilege. To a race more favored heretofore by our laws, I would say, withhold no legal privilege of advancement to the new citizens." So great an event was not suffered to pass without public demonstrations of joy commensurate with its grand, beneficent, and elevating scope, in almost all parts of the country.

XXXIII.

THREE DAYS' BATTLE BETWEEN THE CONCENTRATED ARMIES OF GENERALS MEADE AND LEE, AT GETTYSBURG, PA.—1863.

Overwhelming Invasion of Pennsylvania by the Confederate Forces.—The Union Army Drives Them with Great Slaughter Across the Potomac.—Unsuccessful Attempt to Transfer the Seat of War from Virginia to Northern Soil.—One of the Most Decisive and Important Federal Victories in the Great American Civil Conflict.—Lee's Army Impatient to go North.—Order of March at Last.—Consternation in the Border States.—Call for One Hundred Thousand More Men.—Advance of Meade's Army.—Face to Face with the Foe.—Engagement Between the Vanguards.—Terrific Artillery Contests.—Movements and Counter Movements.—Severe Reverses on Both Sides.—Carnage at Cemetery Hill.—Longstreet's Furious Onset.—Most Destructive Cannonade.—Gettysburg a Vast Hospital.—Crawford's Grand Charge.—Standing by the Batteries!—Hand-to-Hand Conflict.—Following the Battle-Flag.—Deadly and Impetuous Fighting.—Forty-one Confederate Standards Taken.—Unbounded Joy of the Victors.—President Lincoln's Announcement.

—"this day hath made
Much work for tears in many a hapless mother,
Whose sons lie scattered on the bleeding ground."



MEADE'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

LEE'S vast and powerful army had long waited, with eager and restless expectation, for the order of march from their chieftain which should enable them to transfer the seat of civil war from the familiar encampments and blood-stained battle-fields of Virginia to the soil of the North. The plans of the commanding general were in due time arranged with this end in view, and, about the middle of June, 1863, he began to move his troops across the Potomac, and soon took possession of Hagerstown, Md., intending immediately to move thence, in full force, direct to Pennsylvania.

Such a movement, on the part of the confederate army, so sudden and well executed, produced great consternation throughout the north. President Lincoln issued a call for one hundred thousand additional men from the loyal states nearest the theater of military operations; and General Meade, who had just succeeded General Hooker in command of the army of the Potomac, lost no time in advancing his army northward, as far as Harrisburg, Pa., the place of destination of Lee's forces. The army of General Meade consisted of the following corps: First, under command of General Reynolds, and subsequently under

General Doubleday; second, under General Hancock; third, under General Sickles; fifth, under General Sykes; sixth, under General Sedgwick; eleventh, under General Howard; twelfth, under General Slocum. Total number of men, sixty to eighty thousand, with two hundred guns. The army of General Lee consisted of General Hill's corps, General Longstreet's, and General Ewell's; in all, about ninety thousand men, and two hundred guns.

On the first of July, the advanced corps of the union army, led by Reynolds and Howard, engaged the confederate forces near Gettysburg. General Reynolds approached the town from the south-east, the confederates evacuating it on his arrival. He passed through and out (says the account of a writer in the Philadelphia Age) on the west side toward Chambersburg. He marched several miles, was met by the enemy in stronger force, and after a slight contest was compelled to retire. The confederates pushed him very hard, and he came into the town on a run, his troops going along every available road, and rushing out on the east side, closely pursued. One of his brigades with a confederate brigade on each side of it. All three were abreast, running as hard as they could,—the two outside ones pouring a heavy fire into the center, out of which men dropped, killed or wounded, at almost every footstep. This federal brigade, in running that terrible gauntlet, lost half its men. General Reynolds was killed, and Gettysburg was lost; but the federal troops succeeded in mounting the Cemetery Hill, and the confederates ceased pursuing. At night, the latter encamped in the town, and the union troops on the hill. During Wednesday night and Thursday morning, the two armies were concentrating on the two ridges, which were to be the next day's line of battle, and by noon on Thursday each general had a force of eighty thousand men at his disposal. *Then began the great artillery contest*, the infantry on both sides crouching behind fences and trees and in rifle-pits. The federal soldiers in the cemetery laid many of the tombstones on the ground to prevent injury, so that many escaped. There was but little infantry fighting on Thursday, and neither party made much impression on the other. The confederates in the other town erected barricades, and had their sharpshooters posted in every available spot, picking off federal soldiers on the hills to the north of the cemetery. The cannonade was fierce and incessant, and shells from both sides flew over and into the devoted town. Beyond killing and wounding, breaking trees and shattering houses, and making an awful noise, however, this cannonade had but little effect on the result of the battle. Both sides fought with great ferocity, and neither could drive the other out of position.

On Thursday night, fearing that the enemy had flank parties which might turn his rear, General Meade had serious intentions of a change in his plan of movements, and he called a council of war. The advice of some of his generals, however, and the capture of a courier with dispatches from Richmond, from which it was learned that the confederates could receive no re-enforcements, made him decide not to alter his programme. On Friday morning, General Lee did not desire to make the attack. He saw the superiority of the federal position, and wished to entice them out of it and down into the valley. With this design in view, he withdrew all his sharpshooters and infantry from Gettysburg. The deserted town lay there a very tempting bait, but General Meade's men hid quietly behind the fences and trees, and the banks upon the hills. They could look down into the streets and see everything that was in progress. They saw the confederates march out and retire to the seminary, but made no advance, and the confederates gained nothing by the movement. A parting salute of musketry, however, from a knoll north of the cemetery, accelerated the confederate retreat. For some time the town had scarcely a soldier in it. Scores of dead and wounded men and horses, with broken wagons, bricks, stones, timber, torn clothing, and

abandoned accoutrements, lay there. The frightened inhabitants peered out of their windows to see what the armies were doing to cause such a lull, and, almost afraid of their own shadows, they hastened away and crouched in corners and cellars at the sound of every shot or shell.

Of the stirring scenes that so soon followed, the same correspondent says: General Lee's evacuation, however, had no effect. Meade was neither to be enticed into the town nor into the valley. Enough dead bodies lay in the fields and streets to give him warning of what happened to poor Reynolds two days before, and he wisely determined to stay where he was and let events shape themselves. The confederates soon became impatient. They could wait no longer; and after much solicitation from his subordinates, General

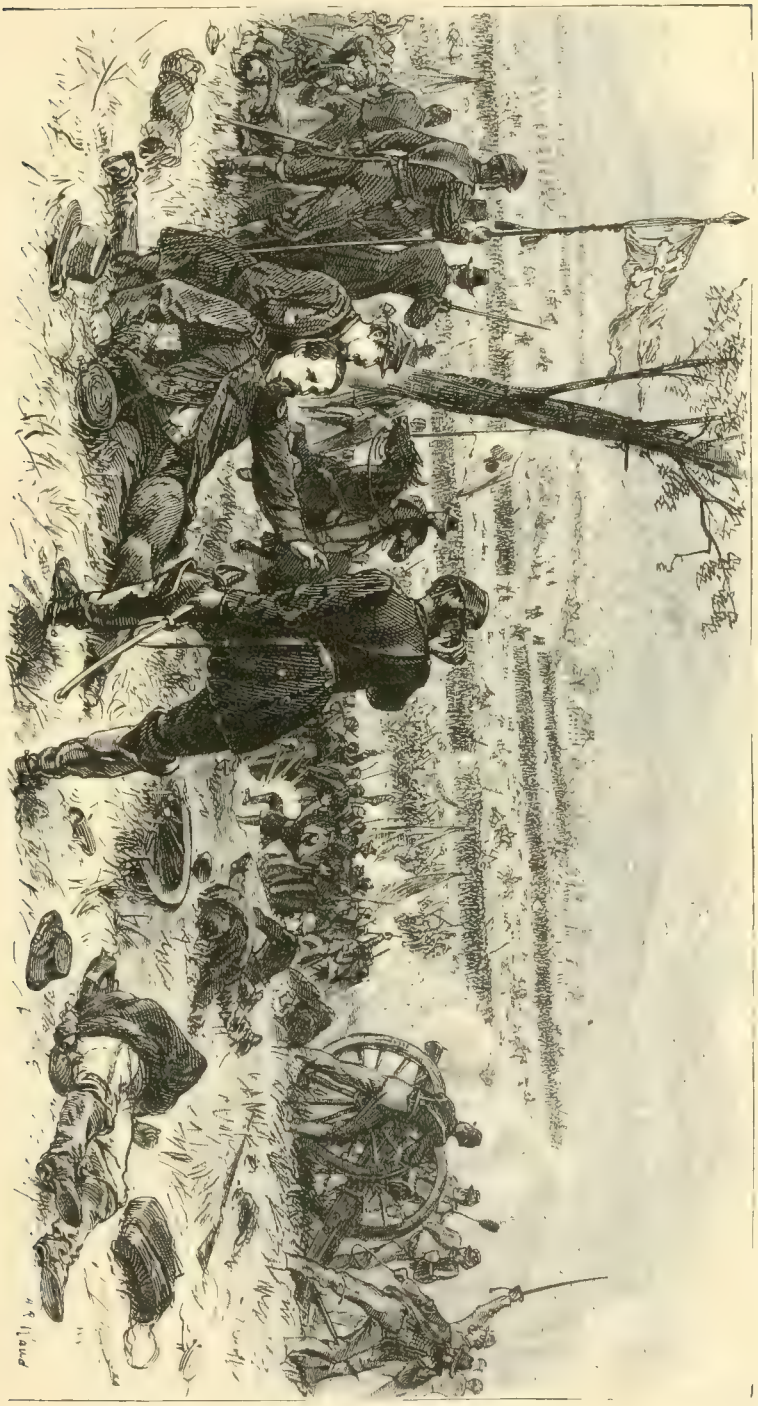
Geo. G. Meade.

Lee permitted General Longstreet to send his grand division on a charge upon the cemetery. The federal soldiers were on the alert. They were hid behind their embankments, some kneeling, and some flat on the ground. The confederate artillery opened. It was as fierce a cannonade as the one the day before, but instead of being spread all over the line, every shell was thrown at the cemetery. Experienced soldiers soon divined what was coming, and, in every portion of the federal line, the cannon were directed toward the valley in front of the cemetery. All were ready. Amidst the furious fire from the confederate cannon scarcely a federal shot was heard. The artillerists, implements in hand, crouched in the little ditches dug behind their cannon. With arms loaded, the infantry awaited the charge. It soon came. From the woods of short, scrubby timber and the rocks near the seminary, there rose a yell. *It was a long, loud, unremitting, hideous screech, from thousands of voices.* At the yell, the federal cannon opened. Soon the confederate columns emerged from the woods. They came on a rush down the hill, waving their arms and still screeching. They climbed the fences and rushed along, each one bent upon getting first into the cemetery. The cannon roared, and grape and canister and spherical case fell thick among them. Still they rushed onward, hundreds falling out of the line. They came within musket-shot of the federal troops. Then the small arms began to rattle. The confederates approached the outer line of works. They were laboring up the hill. As they mounted the low bank in front of the rifle-pits, the federal soldiers retreated out of the ditch behind, turning and firing as they went along. It was a hand-to-hand conflict. Every man fought for himself and by himself. Myriads of confederates pushed forward down the hill, across into the works, and up to the cemetery. All were shouting, and screaming, and swearing, clashing their arms and firing their pieces. The confederate shells flew over the field upon the federal artillerists on the hills above. These, almost disregarding the storm which raged around them, directed all their fire upon the surging columns of the enemy's charge. Every available cannon on Cemetery Hill, and to the right and left, threw its shells and shot in the valley. The fight was terrible; but, despite every effort, the confederates pushed up the hill and across the second line of works. The fire became hotter. The fight swayed back and forth. One moment the confederates would beat the railings of the cemetery; then a rush from the federal side would drive them down into the valley. Then, with one of

their horrid screeches, they would fiercely run up the hill again into the cemetery, and have a fierce battle among the tombstones. It was the hardest fight of the day, and hundreds were slain there. Several attempts were made to take the place, but they were not successful, and late in the afternoon, leaving dead and wounded behind them, the confederate forces retreated upon their own hill and into their woods again. They were not routed. They can scarcely be said to have been driven. They made an attack and were repulsed, and, after renewed attempts, feeling that it was useless to try any more, they retreated. It was now General Meade's turn to make an attack. Though they had lost heavily they felt elated. They saw hopes of a victory, and were ready to do almost anything to secure it. Although there had been a battle in the valley below Gettysburg, yet the town was as quiet and as much deserted as ever. Shells flew over it, and now and then one of its houses would have a wall cracked or a roof broken, but neither force possessed it. General Meade turned his attention there.

The day was waning and the battle had lulled, and Meade determined, if possible, to drive the confederates out of the seminary. This was done, according to the writer already quoted, as follows: His troops were placed in order, and charged down the hill and into the town. They ran along every street chasing a few of the enemy still hid there, before them. They came out upon the west side, along the Emmettsburg and Chambersburg roads, and ascended the enemy's hills amidst a storm of grape and shell. At the seminary the confederates were not very strong. They had weakened that portion of the line to make their attack further to the south upon the cemetery. They had but few cannon; and though they resisted some time, they finally retreated from the edge of the hill and abandoned the seminary. The federal troops did not chase them. The land back of the seminary was rather flat and cut up into grain fields, with here and there a patch of woods. The rifle-pits on the brow of the hill proved an effectual aid to the federal soldiers in maintaining their ground; and as they lay behind the bank, with the ditch in front, they could pick off the stragglers from the retreating enemy. There was but little serious fighting after that, and night put an end to Friday's struggle, the confederates having retired about a mile to the north, near the seminary, and half a mile on the south, at a little stream. During the night, the dead in the streets of Gettysburg were buried, and the wounded on all parts of the field were collected and carried to the rear. On the next morning, General Meade expected another attack; but, instead of making it, the confederates retreated further, abandoning their entire line of battle, and the pickets reported that they were intrenching at the foot of South Mountain. The federal army was terribly crippled and sadly in need of rest, and no advance was made, although pickets were thrown across the enemy's old line of battle, and toward the place where they were building intrenchments. All the day was spent in feeding and resting the men. Gettysburg was turned into a vast hospital, and impromptu ones were made at a dozen places on the field. The rain came, too, and with it cool air and refreshment both from wind and rain. No one could tell what the confederates were doing; every picket reported that they were intrenching, and the night of the fourth of July closed upon the field, the federal army being in full possession.

The gallant charge made by the division under Crawford's command, contributed very materially to saving the left of the federal army. The confederates had massed their troops on Crawford's left. The third corps, Sickles's, had been engaging the enemy, but were overpowered, and several guns had been lost. Two divisions, of the fifth corps, Sykes's, had been also engaged, but nothing could withstand the confederate pressure, and their troops gave way. Several thousand arms had been lost. On came the



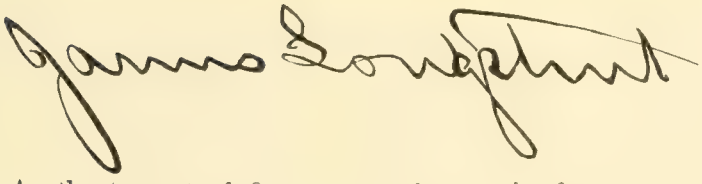
BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

confederates in a dark mass, across the wheat field, over the stone wall, and across the ravine. At this moment, while the fugitives were rushing through Crawford's ranks, he ordered a charge. He was drawn up in line of battle, and in column of division. His men, with loud cheers, rushed forward. Crawford himself rode to the front, and, seizing the flag of the leading regiment, encouraged the men. They dashed in; volley after volley was poured into the confederate ranks. The federals got ahead, and drove the confederates back across the ravine, over the stone wall, and through the wheat field, retaking the unionists' ground and an immense quantity of arms. The left of the federal position was saved by this charge, enabling them to remain masters of the field.

A fit illustration of the sanguinary character of the afternoon struggle already described, is that given by Mr. Whitelaw Reid, one of the gifted correspondents of the Cincinnati Gazette. Mr. Reid says that some Massachusetts batteries — Captain Bigelow's, Captain Phillips's, and two or three more under Captain McGilvry, of Maine —were planted on the extreme left, advanced now well down to the Emmettsburg road, with infantry in their front,—the first division of Sickles's corps. A little after five, a fierce confederate charge drove back the infantry and menaced the batteries. Orders were sent to Bigelow on the extreme left, to *hold his position at every hazard* short of sheer annihilation, till a couple more batteries could be brought to his support. Reserving his fire a little, then with depressed guns opening with double charges of grape and canister, he smote and shattered, but could not break the advancing line. His grape and canister became exhausted, and still, closing grandly up over their slain, on they rushed. He fell back on spherical case, and poured this in at the shortest range. On, still onward, came the artillery-defying line, and still he held his position. They got within six paces of the guns—he fired again. Once more, and he blew devoted soldiers from their very muzzles. And, still mindful of that solemn order, he held his place; they spring upon his carriages, and shoot his horses! And then, his Yankee artillerists still about him, he seized the guns by hand, and from the very front of that line dragged two of them off. The caissons were farther back—five out of the six are saved. That single company, in that half hour's fight, lost thirty-three of its men, including every sergeant it had, and the captain himself was wounded. Yet it was the first time it was ever under fire. *So* they fought along that fiery line! The confederates now poured upon Phillips's battery, and it, too, was forced to drag off the pieces by hand when the horses were shot down. From a new position, it opened again; and at last the two re-enforcing batteries came up on the gallop. An enfilading fire swept the confederate line; Sickles's gallant infantry charged, the confederate line swept back on a refluent tide—the unionists regained their lost ground, and every gun they had just lost in this splendid fight.

Mr. Reid, as an eye witness, characterizes the sanguinary struggle at four o'clock as *the great, desperate, and final charge*. The confederates seemed to have gathered up all their strength and desperation for one fierce, convulsive effort, that should sweep over and wash out all resistance. They swept up as before; the flower of their army to the front—victory staked upon the issue. In some places, they literally lifted up and pushed back the union lines; but, that terrible 'position' of the federals!—wherever they entered it, enfilading fires from half a score of crests swept away their columns like merest chaff. Broken and hurled back, they easily became prisoners; and on the center and left, the last half hour brought more prisoners than all the rest. So it was along the whole line; but it was on the second corps that the flower of the confederate army was concentrated; it was there that the heaviest shock beat upon, and shook, and even sometimes crumbled, the federal line. The federals had some shallow rifle-pits, with barricades of rails from

the fences. The confederate line, stretching away miles to the left, in magnificent array, but strongest here,—Pickett's splendid division of Longstreet's corps in front, the best of A. P. Hill's veterans in support —came steadily, and as it seemed resistlessly, sweeping up. The federal skirmishers retired slowly from the Emmettsburg road, holding their ground tenaciously to the last. The confederates reserved their fire till they reached this same Emmettsburg road, then opened with a terrific crash. From a hundred iron throats, meantime, their artillery had been thundering on the union barricades. Hancock was wounded; Gibbon succeeded to the command—approved soldier, and ready for



the crisis. As the tempest of fire approached its height, he walked along the line, and renewed his orders to the men to reserve their fire. The confederates—three lines deep—came steadily up. They were in point-blank range. *At last the order came!* From thrice six thousand guns, there came a sheet of smoky flame, a crash, a rush of leaden death. The line literally melted away; but there came the second, resistless still. It had been the unionists' supreme effort—on the instant, they were not equal to another. Up to the rifle-pits, across them, over the barricades—the momentum of their charge, the mere machine strength of their combined action—swept the confederates on. The federal thin line could fight, but it had not weight enough to oppose to this momentum. It was pushed behind the guns. Right on came the confederates. They were upon the guns—were bayoneting the gunners—were waving their flags above the federal pieces. But they had penetrated to the fatal point. A storm of grape and canister tore its way from man to man, and marked its track with corpses straight down their line! They had exposed themselves to the enfilading fire of the guns on the western slope of Cemetery Hill; that exposure sealed their fate. The line reeled back—disjointed already—in an instant in fragments. The union troops were just behind the guns. They leaped forward upon the disordered mass; but there was little need for fighting now. A regiment threw down its arms, and, with colors at its head, rushed over and surrendered. All along the field, smaller detachments did the same. Webb's brigade brought in eight hundred; Gibbon's old division took fifteen stand of colors. Over the fields, the escaped fragments of the charging line fell back—the battle there was over. A single brigade, Harrow's, came out with fifty-four less officers, and seven hundred and ninety-three less

men (the Seventh Michigan regiment was of this brigade,) than it took in. So the whole corps fought—so too they fought farther down the line. It was fruitless sacrifice. They gathered up their broken fragments, formed their lines, and slowly marched away. It was not a rout, it was a bitter, crushing defeat.

Among the individual instances of bravery narrated of this terrible combat between the two great armies, that of Henry Shaler, of Indianapolis, will bear repetition, for he seems to have more than equaled the self-told mythical performance of the Irishman who 'surrounded' a half-dizen of the enemy and bagged them plump. Shaler took more prisoners in this battle than any other man in the army—in all, twenty-five men, including one lieutenant and eighteen privates at one swoop. He took them by strategy of the most undoubted kind; that is, he surrounded them, and they had to give up. On the morning of the fourth, he went out with his 'poncho' over his shoulders, so that the confederates couldn't see his coat, and thus they thought he was one of their own men. He went up and told them to lay down their arms and come and help carry some wounded off the field; they did so. When he got them away from their arms, he rode up to the lieutenant and told him to give up his sword. The lieutenant refused at first, but Shaler drew his revolver, and the lieutenant yielded without a shot, and the whole squad were then escorted by their gallant captor into camp.

The heroism of General Kilpatrick—like that of Couch, Geary, Buford, Birney, Newton, Gregg, McIntosh, Neil, and others—was conspicuous from first to last. On the thirteenth, some ten days after the close of the conflict, General Kilpatrick was anxious to make an advance, but could not obtain orders. Some of the Pennsylvania militia having been placed at his disposal, he thought he would try one regiment under fire. The Philadelphia Blues were selected, and, accompanied by the First Vermont cavalry, a demonstration was made on the right—the confederates then occupying a fortified position. The militia were now deployed, the general desiring them to move to the crest of a knoll, where the bullets were flying pretty lively. There was some hesitancy at first, whereupon a battle-flag presented to the division by the ladies of Boonsboro' was sent to the front. Sergeant Judy, bearer of the flag, cried out—

"*This is General Kilpatrick's battle-flag; follow it!*"

The militia obeyed the summons promptly, and fell some distance in front of the line, and it was supposed for some time that the enemy had captured the flag; but at night, when Judy was brought in on a litter, he proudly waved the battle-flag. The novelty of being thus under fire for the first time was keenly felt by the militia. About the first man touched had the top of his head grazed just close enough to draw blood. He halted—threw down his musket—truly an astonished man! One or two officers and a dozen or more privates ran hurriedly to see what the matter was. Running both hands over his pate, and seeing blood, he exclaimed, "A ball! a ball!"—while the others stood on agape with astonishment, until the shrill voice of the general sounded in their ears: "*Move on there!*"

On the opening movement being made to baffle Lee's march toward Pennsylvania, the spirit which animated those who had gone forth in defense of the American Union—"man's last, best hope, of free government,"—was conspicuously manifest. At a distance of fifteen miles from Gettysburg, where the armies were massing, were first caught the murmurs of the opening battle, and from that time the scene was all enthusiasm among the weary, foot-sore federals, who counted as nothing all the pains of a march of nearly two hundred miles, now that they were within striking distance of the foe. Most of the way, the ambulance train had been crowded with both officers and men, weary, worn, and haggard; but the cannon's rattle, as it became more and more distinct, changed

them in a twinkling into new creatures. The New Jersey brigade, in Sedgwick's corps, was of this body. At about three o'clock on the afternoon of July 3d, the head of the column arrived on the battle-ground. As it came to a halt, a poor fel-

SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AT GETTYSBURG.

low, who looked the very image of death, hobbled out of the ambulance in which he had been lying, and, shouldering his musket, was just starting forward, when the surgeon stopped him with—

"Where are you going, sir?"

"To the front, doctor,"—and the brave fellow tried hard to stand firm and speak boldly as he saluted the surgeon.

"To the front! What! a man in *your* condition? Why, sir, you can't march half a mile; you haven't the strength to carry yourself, let alone your knapsack, musket, and equipments. You must be crazy, surely."

"But, doctor, my division are in the fight," (here he grasped the wheel of an ambulance to support himself,) "and I have a younger brother in my company. I *must* go."

"But I am your surgeon, and I forbid you. You have every symptom of typhoid fever; a little over-exertion will kill you."

"Well, doctor, if I *must* die, I would rather die in the field, than in an ambulance."

The doctor saw it was useless to debate the point, and the soldier went as he desired. But on the evening of the next day he was buried where he fell—for fall he did—his right arm blown off at the elbow, and his forehead pierced by a minie ball.

The impetuous bravery with which the confederate troops fought is illustrated by the fact that every brigadier in Pickett's division was killed or wounded; out of twenty-four regimental officers, only two escaped unhurt; the colonels of five Virginia regiments were killed; the ninth Virginia went in with two hundred and fifty men, and came out with only thirty-eight. These data show that the total casualties of the confederate army, though never officially published, must have been immense—greater, probably, than those of the victorious. The latter, as given by General Meade, were as follows: two thousand and eight hundred and thirty-four killed; thirteen thousand and seven hundred and nine wounded; six thousand and six hundred and forty-three missing. The union army took forty-one standards, nearly twenty-five thousand small arms, and about fourteen thousand prisoners.

So great was the joy throughout the loyal states, as the tidings of victory flashed across the wires, that, on the forenoon of July 4th, President Lincoln officially telegraphed as follows:

"The President announces to the country that news from the Army of the Potomac, up to 10 P. M. of the 3d, is such as to cover that army with the highest honor; to promise a great success to the cause of the Union, and to claim the condolence of all for the many gallant fallen; and that for this he especially desires that on this day, He, whose will, not ours, should ever be done, be everywhere remembered and reverenced with profoundest gratitude."

XXXIV.

GRAND MARCH OF THE UNION ARMY, UNDER GEN. SHERMAN, THROUGH THE SOUTH.—1864.

Generals and Armies Baffled, and States and Cities Conquered, Without a Serious Disaster to the Victors —Display of Military Genius Unsurpassed in Any Age or Country.—The Southern Confederacy Virtually Crushed Within the Coils of this Wide-Sweeping, Bold, and Resistless Movement.—The Great Closing Act in the Campaign.—Sherman's Qualities as a Commander.—His Great Military Success.—His Own Story.—A Brilliant Campaign Planned.—Brave and Confident Troops.— Atlanta, Ga., the First Great Prize.—Destroys that City: Starts for the Coast —Kilpatrick Leads the Cavalry.—Thomas Defends the Border States.—Successful Feints Made by Sherman.—Subsists His Men on the Enemy's Country.—Immense Sweep of the Onward Columns.—Savannah's Doom Sealed —Fall of Fort McAllister.—Christmas Gift to the President.—Advance Into South Carolina.—The Stars and Stripes in Her Capital.—All Opposition Powerless.—North Carolina's Turn Next.—Swamps, Hills, Quagmires, Storms, Floods — Battles Fought: Onward to Raleigh. —Johnston's Whole Army Bagged.—Sherman Described Personally.

"I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns, plenty of ammunition, and about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton."—GENERAL SHERMAN TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

HEAD-QUARTERS, ATLANTA, GA.

VALIANT, resolute, and hopeful as a soldier, General Sherman added to these qualities the wisdom and genius of Washington himself as a commander. His March to the Sea has been universally pronounced, both in America and Europe, one of the most brilliant military results—especially when considered in connection with the slight cost of life at which it was achieved — presented in the long and varied history of war. It was, in a word, one of the greatest and most important of modern campaigns, conducted with complete success, without any considerable battle. And yet it was his own native sagacity, more than anything else, which enabled General Sherman to plan and execute the vast undertakings which have crowned his name with imperishable honor. "I have oftentimes," said General Sherman, in an address at West Point, "been asked by friends familiar with Xenophon, Hume, and Jomini, in which of these books I had learned the secret of leading armies on long and difficult marches, and they seemed surprised when I answered that I was not aware that I had been influenced by

any of them. I told them what I now tell you, in all simplicity and truth, that, when I was a young lieutenant of artillery, I had often hunted deer in the swamps of the Edisto, the Cooper, and the Santee, and had seen with my own eyes that they could be passed with wagons; that in the spring of 1844, I had ridden on horseback from Marietta, Ga., to the valley of the Tennessee, and back to Augusta, passing in my course over the very fields of Altoona, of Kenesaw, and Atlanta, where afterward it fell to my share to command armies and to utilize the knowledge thus casually gained. Again, in 1849 and 1850, I was in California, and saw arrive across that wild belt of two thousand miles of uninhabitable country the caravans of emigrants, composed of men, women, and children, who reached their destination in health and strength; and when we used to start on a journey of a thousand miles, with a single blanket as covering, and a coil of dried meat and a sack of parched corn meal as food;—with this knowledge fairly acquired in actual experience, was there any need for me to look back to Alexander the Great, to Marlborough, for examples?" But to all this kind of knowledge—useful, doubtless, in the highest degree, General Sherman added the possession of the most commanding military genius.

It was early in May, 1864, that General Sherman began the brilliant series of his campaigns. The first objective point was Atlanta. To reach that city, his armies had to pass from the northern limit to the center of the great state of Georgia, forcing their way through mountain defiles and across great rivers, overcoming or turning formidably intrenched positions defended by a strong, well-appointed veteran army, commanded by an alert, cautious, and skillful general. The campaign opened on the sixth of May, and on the second of September the national forces entered Atlanta.

For some time previously to the opening movement, says General Sherman's report, the union armies were lying in garrison seemingly quiet, from Knoxville to Huntsville, and the enemy lay behind his rocky-faced barrier at Dalton, proud, defiant, and exulting. He had had time since Christmas to recover from his discomfiture at Mission Ridge, with his ranks filled, and a new commander-in-chief, and second to none in the confederacy in reputation for skill, sagacity, and extreme popularity. All at once, the union armies assumed life and action, and appeared before Dalton. Threatening Rocky Face, they threw themselves upon Resaca, the enemy only escaping by the rapidity of their retreat, aided by the numerous roads with which they only were familiar. Again the confederate army took post in Altoona, but found no rest, for, by a circuit towards Dallas and subsequent movement to Acworth, the union army gained the Altoona Pass. Then followed the eventful battles about Kenesaw, and the escape of the confederates across the Chattahoochee river. The crossing of the Chattahoochee and breaking of the Augusta road was handsomely executed by Sherman's army. It was at this stage of proceedings, that the confederate authorities became dissatisfied with Johnston as commander, and selected one more bold and rash,—General Hood. New tactics were adopted by the latter. He first boldly and rapidly, on the twentieth of July, fell on the union right, at Peach Tree creek, and lost. Again, on the 22d, he struck the extreme union left, and was severely punished; and finally, again on the 28th, he unsuccessfully repeated the attempt on the union right. Sherman slowly and gradually drew his lines about Atlanta, feeling for the railroad which supplied the confederate army and made Atlanta a place of importance. The enemy met these efforts patiently and skillfully, but at last Hood made the mistake which Sherman had waited for so long, sending his cavalry to the union rear, far beyond the reach of recall. Instantly Sherman's cavalry was on Hood's only remaining road, with the principal army following quietly, and Atlanta fell into Sherman's possession, as the fruit of well-concerted measures, backed by a brave and confident army.

Hood's plan was, to force General Sherman from Georgia, by cutting off his communications, and invading Tennessee and Kentucky. Pursuant to this plan, Hood, by a rapid march, gained and broke up, at Big Shanty, the railroad that supplied Sherman's army, advanced to Dalton, and thence moved toward Tennessee. Hood was followed from Atlanta by Sherman far enough north to cover his own purpose and assure him against Hood's interrupting the march to the sea-coast which he had in contemplation. The task of encountering Hood's formidable movements, and defending the border states from invasion, was intrusted to General Thomas, who was ably assisted by his second in command, General Schofield.

It appears from Major Nichols's graphic diary of the events connected with this great march—the narrative of his excellent observations as one of Sherman's staff officers—that the general, from his camp at Gaylesville, while awaiting the development of Hood's design, sketched out the march to Goldsboro'. Seated in front of his tent, towards the end of October, 1864, with his generals around him, and the map of the states spread on his knees Sherman ran his finger over the map, and indicated his course to Savannah. Then, after pondering on the map of South Carolina, his finger rested on Columbia, and looking up, he said—

"Howard, I believe we can go there, without any serious difficulty. If we can cross the Salkahatchie, we can capture Columbia."

After giving expression to this striking strategic insight, General Sherman passed his finger quickly over rivers, swamps, and cities, to Goldsboro', N. C., saying—

"*That* point is a few days' march through a rich country. When we reach that important railway junction—when I once plant this army at Goldsboro',—Lee must leave Virginia, or he will be defeated beyond hope of recovery. We can make this march, for General Grant assures me that Lee cannot get away from Richmond without his knowledge, nor without serious loss to his army."

This prediction, showing at once the most remarkable forecast and most comprehensive generalship, was at once put in course of fulfillment.

Atlanta having served its purpose in General Sherman's plans—a resting-place on his way to Savannah, to Columbia, and to Richmond if need be,—it was given up to the flames, that its workshops might never again be employed in casting shot and shell for the confederacy. The railways were torn up, the people turned away, and torches were applied to the stores and magazines. A space of two hundred acres was soon on fire, and its progress watched until the conflagration had spread beyond the power of man to arrest its destructive work, and then the

union forces marched out of the unfortunate city with solemn tread, their band playing the wild anthem, "John Brown's soul goes marching on." The army numbered about sixty-five thousand men.

As the news of Sherman's great movement became known at the north, intense interest was felt in the result, and it may well be supposed that not a few were filled with the greatest apprehensions, in view of the dangers to be encountered. That the president, however, did not share in any such feeling of alarm in regard to the issue, is shown by the following conversa-

tion on the subject, between him and a friend.

Said Mr. Lincoln's friend: "Mr. Lincoln, as Sherman's army advances, the rebel forces necessarily concentrate and increase in number. Before long, Sherman will drive the columns of Johnston, Bragg, Hoke, and others, within a few days' march of Lee's main army. May not Lee suddenly march south with the bulk of his army, form a junction with Johnston's troops, and before Grant can follow any considerable distance, strike Sherman's column with superior force, break his lines, defeat his army, and drive his broken fragments back to the coast, and with his whole army give battle to Grant, and *perhaps defeat him?*"

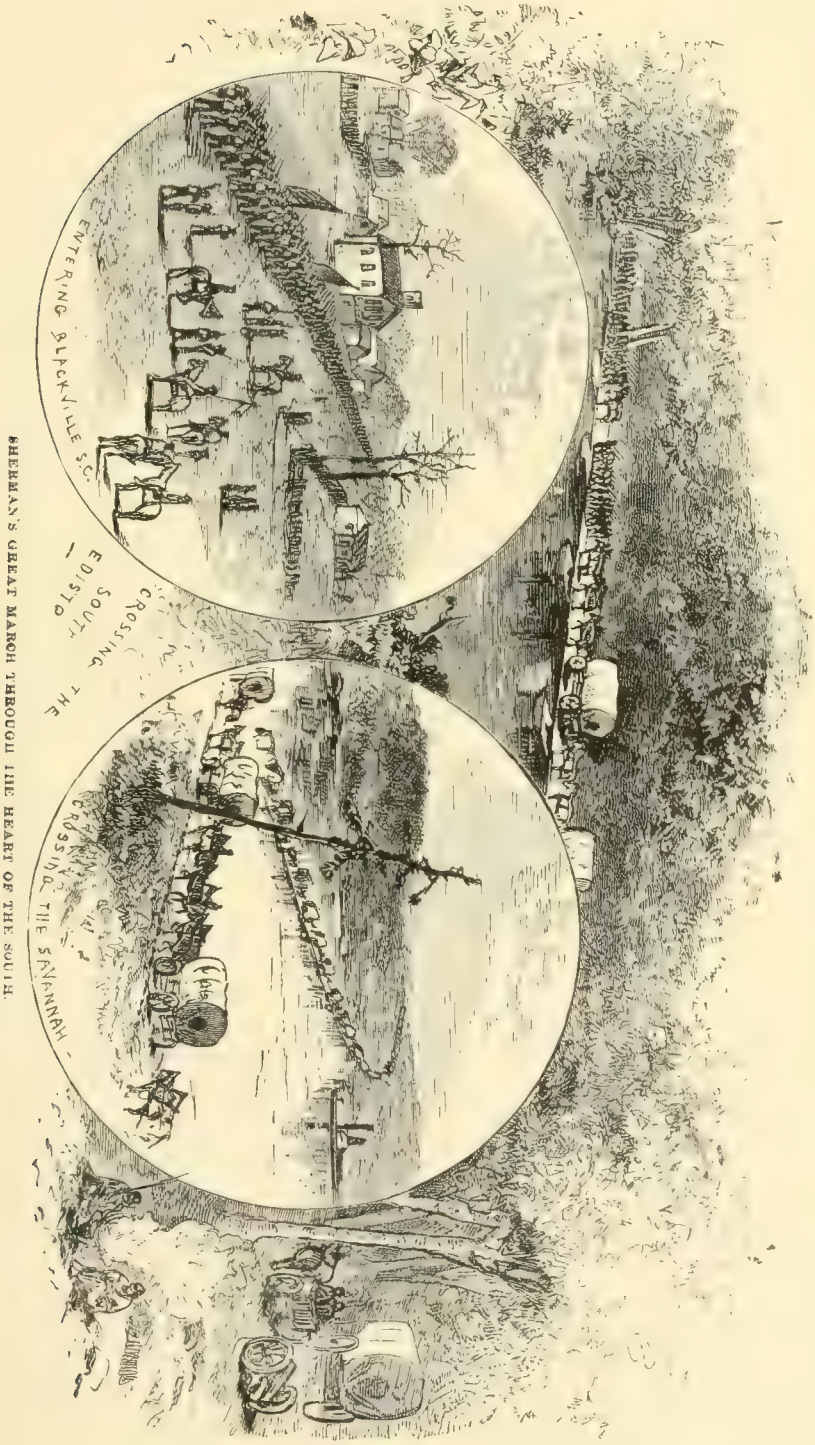
President Lincoln instantly replied: "*And perhaps not!* Napoleon tried the same game on the British and Prussians, in 1815. He concentrated his forces and fell suddenly on Blucher, and won an indecisive victory. He then whirled round and attacked the British, and met his Waterloo. Bonaparte was *hardly* inferior to Lee in military talents or experience. But are you sure that Lee's forces, united with Johnston's, could beat Sherman's army? Could he gain his Ligny, before meeting with his Waterloo when he attacks Grant? I tell you, there is a heap of fight in one hundred thousand western veterans. They are a good deal like old Zach. Taylor at Buena Vista,—*they don't know when they are whipped!*"

In turning his back upon Atlanta, General Sherman divided his army for the great march into two wings, General Howard commanding the right, and General Slocum the left; General Kilpatrick handled the cavalry under Sherman's orders. The various corps composing the wings were led, respectively, by Generals Osterhaus, Blair, Davis, and Williams; and Sherman for a time accompanied one wing and then the other.

On the 13th of November, Sherman's communications with the north ceased. Spreading itself out like a fan, the extreme left wing swept down the Augusta road, and the extreme right marched towards Macon, the space between being covered by two corps, one from each wing, and the cavalry riding well on the flanks. Milledgeville, the capital of Georgia, on the Oconee, was the first point of concentration for the left wing. The right wing, preceded and flanked by cavalry, went down the roads towards Macon, sweeping away the small opposing forces mustered by Cobb and Wheeler, and advancing as far as Griffin. The left wing went by Covington to Madison, and there, sending the cavalry towards Augusta, turned southward by way of Eatonton to Milledgeville. The right, after maneuvering in the direction of Macon, crossed the Ocmulgee above it, and, passing by Clinton, descended upon Gordon, whence a branch line led to Milledgeville.

The movement of troops on so many points had confounded the confederates. The authorities of Augusta believed their town was the object of the march; those of Macon were certain that it was against them the enemy was coming. In reality, Sherman had turned toward Macon, and had cut off at least the infantry force there, and rendered it useless. They showed fight, however, attacking a small union force, pushed up to Griswoldville to protect the confederates who were destroying the railroad, and were punished severely for their courage.

In a week after quitting Atlanta, the left wing was united at Milledgeville and the right at Gordon, while the cavalry were scouring the flanks. In the meantime, General Wheeler had ridden round the right flank, and crossing the Oconee, had turned to defend the passage of the swampy stream. But his resistance was vain. Slocum moved out from Milledgeville upon Sandersville, and Howard marched on both sides of the Savannah railway, thrusting Wheeler away from the bridge over the Oconee, and crossing himself without the loss of a man. The left wing was now converging on Louisville, while the right struck across the country, by Swainsboro', upon Millen. It was now



SHERMAN'S GREAT MARCH THROUGH THE HEART OF THE SOUTH.

plain that the confederates had no troops strong enough to interrupt the march, as all their efforts had failed to arrest the forward movement of the columns.

In this way, covering a wide front, now filing through swamps, now spreading out on a broad front under the tufted pines, now halting to tear up, twist, and burn rails and sleepers, now collecting cattle and forage, and everywhere welcomed and followed by the negroes, the army pressed forward to its goal. The left flankers came down through Sparta, the solid body of the left wing marched through Davisboro', the right moved steadily forward upon Millen, while Kilpatrick was in the front threatening Waynesboro', and destroying the bridges on the way to Augusta. At length the whole force, save one corps, crossed the Ogeechee and united at Millen.

Here, again, Sherman kept his opponents in doubt respecting the course he would pursue. At Millen he threatened both Augusta and Savannah, and he made such strong demonstrations on the Augusta road, that he led the confederates to fear for Augusta, and so prevented them from concentrating their troops at Savannah. Kilpatrick, supported by two infantry brigades, very effectually disposed of Wheeler. The army halted two days, and, refreshed and united, began on the second of December, its final march upon Savannah. The whole force, save one corps, went steadily down the strip of land between the Savannah and the Ogeechee, while the one corps on the right bank, marching in two columns, a day in advance of the main body, effectually prevented the confederates from making any stand on the main road by constantly flanking every position,—a sound precaution, though not needed.

The correspondents who accompanied this grand army on its triumphant march, have furnished abundant narrative concerning that brilliant consummation of its toils, the capture of Savannah. It was on the evening of December 12th, says one of these, that General Howard relieved Hazen's second division of the fifteenth corps, by a part of the Seventeenth, and threw it across the Little Ogeechee, toward the Great Ogeechee, with the view of crossing it to Ossabaw Island, and reducing Fort McAllister, which held the river and the city. The confederates had destroyed King's bridge, across the Great Ogeechee, and this had to be repaired; this was done—one thousand feet of bridging—during the night, and, on the morning of the 13th, Hazen crossed and moved toward the point where Fort McAllister obstructed the river. Kilpatrick, in the meantime, had moved down to St. Catherine's sound, opened communication with the fleet, and asked permission to storm Fort McAllister; but Sherman thought the cavalry unequal to this feat.

Hazen made his arrangements to storm the fort on the afternoon of the 13th, Generals Sherman and Howard being at Cheroe's rice mill, on the Ogeechee, opposite the fort. Sherman was on the roof of the mill, surrounded by his staff and signal officers, Beckley and Cole, waiting to communicate with Hazen, on the Island. While patiently waiting for Hazen's signals, Sherman's keen eye detected smoke in the horizon, seaward. Up to this time he had received no intelligence from the fleet. In a moment the countenance of the bronzed chieftain lightened up, and he exclaimed—

"Look! Howard; there is the gun-boat!"

Time passed on, and the vessel now became visible, but no signal from the fleet or Hazen. Half an hour passed, and the guns of the fort opened simultaneously with puffs of smoke that rose a few hundred yards from the fort, showing that Hazen's skirmishers had opened. A moment after, Hazen signaled—

"I have invested the fort, and will assault immediately."

At this moment, Beckley announced a signal from the gun-boat. All eyes now turned from the fort to the gun-boat that was coming to their assistance with news from home. A few messages pass, which apprise that Foster and Dahlgren are

within speaking distance. The gun-boat now halts and asks—

"Can we run up? Is Fort McAllister ours?"

"No," is the reply; "Hazen is just ready to storm it. Can you assist?"

"Yes," is the response; "What will you have us do?"

But before Sherman can reply to Dahlgren the thunders of the fort are heard, and the low sound of small arms is borne across the three miles of marsh and river. Field glasses are opened, and, sitting flat upon the roof, the hero of Atlanta gazes away off to the fort. "There they go grandly—not a waver," he remarks.

Twenty seconds pass, and again he exclaims—

"See that flag in the advance, Howard; how steadily it moves; not a man falters. * * There they go still; see the roll of musketry. Grand, grand!"

Still he strained his eyes, and a moment after spoke without looking up—

"That flag still goes forward; there is no flinching there."

A pause for a minute.

"Look!" he exclaims, "it has halted. They waver—no, it's the parapet! There they go again; now they scale it; some are over. Look! There's a flag on the works! Another; another. It's ours. The fort's ours!"

The glass dropped by his side; and in an instant the joy of the great leader at the possession of the river and the opening of the road to his new base burst forth in words—

"As the old darkey remarked, dis chile don't sleep dis night!"—and turning to one of his aids, he added, "Have a boat for me at once; I must go there!"—pointing to the fort from which half a dozen battle-flags floated grandly in the sunset.

But this dramatic scene is thus graphically delineated by another correspondent, who brings the narrative down to the culminating and crowning event. The United States revenue cutter Nemaha, Lieutenant Warner, General Foster's flag-boat, left Hilton Head, on the morning of December 12th, to go down the coast with General Foster and staff, to endeavor to open communication with General Sherman, going through to Fort Pulaski and thence through the marsh to Warsaw Sound, looking toward the main canal to discover some traces of Sherman's advance. None were observed, so Foster proceeded outside, and entered Ossabaw Sound, where the gun-boat Flag, on blockading duty, was communicated with. Lieutenant Fisher was here left on board the Flag, to proceed with his party up the Ogeechee, and endeavor to signal to Sherman, if he should approach the coast at that point.

The Nemaha returned to Warsaw, and moved up the Wilmington river, anchoring just out of range of a confederate battery. During the night, rockets were thrown up by Captain Merrill, chief of the signal corps, to announce his presence to General Sherman's signal officers, but elicited no response.

Lieutenant Fisher was more successful. The Flag fired six guns in rapid succession, from a heavy gun, as a signal, and then Lieutenant Fisher threw up several rockets and closely examined the horizon over the mainland for the response. At about three o'clock on the morning of the 13th, after a rocket had been discharged from the Flag, a little stream of light was observed to shoot up in the direction of the Ogeechee, and quickly die away. Another rocket was immediately sent up from the flag-ship, and a second stream of light was seen in the same position as the first. It then became a question, whether or not they were confederate signals to deceive the federal officers.

At about seven o'clock, the navy tug Dandelion, acting master Williams, took Lieutenant Fisher and his party, and Captain Williamson, of the flag-ship, and proceeded up the Ogeechee, to a point within sight of Fort McAllister and the batteries on the Little Ogeechee. Here Lieutenant Fisher took a small boat and proceeded up as far as possible without drawing the enemy's fire. A careful reconnoissance

was made of the fort and the surrounding woods, from which came the reports of musketry, and the attention of the garrison seemed to be directed inland entirely. A flag, which seemed like that of the Union, was seen flying from a house four miles off, and on more careful examination the stars were plainly visible, and all doubt of the character of the flag was at once removed. *It was the flag that had floated over General Howard's head-quarters at Atlanta, and now flamed out on the sea-coast, within eight miles of the city of Savannah.* Lieutenant Fisher at once returned to the tug, and moved up to an opening out of range of Fort McAllister, when, from the top of the pilot-house of the Dandelion, the American flag could be distinctly seen. A white signal flag was at once raised by Lieutenant Fisher, and at once a signal flag of like nature was waved, and communication opened. Lieutenant Fisher signaled—

"Who are you?"

"McClintock, chief signal officer of General Howard," was signaled back.

A message was at once sent to General Sherman, tendering all aid from General Foster and Admiral Dahlgren. General Sherman then signaled that he was investing Fort McAllister, and wanted to know if the boat could help with her heavy guns. Before any reply could be given, Sherman had signaled to Hazen, of the fifteenth corps, to take the fort immediately. In five minutes the rally had been sounded by the bugles. One volley of musketry was heard, and the next moment the three brigade flags of Hazen's troops were placed, almost simultaneously, on the parapets of Fort McAllister. The fort was captured in twenty minutes after General Sherman's order to take it was given. Sherman then sent word that he would be down that night, and to look out for his boat. The tug immediately steamed down to Ossabaw Sound, to find General Foster or Admiral Dahlgren; but they not being there, dispatches were sent to them at Warsaw, announcing General Sherman's intended visit, and the tug returned to its old position. While approaching the fort again a small boat was seen coming down. It was hailed with—

"What boat is that?" and the welcome response came back—

"Sherman."

It soon came alongside, and out of the little dug-out, paddled by two men, stepped General Sherman and General Howard, and stood on the deck of the Dandelion. The great leader was received with cheer after cheer.

The city of Savannah, strongly fortified, and garrisoned by a large force under General Hardee, was summoned, but surrender was refused. Preparations for assault were made, and, during the night of December 20th, Hardee evacuated the city, and, with a large part of his garrison, escaped under cover of darkness. The union army soon after entered the city, and General Sherman thus announced to President Lincoln this splendid triumph:

"*I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with* 150 *heavy guns, and plenty of ammunition, and also about* 25,000 *bales of cotton.*"

Waiting at Savannah only long enough to refit and recruit, Sherman again began a march which, for peril, labor, and results, will compare with any ever made by an organized army. The floods of the Savannah, the swamps of the Combahee and Edisto, the high hills and rocks of the Santee, the flat quagmires of the Pedee and Cape Fear rivers, were all passed in mid-winter, with its floods and rains, in the face of an accumulating enemy.

On the morning of February 17th, General Sherman entered Columbia, the capital of South Carolina. In about a month from this time, and after fighting battles at Averysboro' and Bentonville, he made a junction with General Terry's forces at Goldsboro', N. C., and from this point pushed onward to Raleigh, where, on the 26th of April he received the surrender of the confederate army under Johnston,—the only remaining formidable confederate army in existence at that time east of the

Mississippi river,—thus virtually crushing the southern confederacy. Indeed, it was Sherman's intention not to stop short of Richmond, and only the great events consummated a short time previously at that important point, under Grant's masterly generalship, rendered this part of the programme unnecessary.

At this time, the great warrior, as described by his accomplished aid-de-camp, Major Nichols, was in person nearly six feet in height, with a wiry, muscular, and not ungraceful frame. His age only forty-seven years, but his face furrowed with deep lines, indicating care and profound thought. With surprising rapidity, however, these strong lines disappeared when he talked with women and children. His eyes dark brown, and sharp and quick in expression; his forehead broad and fair, and sloping gently at the top of the head, the latter being covered with thick and light brown hair, closely trimmed; his beard and moustache, of a sandy hue, were also closely cut. Of an iron constitution, exposure to cold, rain, or burning heat, seemed to produce no effect upon his powers of endurance and strength. Under the most harassing conditions, he exhibited no signs of fatigue. When in the field he retired early, but at midnight he might be found pacing in front of his tent, or sitting by the camp-fire smoking his cigar. He would fall asleep as easily and as quickly as a little child,—by the roadside or upon wet ground, on the hard floor or when a battle stirred the scene; but the galloping of a courier's horse down the road would instantly awaken him, as well as a voice or movement in his tent. As showing his thorough military spirit, it is related of him, that, before the fall of Atlanta, he refused a commission of major-general in the regular army, saying, "These positions of so much trust and honor should be held open until the close of the war. They should not be hastily given. Important campaigns are in operation. At the end, let those who prove their capacity and merit be the ones appointed to these high honors." The great captain was in a short time made lieutenant-general, and, subsequently, on the accession of General Grant to the presidency, he became GENERAL OF THE ARMY,—a military rank and title conferred only upon three persons, since the founding of the republic, namely, WASHINGTON, GRANT, SHERMAN.

XXXV.

FALL OF RICHMOND, VA., THE CONFEDERATE CAPITAL.—1865.

The Entrenched City Closely Encompassed for Months by General Grant's Brave Legions and Walls of Steel.—Flight of Jefferson Davis, and Surrender of General Lee's Army.—Overthrow of the Four Years' Gigantic Rebellion.—The Ægis and Starry Ensigns of the Republic Everywhere Dominant.—Transports of Joy Fill the Land.—A Nation's Laurels Crown the Head of the Conqueror of Peace.—Memorable Day in Human Affairs.—Momentous Issues Involved.—Heavy Cost of this Triumph.—Without it, a Lost Republic.—Unequaled Valor Displayed.—Sherman's Grand Conceptions.—Sheridan's Splendid Generalship.—Onward March of Events.—Strategy, Battles, Victories.—Lee's Lines Fatally Broken.—Approach of the Final Crisis.—Richmond Evacuated by Night.—Retreat of Lee: Vigorous Pursuit.—His Hopeless Resistance to Grant.—Their Correspondence and Interview.—The Two Great Generals Face to Face.—What was Said and Done.—Announcing the Result.—Parting of Lee with His Soldiers.—President Lincoln's Visit to Richmond.—Raising the United States Flag at Fort Sumter.—Davis a Prisoner in Fortress Monroe.

"I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer."—GENERAL GRANT'S DISPATCH FROM THE FIELD.

U. S. GRANT STATING TERMS OF SURRENDER.

XERXES crossing the Hellespont with his miles of troops and flotilla, and over which vast concourse he wept, it is said, as it passed in review, was not a more memorable illustration of the pomp and circumstance of war, than that which was exhibited in 1864 and 1865 by the Union army under General Grant, which, like a wall of steel, beleaguered the entrenched city of Richmond—the stronghold of his country's foes,—and brought it, in April of the last-named year, to submission and surrender; and with which event, the hosts that had been gathered by a powerful confederacy for the overthrow of the republic, melted away in defeat and disaster, the disunion chieftains became fugitives, and the long strife of arms ceased throughout the nation. This event has been justly characterized as far more momentous than any other that is likely to happen in our time, and which will always make 1865 one of the great years of history—putting it, in fact, in the same category with the first year of the Christian era, the year in which Rome was sacked, in which

Europe was saved from the Saracens, in which Luther began to preach the Reformation, in which Parliament drew the sword against Charles I., and in which the first shot was fired in the American Revolution; a year, in short, in which events marked the commencement of a new and important stage in human progress.

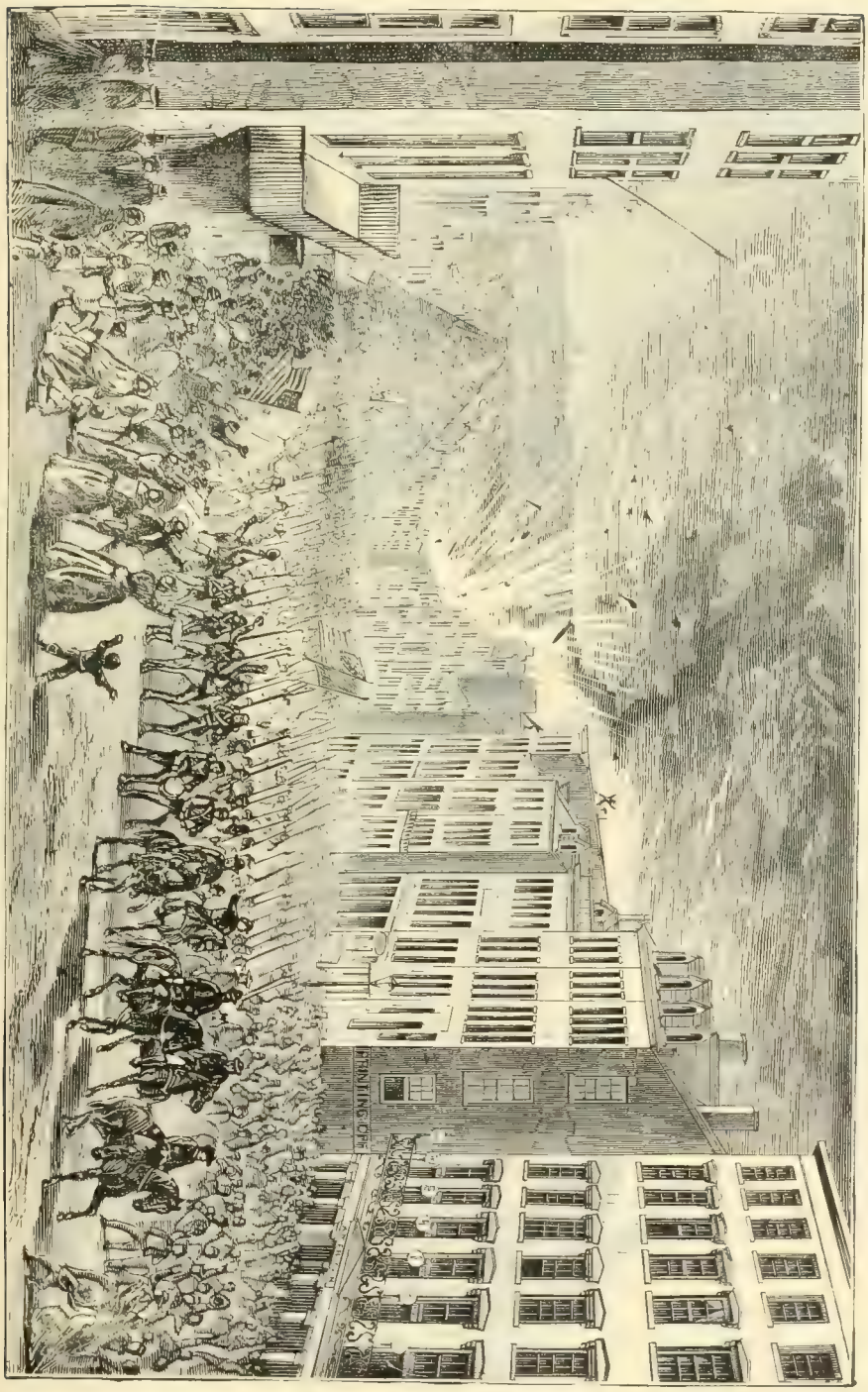
That the foe thus vanquished was not an inferior one is shown by the single fact, —if by no other—as stated by one of the most reliable authorities in such matters, that, in the whole history of war, no city has been purchased by a conqueror at so heavy a price as it cost to take Richmond. Napoleon took Berlin, Vienna, and Moscow, each in a single campaign, and, when the scale of fortune turned, the Allies entered Paris in two successive years. Sebastopol resisted the English and French armies for thirteen or fourteen months, and four or five battles were fought in the hope of raising the siege. For nearly four years, Richmond was the principal object of siege and attack by the union armies, and probably half a million of men were at different times employed in attempting its conquest. After the disaster at Bull Run had shown the federal government the deficiencies of its military organization, General McClellan commanded an army of not far from two hundred thousand men on the Potomac, and he landed more than half the number in the Peninsula, while his colleagues defended the approaches of Washington. The losses of the union army in the disastrous campaign of the Chickahominy, and in the subsequent defeat of General Pope, were variously estimated from fifty thousand all the way up to one hundred thousand men. Burnside's loss, in his attack upon the heights of Fredericksburg, was not far from fifteen thousand men, and about the same result attended the struggle between Generals Lee and Hooker, in 1863. The magnificent union victory at Gettysburg, involving so great a loss of life, was included in the same campaign. It was not till the early summer of 1864, that General Grant commenced his final advance upon Richmond, and the battles which ensued in the Shenandoah and in the neighborhood of Petersburg, added largely to the record of bloodshed. Great and most precious, however, as was the cost of final victory to the union army, its final defeat instead would have been at the cost of the existence of the Republic!

The splendid military conceptions of General Sherman, and their perfect execution, had much to do with hastening the downfall of Richmond and the collapse of the southern confederacy, nor can the brave and effective movement of General Sheridan in the same relation be too highly eulogized by his countrymen. Of the latter general's services, at this most exciting and momentous crisis, General Grant says: "During the 30th, (March, 1865,) Sheridan advanced from Dinwiddie Court-House towards Five Forks, where he found the enemy in force. General Warren advanced and extended his line across the Boydton plank road to near the White Oak road, with a view of getting across the latter; but finding the enemy strong in his front, and extending beyond his left, was directed to hold on where he was and fortify. General Humphreys drove the enemy from his front into his main line on the Hatcher, near Burgess's mills. Generals Ord, Wright, and Parke, made examinations in their fronts to determine the feasibility of an assault on the enemy's lines. The two latter reported favorably. The enemy confronting us, as he did, at every point from Richmond to our extreme left, I conceived his lines must be weakly held, and could be penetrated if my estimate of his forces was correct. I determined, therefore, to extend my line no further, but to re-enforce General Sheridan with a corps of infantry, and thus enable him to cut loose and turn the enemy's right flank, and with the other corps assault the enemy's lines."

With what soldierly gallantry Sheridan and his colleagues fulfilled the parts assigned them by their superior, is thus related by the latter. "On the morning of the 31st, General Warren reported fa-

vorably to getting possession of the White Oak road, and was directed to do so. To accomplish this, he moved with one division, instead of his whole corps, which was attacked by the enemy in superior force and driven back on the second division before it had time to form, and it, in turn, forced back upon the third division, when the enemy was checked. A division of the second corps was immediately sent to his support, the enemy driven back with heavy loss, and possession of the White Oak road gained. Sheridan advanced, and with a portion of his cavalry got possession of the Five Forks, but the enemy, after the affair with the fifth corps, re-enforced the rebel cavalry, defending that point with infantry, and forced him back towards Dinwiddie Court-House. *Here General Sheridan displayed great generalship.* Instead of retreating with his whole command on the main army, to tell the story of superior forces encountered, he deployed his cavalry on foot, leaving only mounted men enough to take charge of the horses. This compelled the enemy to deploy over a vast extent of woods and broken country, and made his progress slow. At this juncture, he dispatched to me what had taken place, and that he was dropping back slowly on Dinwiddie Court-House." Never was the tribute of praise more worthily bestowed, than this by the greatest of American heroes upon General Sheridan.

But still more important events were hastening. "On the morning of the 1st of April," says General Grant, "General Sheridan, re-enforced by General Warren, drove the enemy back on Five Forks, where, late in the evening, he assaulted and carried his strongly fortified position, capturing all his artillery, and between five and six thousand prisoners. About the close of this battle, Brevet Major-General Charles Griffin relieved Major-General Warren, in command of the fifth corps. The report of this reached me after nightfall. Some apprehensions filled my mind lest the enemy might desert his lines during the night, and by falling upon General Sheridan before assistance could reach him, drive him from his position and open the way for retreat. To guard against this, General Miles's division of Humphrey's corps was sent to re-enforce him, and a bombardment was commenced and kept up until four o'clock in the morning, April 2d, when an assault was ordered on the enemy's lines. General Wright penetrated the lines with his whole corps, sweeping everything before him and to the left towards Hatcher's Run, capturing many guns and several thousand prisoners. He was closely followed by two divisions of General Ord's command, until he met the other division of General Ord's that had succeeded in forcing the enemy's lines near Hatcher's Run. Generals Wright and Ord immediately swung to the right, and closed all of the enemy on that side of them in Petersburg, while General Humphreys pushed forward with two divisions and joined General Wright on the left. General Parke succeeded in carrying the enemy's main line, capturing guns and prisoners, but was unable to carry his inner line. General Sheridan being advised of the condition of affairs, returned General Miles to his proper command. On reaching the enemy's lines immediately surrounding Petersburg, a portion of General Gibbon's corps, by a most gallant charge, captured two strong, enclosed works —the most salient and commanding south of Petersburg—thus materially shortening the line of investment necessary for taking in the city. The enemy south of Hatcher's Run retreated westward to Sutherland's station, where they were overtaken by Miles's division. A severe engagement ensued and lasted until both his right and left flanks were threatened by the approach of General Sheridan, who was moving from Ford's station towards Petersburg, and a division sent by General Meade from the front of Petersburg, when he broke in the utmost confusion, leaving in our hands his guns and many prisoners. This force retreated by the main road along the Appomattox river. *During the night of the second, the enemy*



RICHMOND, THE CONFEDERATE CAPITAL, ENTERED BY THE UNION ARMY.

evacuated Petersburg and Richmond, and retreated toward Danville. On the morning of the 3d, pursuit was commenced. General Sheridan pushed for the Danville road, keeping near the Appomattox, followed by General Meade with the second and sixth corps, while General Ord moved for Burkesville along the South Side road, the ninth corps stretched along that road behind him,"—these combined movements being made with such rapidity and effectiveness, that Lee's army could have no expectation of escape founded upon any reasonable probability.

By the night of Tuesday, April 4th, Sheridan and the fifth corps had, by a march of thirty-six miles, gained a position west of Lee, near Jettersville, on the road to Burkesville. This movement resulted the next day in the capture of a train of three hundred wagons, with five cannon and a thousand prisoners. On Wednesday, Grant, with the twenty-fourth corps, had reached Nottoway Court-House, and there learned by a dispatch from Sheridan that Lee had been intercepted. On Thursday, Grant had brought his army up to Sheridan's support, and with the second, fifth, and sixth corps, lay in line of battle at Burke's Station, facing to the north and east, and cutting Lee off from Danville. Lee then tried to move on toward Lynchburg, by taking a circuitous route by way of Deatonsville, toward the Appomattox, which he hoped to cross, and, with the river between him and Grant, secure his retreat. Lee was compelled to fight at Deatonsville, where he was defeated, his loss amounting to thirteen thousand prisoners, including Lieutenant-General Ewell and Major-Generals Custis Lee, Kershaw, Corse, DeBarry, Anderson, Hunton, and Barton. Fourteen cannon were also taken, and several hundred wagons.

On Friday, April 7th, Grant wrote briefly to Lee, asking him to surrender "that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia." He said: "The result of last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the army of Northern Virginia in this struggle." Lee replied the same day, saying that though he was not entirely of Grant's opinion as to the hopelessness of further resistance, he reciprocated the desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and asked upon what terms Grant would accept the surrender. On the 8th, Grant again wrote, declaring that he should insist upon but one condition, namely: "That the men surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the government of the United States until properly exchanged." To this, Lee replied that he did not think the emergency had arisen to call for the surrender, but desired an interview at ten o'clock the next day, on the old stage road to Richmond, in respect to the restoration of peace. On the ninth, Grant wrote that he had no authority to grant such an interview. He said: "The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed."

In taking the ground that he did in this correspondence, Grant acted expressly in accordance with the views entertained by his superiors at Washington. It appears that among the dispatches which Grant had sent to the president, about this time, was one in which he spoke of an application to be made by Lee for an interview to negotiate about peace. Mr. Lincoln intimated pretty clearly an intention to permit extremely favorable terms, and to let his general-in-chief settle them; and this even to an extent that overpowered the reticent habits of his secretary of war, who, after restraining himself as long as he could, broke out sternly, saying—

"Mr. President, to-morrow is inauguration day. If you are not to be the president of an obedient and united people, you had better not be inaugurated. Your work is already done, if any other authority than yours is for one moment to be recognized, or any terms made that do not signify that you are the supreme head of

the nation. If generals in the field are to negotiate peace, or any other chief magistrate is to be acknowledged on the continent, then you are not needed, and you had better not take the oath of office."

"Stanton," said the president — his whole tone changing, "you are right. Let me have a pen."

Mr. Lincoln sat down at the table and wrote as follows:

"The president directs me to say to you that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee, unless it be for the capitulation of Lee's army, or on some minor or purely military matter. He instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer on any political question; such questions the president holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions. In the meantime, you are to press to the utmost your military advantages."

The president now read over what he had written, and then said—

"Now, Stanton, date and sign this paper, and send it to Grant. We'll see about this peace business."

Grant's note declining any interview to consider terms of peace was received by Lee on the spot which he had designated for the meeting. On receipt of this, Lee at once dispatched another note, requesting a personal interview for the object named in Grant's previous communication—the surrender of Lee's army. A flag of truce proceeded to Appomattox Court-House shortly after noon, and at about two o'clock the two generals met at the house of Mr. W. McLean. General Lee was attended by General Marshall, his adjutant-general; General Grant, by Colonel Parker, one of his chief aids-de-camp. General Grant arrived about fifteen minutes later than General Lee, and entered the parlor where the latter was awaiting him.

The two generals greeted each other with dignified courtesy, and after a few moments conversation, proceeded to the business before them. Lee immediately alluded to the conditions named by General Grant for the surrender, characterized them as exceedingly lenient, and said he would gladly leave all the details to General Grant's own discretion. Of this interview, General Grant himself gave the following interesting account to some friends, at a private dinner-party in Washington:

"I felt some embarrassment in the prospect of meeting General Lee. I had not seen him since he was General Scott's chief-of-staff in Mexico; and in addition to the respect I entertained for him, the duty which I had to perform was a disagreeable one, and I wished to get through it as soon as possible. When I reached Appomattox Court-House, I had ridden that morning thirty-seven miles. I was in my campaign clothes, covered with dust and mud; I had no sword; I was not even well mounted, for I rode (turning to General Ingals, who was present,) one of Ingals's horses. I found General Lee in a fresh suit of confederate gray, with all the insignia of his rank, and at his side the splendid dress-sword which had been given him by the state of Virginia. We shook hands. He was exceedingly courteous in his address, and we seated ourselves at a deal table in Mr. McLean's front room. We talked of two of the conditions of surrender, which had been left open by our previous correspondence, one of which related to the ceremonies which were to be observed on the occasion; and when I disclaimed any desire to have any parade, but said I should be contented with the delivery of arms to my officers, and with the proper signature and authentication of paroles, he seemed to be greatly pleased. When I yielded the other point, that the officers should retain their side arms and private baggage and horses, his emotions of satisfaction were plainly visible. We soon reduced the terms to writing. We parted with the same courtesies with which we had met. It seemed to me that General Lee evinced a feeling of satisfaction and relief when the business was finished. I immediately mounted Ingals's horse, returned to General Sheridan's head-quarters,

and did not again present myself to the confederate commander."

The house in which this most memorable interview took place was a comfortable and well-built double brick house, with a small green lawn in front. The occupant, Mr. McLean, lived in 1861 at Bull Run, and owned the farm on which the first and famous Bull Run battle was fought. It was in consequence of the disturbed state of the country and the annoyances to which he was subjected, that he abandoned his place, and took refuge in the distant town of Appomattox. Here he purchased some land and settled quietly down, as he thought, beyond the tide of war. But fate followed him; for, about four years after he left the Bull Run farm, the southern army was surrounded at Appomattox, and the last battle as well as the first was fought on his farm! The large marble-topped center table, on which the two generals signed the minutes, was of a somewhat antiquated style, and was afterwards purchased by General Ord for fifty dollars. General Custer purchased the other table, of small size, on which the documents were prepared, for twenty-five dollars.

After the interview, General Lee returned to his own camp, about half a mile distant, where his leading officers were assembled, awaiting his return. He announced the result and the terms, whereupon they expressed great satisfaction at the liberal conditions. They then approached him in order of rank, shook hands, and assured him of their approval of his course, and their regret at parting. The fact of surrender and the easy terms were then announced to the troops, and when General Lee appeared among them he was loudly cheered.

Immediately after the evacuation of Richmond, General Weitzel, with the second brigade of the third division of the twenty-fourth army corps, entered the city and took possession, hoisting the United States flag at every prominent point, and on the next day President Lincoln visited the fallen capital. His appearance was greeted with tumultuous cheering, though he came with no pomp of attendance or surroundings, and totally unheralded. He arrived in a United States war vessel, early in the afternoon, at the landing called the Rocketts, about a mile below the city, and thence, accompanied by his young son and Admiral Porter, went to the city in a boat. Mr. C. C. Coffin, ("Carleton,") the accomplished correspondent of the Boston Journal, in giving an account of this presidential visit, says that somehow the negroes on the bank of the river ascertained that the tall man wearing a black hat was President Lincoln. There was a sudden shout. An officer who had just picked up fifty negroes to do work on the dock, found himself alone. They left work, and crowded around the president. As he approached, I said to a colored woman,—

"There is the man who made you free."

"What, massa?"

"That is President Lincoln."

"Dat President Linkum?"

"Yes."

She gazed at him a moment, clapped her hands, and jumped straight up and down, shouting "Glory, glory, glory!" till her voice was lost in the universal cheer.

There was no carriage near, so the president, leading his son, walked three-quarters of a mile up to General Weitzel's headquarters—Jefferson Davis's presidential mansion. A colored man acted as guide. Six sailors, wearing their round blue caps and short jackets and bagging pants, with navy carbines, were the advance guard. Then came the president and Admiral Porter, flanked by the officers accompanying him, and the correspondent of the Boston Journal, then six more sailors with carbines,—amid a surging mass of men, women, and children, black, white, and yellow, running, shouting, and dancing, swinging their caps, bonnets and handkerchiefs. The soldiers saw him and swelled the crowd, cheering in wild enthusiasm. All could see him, he was so tall, so conspicuous.

One colored woman, standing in a doorway, as the president passed along the sidewalk, shouted, "Thank you, dear Jesus, for this! thank you, Jesus!" Another, standing by her side, was clapping her hands and shouting, "Bless de Lord!" A colored woman snatched her bonnet from her head, whirled it in the air, and screamed with all her might, "God bless you, Massa Linkum!"

President Lincoln walked in silence, acknowledging the salutes of officers and soldiers, and of the citizens, black and white. It was the man of the people among the people. It was the great deliverer among the delivered. General Shepley met the president in the street, and escorted him to General Weitzel's quarters. Major Stevens, hearing that the president was on his way, suddenly summoned a detachment of Massachusetts cavalry, and cleared the way. After a tedious walk, the mansion of Mr. Davis was reached. The immense crowd swept round the corner of the street and packed the space in front. General Weitzel received the president at the door. Cheer upon cheer went up from the excited multitude, two-thirds of whom were colored. The officers who had assembled were presented to the president in the reception room, and then citizens innumerable paid him their respects; after which the president took a ride through the city, accompanied by Admiral Porter, Generals Shepley and Weitzel, and others.

All this took place only a few hours after the flight of Davis. Early in the forenoon of that eventful Sunday, Lee telegraphed to his chief, that his lines had been broken in three places and that Richmond must be evacuated in the evening. This message was delivered to Davis at eleven o'clock, while he was in church. He immediately left, and, arranging his affairs as well as time would permit, proceeded with his cabinet to Danville. Pollard, the historian of the southern cause, states that the rumor was caught up in the streets that Richmond was to be evacuated, and was soon carried to the ends of the city. Men, women, and children, rushed from the churches, passing from lip to lip news of the impending fall. It was late in the afternoon when the signs of evacuation became apparent to the incredulous. Wagons on the streets were being hastily loaded at the departments with boxes, trunks, etc., and driven to the Danville depot. Those who had determined to evacuate with the fugitive government looked on with amazement; then, convinced of the fact, rushed to follow the government's example. Vehicles suddenly rose to a premium value that was astounding. All over the city it was the same—wagons, trunks, boxes, bundles, and their hurrying owners, filling the streets. By order of the military authorities, all the spirituous liquor in the city was destroyed, but some of it was seized and used by the straggling soldiery, who thereupon committed the grossest excesses. The great tobacco warehouses were also, by military order, set on fire, as were also the various bridges leading out of the city, and the rams in James river were blown up. The whole scene was awful in the extreme.

At Danville, Davis set up the form and machinery of his government, issuing at once a stirring address, in which he said: "We have now entered upon a new phase of the struggle. Relieved from the necessity of guarding particular points, our army will be free to move from point to point, to strike the enemy in detail far from his base." Waiting here, in expectation of Lee's arrival with his army, the news of the surrender of the latter reached him on the 10th of April. Dismayed at the tidings, Davis hastily made his escape to Greensboro, N. C., and afterwards, with various haltings, to Charlotte, N. C., and thence to Washington and Irwinsville, Ga., where he was captured, May 11th, by the union cavalry, and carried, a prisoner, to Fortress Monroe. This was, in form, the close of the war. General Johnston surrendered his army at Raleigh, N. C., April 26th, to General Sherman. General Howell Cobb, with his militia and five

generals, surrendered to General Wilson, at Macon, Ga., April 20th. Gen. Dick Taylor surrendered all the remaining confederate forces east of the Mississippi to General Canby, May 14th; and, on the 26th of the same month, Gen. Kirby Smith surrendered his entire command, west of the Mississippi, to the same officer. On the 14th of April,—just four years from the memorable bombardment and evacuation,—the flag of the United States was planted again upon Fort Sumter, under the orders of the president, by the hands of General Anderson, its commander in April, 1861.

The close of this mighty struggle, assuring the world of the continued nationality of the American Union, filled the land with such transports and demonstrations of joy as were never before known among any people; and the laurels of the nation covered the brow of GRANT, the hero of mighty battles—the Conqueror of Peace. By special act of congress, the full and supreme rank of General—a title never worn by a United States commander since the days of the illustrious Washington,—was revived and conferred upon Grant; and, as the highest honor in the gift of his countrymen, he was in 1869 transferred from the command of the army to the exalted position of President of the United States, in which station he remained eight years.

One event, in especial, among the cluster just named in connection with the closing scenes of the Great Conflict, deserves more than a passing mention here, namely, the *Re-possession of Fort Sumter, and the restoration to its original place on that historic spot, by General Anderson, of the identical flag* which, after an honorable and gallant defense, he was compelled to lower in April, 1861.

This ceremony of re-occupation took place, as ordered by President Lincoln, on Friday, April 14th, 1865, in presence of several thousands of spectators. Among the company were Generals Gillmore, Dix, Washburne, Doubleday, Anderson, Delafield, Grover, Hatch, and Saxton, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, William Lloyd Garrison, George Thompson, Assistant Secretary Fox, of the Navy Department, Professor Davis, and some two hundred officers of the navy. The spectators were conveyed from Charleston to the fort by steamers, and the ceremonies were ushered in at noon with a song and chorus entitled 'Victory at Last.'

Prayer was now offered by Rev. Matthias Harris, chaplain United States Army, who made the prayer at the raising of the flag when Major Anderson suddenly removed his command from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, December 27th, 1860. Rev. Dr. Storrs, of Brooklyn, then read selections of scripture, after which, Adjutant-General Townsend read Major Anderson's dispatch, dated steamship Baltic, off Sandy Hook, April 18th, 1861, announcing the fall of Fort Sumter.

Major-General Anderson and Sergeant Hart then stepped forward on the platform and unfurled the glorious old banner, amid the deafening cheers of the assemblage. As they raised the flag, with an evergreen wreath attached, the occupants on the stage all joined in taking hold of the halyards. The scene of rejoicing that followed, as the flag reached the top of the staff, was indescribable. The enthusiasm was unbounded. There was a simultaneous rising, cheering, and waving of hats and handkerchiefs, for fully fifteen minutes. As the starry emblem floated out gracefully to the strong breeze, the joyful demonstrations were repeated, which were responded to by music from the bands, a salute of one hundred guns at Fort Sumter, and a national salute from every fort and battery that fired upon Sumter in April, 1861. When this was over, General Anderson came forward and said—

"I am here, friends and fellow-citizens, and brother soldiers, to perform an act of duty which is dear to my heart, and which all of you present appreciate and feel. Did I listen to the promptings of my own heart, I would not attempt to speak; but I have been desired by the secretary of war to make a few remarks. By the con-

siderate appointment of the honored secretary of war to fulfill the cherished wish of my heart through four long years of bloody war—to restore to its proper place this very flag which floated here during peace, before the first act of this cruel rebellion —I thank God I have lived to see this day, to be here to perform this, perhaps the last act of duty to my country in this life. My heart is filled with gratitude to Almighty God for the signal blessings he has given us—blessings beyond number. May all the world proclaim 'Glory to God in the highest; on earth, peace and good will toward men.'"

The 'Star Spangled Banner' was then sung by the whole audience, with great feeling and effect; after which, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher delivered a commemorative oration of great eloquence and power. The doxology, with devotional services, closed the public exercises of the day; and, with cheers for President Lincoln, the old Flag, the Union, Generals Grant, Sherman, and others, the vast multitude separated.

XXXVI.

ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN, AT FORD'S THEATER, WASHINGTON, BY J. WILKES BOOTH.—1865.

Conspiracy to Murder, Simultaneously, all the Chief Officers of the Government —The Most Exalted and Beloved of Mortal Rulers Falls a Victim —A Universal Wail of Anguish and Lamentation Poured Forth from the National Heart.—Darkest Page in the History of the Country.—Funeral Cortege Through Fifteen States.—Tragical Fate of the Conspirators.—Object of this Most Infamous of Crimes —Singular Time of its Perpetration.—Virtual End of the Great Civil War.—Dawn of Peace: Universal Joy.—President Lincoln's Happy Frame of Mind.—How He Passed His Last Day.—Conversations on the Evening of April 14th.—Makes an Engagement for the Morrow —Last Time He Signed His Name.—Reluctantly Goes to the Theater.—Arrives Late: Immense Audience —Plans and Movements of Booth, the Assassin.—The Fatal Shot: A Tragedy of Horrors —Removal of the President to a Private House.—Speechless and Unconscious to the End —Death-Bed Scenes and Incidents. —The Nation Stunned at the Appalling News.—Its Reception at the South, and by General Lee. —A Continent in Tears and Mourning.—Most Imposing Obsequies Ever Known.—Booth's Swift and Bloody End.—Trial of His Male and Female Accomplices.

MR. LINCOLN'S EARLY HOME.

"Mourn not for him; let him be regarded
As the most noble corse that ever herald
Did follow to his urn."

REVIEWING the great procession of events which distinguish the ninety years covered by our national existence, up to the present time, there is, confessedly, none of the many during that period, which shows so dark and terrible a page, none which so paralyzed the heart of the nation, or sent such a thrill of agony through the four continents of the globe, causing world-wide sorrow and lamentation,—as the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, president of the United States, by John Wilkes Booth, at Ford's Theater, in the capital of the nation, on the night of April 14th, 1865. And this bloody deed was but one act in the diabolical conspiracy which contemplated the simultaneous murder of the chief officers of state, at the federal capital, to the end that panic might there seize upon the government and nation, and treason and anarchy assert their sway over a republic in ruins.

And yet, the time chosen for this most appalling conspiracy was that which was marked by the virtual close of the great war which for four long years had filled the land with carnage and death; the prowess of General Grant had shattered the plans of the ablest military chieftains of the south; General Sherman had consummated his grand march from Atlanta to Savannah, and thence through South Carolina; all the

chief cities of the south were occupied by the union forces; Lee had surrendered his sword, and President Lincoln had just visited the city of Richmond, so recently the confederate stronghold; and Jefferson Davis was a fugitive, who had then barely escaped capture. The demonstrations of joy at the now certain conclusion of hostilities, and the dawn of peace, were universal; and by no one, in all the land, was this joy shared so fully as by President Lincoln.

Of the president's happy frame of mind, now that victory had everywhere crowned the federal arms, and he was entering on

FORD'S THEATER, IN WASHINGTON.

his second presidential term under the auspices of prospective peace, something may be judged by the incidents represented to have transpired in connection with his private and personal intercourse, during the last day of his life. On the morning of that fatal day, Captain Robert Lincoln, son of the president, and who had just returned from the capitulation of General Lee, breakfasted with his father, and the president passed a happy hour listening to all the details. While thus at breakfast, he heard that Speaker Colfax was in the house, and sent word that he wished to see him immediately in the reception room. He conversed with him nearly an hour, on his future policy as to the south, which he was about to submit to the cabinet. Afterwards he had an interview with Mr. Hale, minister to Spain, and with several senators and representatives. At eleven o'clock, the cabinet and General Grant met with him, and, in one of the most important and satisfactory cabinet sessions held since his first inauguration, the future policy of the administration was harmoniously and unanimously agreed on, Secretary Stanton remarking that he felt that the government was stronger than at any previous period since the rebellion commenced. Turning to General Grant, Mr. Lincoln asked him if he had heard from General Sherman. General Grant replied that he had not, but was in hourly expectation of receiving dispatches from him announcing the surrender of Johnston. The president replied:

"Well, you will hear very soon, and the news will be important."

"Why do you think so?" inquired General Grant, somewhat in a curious mood.

"Because," said Mr. Lincoln, "I had a dream, last night, and, ever since the war began, I have invariably had the same dream before any very important military event has occurred." He then instanced Bull Run, Antietam, Gettysburg, etc., and said that before each of those events he had had the same dream, and, turning to Secretary Welles, continued, "It is in your line, too, Mr. Welles. The dream is, that I saw a ship sailing very rapidly, and I am sure that it portends some important national event."

In the afternoon, the president had a long and pleasant interview with General Oglesby, Senator Yates, and other leading citizens of Illinois.

At about half-past seven o'clock in the evening, Hon. George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, who presided over the Chicago Convention in 1860, called at the White House, and was ushered into the parlor, where Mr. Colfax was seated, waiting for

an interview with the president, on business which had a bearing on his proposed overland trip. A few moments elapsed, when President Lincoln entered the room, and engaged in conversation upon various matters, appearing to be in a very happy and jovial frame of mind. He spoke of his visit to Richmond, and when they stated that there was much uneasiness at the north while he was in that city, for fear that he might be shot, he replied, jocularly, that he would have been alarmed himself if any other person had been president and gone there, but that personally he did not feel any danger whatever. Conversing on a matter of business with Mr. Ashmun, he made a remark that he saw Mr. Ashmun was surprised at, and, though not very important, he immediately said, with his well-known kindness of heart,—

"You did not understand me, Ashmun. I did not mean what you inferred, and I take it all back and apologize for it."

Mr. Ashmun desiring to see him again, and there being no time to attend to it then, the president took out a card, and placing it on his knee, wrote as follows:

"Allow Mr. Ashmun and friend to come to me at nine A. M., to-morrow.

April 14, '65. A. Lincoln."

These were the last words that he penned. It was the last time that he signed his name to any order, document or message. The last words written by him were thus making an engagement for the morrow—an engagement which he was not allowed to meet. Before the hour had arrived he was no more. After signing the card, he said, humorously, to Mr. Colfax,—

"Mr. Sumner has the gavel of the Confederate Congress, which he got at Richmond, to hand to the secretary of war; but I insisted then that he must give it to you, and you tell him for me to hand it over."

Mr. Ashmun here pleasantly alluded to the gavel which he himself still had—the same one he had used when presiding over the Chicago Nominating Convention of 1860.

President Lincoln finally stated that he must go to the theater and, saying, "You are going with Mrs. Lincoln and me to the theater, I hope," warmly pressed Speaker Colfax and Mr. Ashmun to accompany them, but they excused themselves on the score of previous engagements. It was now half an hour after the time when they had intended to start, and they spoke about waiting half an hour longer,—the president going with reluctance, as General Grant had that evening gone north, and Mr. Lincoln did not wish the people to be disappointed, it having been announced in the afternoon papers that the president, Mrs. Lincoln, and General Grant, would attend the theater that evening, to witness the representation of the "American Cousin." At the door, Mr. Lincoln stopped and said,—

"Colfax, do not forget to tell the people in the mining regions, as you pass through them, what I told you this morning about the development when peace comes, and I will telegraph you at San Francisco."

Starting for the carriage, Mrs. Lincoln took the arm of Mr. Ashmun, and the president and Mr. Colfax walked together. As soon as the president and Mrs. Lincoln were seated in the carriage, Mrs Lincoln gave orders to the coachman to drive around to Senator Harris's residence, for Miss Harris. As the carriage rolled away, they both said "Good-by,—Good-by," to Messrs. Ashmun and Colfax. A few moments later, and the presidential party of four persons, namely, the president and Mrs. Lincoln, Miss Harris, and Major Rathbone, arrived at the theater and entered the front and left-hand upper private box.

The deeply-laid plan of Booth to murder the president was soon to culminate in horrid and fatal execution. According to the very reliable account given by the Hon. H. J. Raymond, in his biography of the martyred president, and in which account there is exhibited the most painstaking synopsis of the accumulated evidence concerning Booth's movements, the murderer made his appearance at fifteen

THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

minutes after ten, passed along the passage behind the spectators in the dress-circle, showed a card to the president's messenger, and stood for two or three minutes looking down upon the stage and the orchestra below. He then entered the vestibule of the president's box, closed the door behind him, and fastened it by bracing a short plank against it from the wall, so that it could not be opened from the outside. He then drew a small silver-mounted Derringer pistol, which he carried in his right hand, holding a long double-edged dagger in his left. All in the box were intent on the proceedings upon the stage; but President Lincoln was leaning forward, holding aside the curtain of the box with his left hand, and looking, with his head slightly turned, towards the audience. Booth stepped within the inner door into the box, directly behind the president, and, holding the pistol just over the back of the chair in which he sat, shot him through the back of the head. Mr. Lincoln's head fell slightly forward, and his eyes closed, but in every other respect his attitude remained unchanged. The report of the pistol startled those in the box, and Major Rathbone, turning his eyes from the stage, saw, through the smoke that filled the box, a man standing between him and the president. He instantly sprang towards him and seized him; but Booth wrested himself from his grasp, and, dropping the pistol, struck at him with the dagger, inflicting a severe wound upon his left arm, near the shoulder. Booth then rushed to the front of the box, shouted "*Sic semper tyrannis!*"—put his hand upon the railing in front of the box, and leaped over it upon the stage below. As he went over, his spur caught in the flag which draped the front, and he fell; but recovering himself immediately, he rose, brandished the dagger, and facing the audience, shouted, "*The South is avenged!*" He then rushed across the stage towards the passage which led to the

stage door in the rear of the theater. An actor named Hawke was the only person on the stage when Booth leaped upon it, and seeing Booth coming towards him with the dagger in his hand, he ran off the stage and up a flight of stairs. Booth ran through the passage-way beside the scenes, meeting one or two persons only, whom he struck from his path, went out at the door which stood open, and which he closed behind him, and mounting a horse which he had brought there, and which a lad was holding for him, he rode over the Anacosta bridge, across the east branch of the Potomac, safely escaping to Lower Maryland.

It is impossible to describe the scene which transpired in that box and in that vast audience, on the discovery that the president was shot. Suffice it to say, that the surgeon-general and other physicians were immediately summoned, and their skill exhausted in efforts to restore him to consciousness. An examination of his wounds, however, showed that no hopes could be given that his life would be spared.

Preparations were at once made to remove him, and he was conveyed to a house immediately opposite, and there placed upon a bed, the only evidence of life being

HOUSE WHERE LINCOLN DIED.

an occasional nervous twitching of the hand and heavy breathing. At about half-past eleven, the motion of the muscles of his face indicated as if he were trying to speak, but doubtless it was merely muscular. His eyes protruded from their sockets and were suffused with blood.

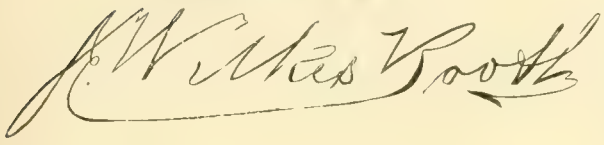
At his bedside were the secretaries of war, the navy and the interior; the postmaster-general and attorney-general; Senator Sumner; General Todd, cousin to Mrs. Lincoln; Major Hay, Mr. M. B. Field, General Halleck, General Meigs, Rev. Doctor Gurley, the physicians, and a few other persons. All were bathed in tears; and Secretary Stanton, when informed by Surgeon-General Barnes, that the president could not live until morning, exclaimed, "Oh, no, General; no—no;" and with an impulse, natural as it was unaffected, immediately sat down and wept like a child. Senator Sumner was seated at the right of the president, near the head, holding the right hand of the president in his own; he was sobbing like a woman, with his head bowed down almost upon the pillow of the bed. In an adjoining room were Mrs. Lincoln, and several others.

Mrs. Lincoln was in a state of great excitement and agony, wringing her hands and exclaiming, "Why did he not shoot me, instead of my husband! I have tried to be so careful of him, fearing something would happen, and his life seemed to be more precious now than ever. I must go with him!"—and other expressions of like character. She was constantly going to and from the bedside of the president, saying in utter grief, "How can it be so!" The scene was heart-rending. Captain Robert Lincoln bore himself with great firmness, and constantly endeavored to assuage the grief of his mother by telling her to put her trust in God and all would be well. Occasionally, however, being entirely overcome, he would retire by himself and give vent to most piteous lamentations.

At four o'clock, the symptoms of restlessness returned, and at six the premonitions of dissolution set in. His face, which had been quite pale, began to assume a waxen transparency, the jaw slowly fell, and the teeth became exposed. About a quarter of an hour before the president died, his breathing became very difficult, and in many instances seemed to have entirely

ceased. He would again rally and breathe with so great difficulty as to be heard in almost every part of the house. Mrs. Lincoln took her last leave of him about twenty minutes before he expired, and was sitting in the adjoining room when it was announced to her that he was dead. When this announcement was made, she exclaimed, "Oh! why did you not tell me that he was dying!"

The surgeons and the members of the cabinet, Senator Sumner, Captain Robert Lincoln, General Todd, Mr. Field, and one or two more, were standing at his bed-side when he breathed his last. Robert Lincoln was resting himself tenderly upon the arm of Senator Sumner, the mutual embrace of the two having all the affectionateness of father and son. The surgeons were sitting upon the side and foot of the bed, holding the president's hands, and with their watches observing the slow declension of the pulse, and watching the ebbing out of the vital spirit.



He lingered longer than was expected; until, at twenty-two minutes past seven o'clock, in the morning, April fifteenth, the physician said, with solemn accent and overpowering emotion,—

"*He is gone; he is dead.*"

Such was the deep stillness, in that awful presence, at the fatal announcement, that for the space of five minutes the ticking of the watches could be distinctly heard. All stood transfixed in their positions, speechless, breathless, around the dead body of that great and good man. At length the secretary of war broke the silence and said to Rev. Doctor Gurley, "Doctor, will you say anything?" He replied, "I will speak to God." "Do it just now," responded the secretary. And there, by the side of the fallen chief, a fervent prayer was offered up, at the close of which there arose from the lips of the entire company a fervid and spontaneous "Amen."

No adequate portrayal can be given of the effect upon the public mind, of the murder of the president, as the news was borne along the telegraphic wires, from one end of the land to the other. Stunned, bewildered, incredulous, at first, the tears and wailing of a whole nation were soon manifest — deep answering unto deep—to an extent and degree never before witnessed since the death of Washington. A pang of horror seized every heart, in this darkest hour of the country's history, the emblems of mourning shrouded the land in very darkness—its streets, its habitations, its churches, its halls of justice, its capitols, — funeral pageants everywhere hushed the noise of business,— and the solemn voice of eulogy and lamentation, and the sound of dirge and requiem, filled the air, from the mountains of the north to the prairies and valleys of the west and the golden slopes of the far-off Pacific.

If, in the blind and fatal mistake of sectional antagonism or partisan bitterness, this most infamous of human crimes found apologists, there were, at least, some notable exceptions to this feeling. Thus, when the tidings reached Richmond, General Lee at first refused to hear the details of the horrid deed, from the two gentlemen who waited upon him on Sunday night

with the particulars. He said, that when he dispossessed himself of the command of the confederate forces, he kept in view President Lincoln's benignity, and surrendered as much to the latter's goodness as to Grant's artillery. The general said that he regretted Mr. Lincoln's death as much as any man in the north, and believed him to be the epitome of magnanimity and good faith.

On the nineteenth of April, the New World witnessed the most imposing funeral ceremonies that ever took place this side of the Atlantic, or perhaps in the whole world. The body, which had been embalmed, lay in state in the Green Room of the White House, the coffin resting upon a magnificent catafalque, and the grand room overflowing with flowers which had poured in from innumerable sources. The public exercises took place in the East Room, being conducted by Rev. Drs. Hall, Gurley, and Gray, and Bishop Simpson. The throng of dignitaries, embracing representatives of the army and navy, senators and members of congress, judges, foreign ambassadors, governors of the states, and other high officials, was such as had never before been gathered together in the executive mansion. From the latter place, the body of the illustrious deceased was conveyed, along Pennsylvania Avenue, to the great rotunda of the nation's capitol, thence to be carried to their last resting-place in Oak Ridge cemetery, Springfield, Ill.

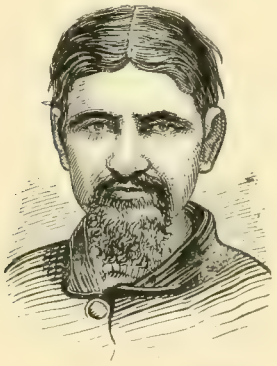
The description given by Holland, of the procession in the federal metropolis, will apply, in its main features, to all the corteges in the various cities through which the honored remains passed. "Every piazza, window, verandah and house-top, was filled with eager but mournful faces. Funereal music filled the sweet spring air; and this was the only sound, except the measured tread of feet, and the slow roll of wheels upon the pavement. As the hearse, drawn by six gray horses, reached the capitol grounds, the bands burst forth in a requiem, and were answered by minute-guns from the fortifications. The body of the president was borne into the rotunda, where Doctor Gurley completed the religious exercises of the occasion. Here the remains rested, exposed to public view, but guarded by soldiery, until the next day. Thousands who had no other opportunity to take their farewell of the beloved dust thronged the capitol all night. The procession which moved from the White House, April 19th, was but the beginning of a pageant that displayed its marvelous numbers and its ever-varying forms, through country, and village, and city, winding across the territories of vast states, along a track of more than fifteen hundred miles. During this period, millions gazed upon the loved features of the departed president.

LINCOLN'S RESIDENCE AT SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

It was on the twenty-first of April, that the remains were started upon their mournful journey to Springfield, Ill. They were

taken to that city by the route he pursued while on his way from his western home to be inaugurated in Washington. Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, and Chicago, were visited in the order named, and at each place, as well as all along the route, there were most extraordinary demonstrations of respect and sorrow. Millions of people manifested, by every possible means and token, their deep sense of the public loss, and their appreciation of the exalted virtues which adorned the life of Abraham Lincoln. All classes, without distinction of politics or creeds, spontaneously united in the posthumous honors.

The funeral at Springfield was on a beautiful May day. At noon, the remains were brought from the state house, in the same hearse which had borne the bodies



SERGEANT BOSTON CORBETT.

of General Lyon and Thomas H. Benton. The hearse was surmounted by a crown of flowers. From the portico, as the procession advanced, a vast chorus of voices filled the air with the strains of "Children of the Heavenly King." The ceremonies were under the immediate direction of General Hooker. A dirge was sung; and after the reading of scripture, a prayer, and a hymn, the president's second inaugural address was read. A dirge succeeded, after which Bishop Simpson delivered the funeral oration before the great audience there assembled, and from the midst of which went forth many an ejaculation of uncontrollable sorrow.

AND THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND BELOVED PRESIDENT, SO RECENTLY THE MOST EXALTED OF MORTAL RULERS, WAS BURIED IN HIS OWN TOMB.

But before the noble departed had been consigned, amidst the tears and lamentations of a whole continent, to the earth's bosom, John Wilkes Booth, the perpetrator of the greatest of modern crimes, had met his doom, and most of his co-conspirators—Atzerodt, Doctor Mudd, Payne, Harold, Mrs. Surratt, O'Laughlin, Arnold, and Spangler—were in the clutches of the law. It was Payne, who, at the same time that Booth's bullet sped its fatal course, enacted his part of the conspiracy in which Booth was chief, by entering the sick chamber of Secretary Seward, stabbing him in the throat, and then escaping. It was at Mrs. Surratt's house that the conspirators had met and laid their plans. As alleged, Atzerodt was to have taken the life of Vice-President Johnson. O'Laughlin was assigned to murder General Grant or Secretary Stanton. Harold was the body companion of Booth. Spangler assisted in Booth's escape from the theater. Mudd had held interviews with Booth and John H. Surratt, son of Mrs. Surratt named above, and had also attended to Booth's leg, crippled by his getting entangled with the flag that decorated the president's box. Arnold was originally in the plot, but quarreled, and left it. Booth was but twenty-seven years old at the time of his crime, by profession an actor, long known for his dissipated habits, and for his ardent devotion to the southern cause. He was born in Harford county, Md., his father being the once celebrated actor, Junius Brutus Booth, and his brother being Edwin Booth, also famous on the stage.

Immediately after the murder, Colonel Baker, of the detective service, set out to find Booth's hiding-place. He soon succeeded in capturing Atzerodt and Mudd. A negro was then arrested, who said he had seen Booth and another man cross the Potomac in a fishing boat. Colonel Baker sent to General Hancock for twenty-five

mounted men to aid him in the pursuit. These were sent under Lieutenant Dougherty, and Baker placed them under the control of Lieutenant-Colonel Conger, and of his cousin, Lieutenant L. B. Baker, and dispatched them to Belle Plain, with orders to scour the country about Port Royal.

At Port Royal they found one Rollins, a fisherman, who referred them to a negro named Lucas as having driven two men a short distance toward Bowling Green, in a wagon. These men perfectly answered the description of Booth and Harold. Some disbanded men, it was learned, belonging to Mosby's command, took Booth under their protection on the way to Bowling Green, a small court-house town in Caroline county. To that place, Baker and his party immediately proceeded, and there found the captain of the confederate cavalry, from whom they extorted a statement of Booth's whereabouts; this was at the house of a Mr. Garrett, which they had already passed.

Returning with the captain for a guide, the worn-out command halted at Garrett's gate, at two o'clock on the morning of April 26th. Without noise, the house was surrounded, and Baker went up to the kitchen door at the side, and rapped. An old man in half undress undrew the bolts, and had scarcely opened the door before Baker had him by the throat with a pistol at his ear, and asked, "Where are the men who stay with you?" Under the menace of instant death, the old man seemed paralyzed, but at Baker's order lit a candle. The question was then repeated. "They are gone," replied the old man. Soon a young boy appeared, and told Baker the men he sought were in the barn. The barn was then surrounded. Baker and Conger went to the door. The former called out, signifying his intention to have a surrender on the part of the men inside, or else to fire the barn, and shoot them on the spot. The young boy was sent in to receive their arms. To the boy's message Booth answered with a curse, accusing the boy of having betrayed him. The boy then came out, and Baker repeated his demand, giving Booth five minutes to make up his mind. Booth replied—

"Who are you, and what do you want with us?"

"We want you to deliver up your arms and become our prisoners," said Baker.

"But who are you?"

"That makes no difference. We know who you are, and we want you. We have here fifty men with carbines and pistols. You cannot escape."

"Captain," said Booth, after a pause, "this is a hard case, I swear. Perhaps I am being taken by my own friends."

He then asked time to consider, which was granted. After a little interval, Baker threatened to fire the barn, if they did not come out. Booth replied that he was a cripple, and begged a chance for his life, declaring that he would fight them all at so many yards apace, and that he would never be taken alive. Baker answered that he did not come there to fight but to capture him, and again threatened to fire the barn.

"Well, then, my brave boys," said Booth, "prepare a stretcher for me."

Harold now wanted to surrender, and, in the midst of a shower of imprecations from Booth, did so. Conger then set fire to the barn.

The blaze lit up the black recesses of the great barn till every wasp's nest and every cobweb in the roof was visible, flinging streaks of red and violet across the tumbled farm-gear in the corner, and bathing the murderer's retreat in a vivid illumination,—and, while in bold outline his figure stood revealed, they rose like an impenetrable wall to guard from sight the dreadful enemy who lit them. Behind the blaze, with his eye to a crack, Conger saw Wilkes Booth standing upright upon a crutch. At the gleam of fire, Booth dropped his crutch and carbine, and on both hands crept up to the spot to espy the incendiary and shoot him dead. His eyes were lustrous as with fever, and swelled and rolled in terrible anxiety,

while his teeth were fixed, and he wore the expression of one in the calmness preceding frenzy. In vain he peered, with vengeance in his look; the blaze that made him visible concealed his pursuers. A second he turned glaring at the fire, as if to leap upon and extinguish it, but the flames had made such headway that this was a futile impulse, and he dismissed it. As calmly as upon the battle-field a veteran stands amidst the hail of ball and shell and plunging iron, Booth turned at a man's stride and pushed for the door, weapon in poise, and the last resolve of death—despair—set on his high, bloodless forehead.

At this instant, Sergeant Boston Corbett fired through a crevice and shot Booth in the neck.

They then took up the wounded man and carried him out on the grass, a little way from the door, beneath a locust tree. Conger went back to the barn, to see if the fire could be put out, but found it could not, and returned to where Booth was lying. Before this (says Lieutenant Conger, in his official account), I supposed him to be dead; he had all the appearance of a dead man; but when I came back, his eyes and mouth were moving. I called immediately for water, and put some on his face. He seemed to revive, and attempted to speak. I put my ear down to his mouth, and heard him say, "Tell my

BURIAL PLACE OF LINCOLN.

mother I died for my country." I repeated the words to him, and said, "Is that what you would say?" He said "Yes." They carried him to the porch of Garrett's house, and laid him on a straw bed or tick. At that time he revived considerably, and could talk in a whisper, so as to be intelligibly understood. He could not speak above a whisper. He wanted water; I gave it to him. He wanted to turn on his face; I said he couldn't lie in that position. He wanted to be turned on his side; we turned him on his side three times, but he could not lie with any comfort, and asked immediately to be turned back. He asked me to put my hand on his throat, and press down, which I did. He said "Harder;" I pressed as hard as I thought necessary. He made a very strong exertion to cough, but was unable to do so. I suppose he thought there was blood in his throat. I asked him to put out his tongue, which he did. I said, "There is no blood in your throat." He repeated several times, "Kill me! kill me!" I replied, "I do not want to kill you. I want you to get well."

When the doctor arrived, whom Conger had sent for, Booth asked to have his hands raised and shown him. When this was done, he muttered "Useless, useless!" These were his last words. He died about four hours after being shot.

The solemn trial of the other accomplices in this great crime of conspiracy and murder, soon took place in the city of Washington, before a military commission consisting of Generals Hunter, Howe, Harris, Wallace, Kautz, Foster, Ekin; Colonels Clendenin, Tompkins, and Burnett; Judges Bingham and Holt. The last named held the position of Judge-Advocate-General of the court, and Major-General Hunter officiated as president.

The charges upon which Payne was arrested and tried were, that he was a confederate of Booth in the general conspiracy to kill the president, vice-president, General Grant, and Secretary Seward, so as thus to deprive the army and navy of a constitutional commander-in-chief, and to prevent a lawful election of president and vice-president by the vacancy thus made in the office of secretary of state,—the duty of the latter officer being, in case of the death of the president and vice-president, to cause an election to be held for presidential electors. The arraignment of all the parties was upon this general charge, with specifications in each case.

Against Payne, the specification was that of attempting to kill Secretary Seward. Presenting himself at the door of Mr. Seward's residence, he gained admission by representing that he had a prescription from Mr. Seward's physician, which he was directed to see administered, and hurried up to the third-story chamber, where Mr. Seward was lying sick. He here discovered Mr. Frederick Seward, struck him over the head, inflicting severe wounds, and then rushed into the room where Mr. Seward was in bed, attended by a young daughter and a male nurse. The assassin stabbed the latter in the lungs, and then struck Secretary Seward with a dagger twice in the face and twice in the throat, inflicting terrible wounds. By this time Major Seward, eldest son of the secretary, and another attendant, reached the room, and rushed to the rescue of the secretary; they were also wounded in the conflict, and the assassin escaped.

Spangler, who was employed at the theater, was tried for aiding and assisting Booth to obtain an entrance to the box in which President Lincoln sat in the theater, and for barring or obstructing the door of the passage-way, so as to hinder pursuit.

Atzerodt was charged with lying in wait to murder Vice-President Johnson, at the Kirkwood House, where the latter was stopping. He took a room at that house, on the morning of April 14th, and was there at different times during the day and evening, under suspicious circumstances. Though in active co-operation with Booth and his accomplices, he failed in executing the part particularly delegated to him.

In the further programme of the great conspiracy, O'Laughlin was to take the

life of General Grant, and on this charge and specification he was indicted and tried, though he failed, like Atzerodt, to accomplish the bloody deed.

Mrs. Surratt was charged with having "on or before the sixth day of March, 1865, and on divers other days and times between that day and the twentieth of April, 1865, received, entertained, harbored and concealed, aided and assisted" the conspirators in the execution of their plans. She was charged with being cognizant of the intended crime almost from its inception, becoming an active participant and general manager. With Doctor Mudd, it was charged, she planned the means and assistance for the escape of the assassins, and visited Mudd at five o'clock on the day of the assassination, to see that certain weapons were in readiness. Booth had frequent interviews at her house, and was with her on the afternoon of the fourteenth.

The part taken by Doctor Mudd, in the tragedy, was described in the indictment as that of an accomplice. He was, it appeared, in the confidence of Booth several months prior to the assassination. In January, he had an interview with John H. Surratt and Booth, at the National Hotel. He introduced Booth to Surratt, and was visited by Booth at the Pennsylvania House. When the assassins fled to his house, he dressed Booth's wound and assisted in the escape of both Booth and Harold. When the officers called at his house, soon after the assassination, he denied that he knew either of the criminals, but subsequently, after his arrest, he admitted the fact of his acquaintance with Booth; both of the fugitives were well cared for by him at his house.

Arnold was tried for being one of the original conspirators, but it was not charged that he maintained any active relation to the plot at the time appointed for its execution. His guilt consisted in being an accomplice before the act.

Harold's complicity admitted, of course, of no doubt. On the night of the assassination he was seen at the livery stable with Booth, and on various occasions he was known to have held secret meetings with Booth, Atzerodt, and others of the conspiracy, at Mrs. Surratt's and elsewhere. During his flight with Booth, he acknowledged to confederate soldiers that he and Booth had made way with the president.

Atzerodt, Harold, Payne, and Mrs. Surratt, were found guilty of crimes deserving death, and were hanged therefor on the seventh of July, 1865. Arnold, O'Laughlin, and Mudd, were sent to the Dry Tortugas for hard labor during life; and Spangler for six years of hard labor, at the same place. John H. Surratt, son of Mrs. Surratt above named, and who was also indicted, fled to Europe; being discovered, he was arrested and sent to Washington, but, after a protracted trial by jury, escaped conviction.

XXXVII.

NATIONAL PEACE JUBILEE AND MUSICAL FESTIVAL, IN BOSTON, IN HONOR OF THE RESTORATION OF THE UNION OF THE STATES.—1869.

Ten Thousand Singers, an Orchestra of One Thousand Instruments, and Tens of Thousands of Spectators, in the Coliseum, an Immense Building Erected for the Occasion —Attendance of President Grant.—Sublime and Inspiring Harmonies.—Most Majestic Musical Demonstration of Modern Times. —Origin of the Jubilee.—P. S. Gilmore: His Zeal and Enthusiasm.—All Discouragements Overcome. —Magnificent Programme —Splendor of the Coliseum —It Covers Nearly Four Acres —Inauguration Ceremonies.—View of the Audience.—Scene of Surpassing Enchantment.—Beauty of the Decorations —Overtures, Choruses, Anthems, Etc —Parepa Rosa, Phillipps, Ole Bull —Their Professional Triumphs.—Zerrahn, Tourjee, Eichberg.—The Famous "Anvil" Chorus —Chiming the City Bells. —Novel Commingling of Artillery with Music —Tremendous Ovation to Grant —Half a Million People in the City —Testimonial to Mr. Gilmore —Last Day: Concert by Ten Thousand Children. —Triumphant Success of the Jubilee.

"Let us have peace!"—General Grant, in his Letter accepting the Presidential Nomination.

FOUR long and welcome years of peace had been enjoyed by the American people, since the greatest of civil wars ever waged suddenly ceased its wasting horrors, by the surrender of the army of Lee to General Grant, and that of Johnston to General Sherman. But, as yet, no special commemorative celebration of the momentous event had taken place in any part of the land—except that outburst of joy and satisfaction in *all* parts, with which the final grounding of arms was greeted. A happy local conception for supplying this omission, to some extent, was that of the well-known organizer of musical bands and leader of instrumental concerts, Mr. P. S. Gilmore, of Boston. His plan, or programme, was that of a Grand National Peace Jubilee in that city, on the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th of June, 1869,—the grandest outpouring of sublime and patriotic music, ever heard upon the American continent. It was to be a demonstration which, in magnitude and splendor, would represent the greatest cause for national rejoicing which the American people were ever called upon to celebrate, and in which the glad voices of a reunited nation should mingle in one common song of thanksgiving to the Almighty, for the return of those blessings which years of terrible strife had withheld;—an occasion which should bring together, in fraternal greeting, the leading men of the republic, throughout all its borders, and, aside from its imposing significance as the first national re-union since the close of the war, should also be the greatest feast of inspiring harmony—majestic choruses, anthems of adoration, military and patriotic compositions,

oratorio and symphony, and the divinest airs from Mozart and Meyerbeer—ever heard in any part of the world.

The choruses, it was further proposed, should be performed by ten to fifteen thousand voices, comprising the very best singers obtainable; the orchestra to consist of one thousand players, including the leading bands and most skillful musicians in the United States; also, a vast and powerful organ, together with the accompanying effects of artillery, chiming of bells, and other accessories. The whole to be held in an immense coliseum, capable of accommodating fifty thousand persons, and to be magnificently decorated with historical emblems of state and national progress since the formation of the Union.

So vast and novel an undertaking was naturally looked upon somewhat distrustfully, at first, by those to whom it was unfolded. One of the warmest of Mr. Gilmore's friends, on listening to an exposition of the plan, remarked, "Why, Gilmore, that is an idea fit for an emperor, and it will take an emperor to carry it out." "Then," laughingly responded Mr. Gilmore, "I must become an emperor." Discouraged and ridiculed by others, he never flagged for a moment in energetically urging the co-operation of influential men in behalf of his plan, and gave wide publicity to it, from one end of the land to the other. At length, opposition began to die away; men of patriotism and wealth pledged themselves to the enterprise; letters strongly endorsing it were received from eminent officials; and promises of participation freely flowed in from musicians and musical societies. An association was now formed of prominent gentlemen, conspicuous in political, professional, and business circles, for thorough and effective work, in forwarding the project to a speedy and complete consummation.

On the 29th of March, work on the great building was commenced, and it soon grew up to its full proportions, majestic in size and strength,—the largest edifice that had ever been erected on this continent. The size of the building was three hundred feet by five hundred; the height of its roof, one hundred feet, and of its side walls thirty-six; and the promenade was more than a fourth of a mile in length. The interior was gorgeously decorated; folds of blue, brown and gold, depending from the galleries, and rich frescoings and many-tinted banners everywhere meeting the eye. On the side arches, colossal angels bore up the inscription "Peace," and over the central arch was the Song of the Annunciation, "Glory to God in the Highest, Peace on Earth, Good Will toward Men." In the rear of these arches, on each flank of the organ, appeared medallions, one representing St. Cecilia, attended by heavenly beings, who are listening to her playing, and the other representing David and his harp. The great roof was supported by four ranges of pillars, eighteen in each range. Those which ran along the front of the galleries bore each the coat-of-arms of a State of the Union, with flags rayed from it, and an eagle above; while on the two central ranges of pillars the banners bore the colors of foreign nations, the portraits of great composers, and other emblems. The main ceiling was hung with tri-colored streamers, and the faces of the galleries were elegantly frescoed. The end of the wall behind the spectators was also superb in its adornments, including a mighty Angel of Peace, with her right hand raised, and holding forward the symbols of harmony and peace, while with her left hand she waved behind her the sanguinary implements of war. The coat-of-arms of Massachusetts and the city seal of Boston appeared on either flank. The building covered some three or four acres.

As the day appointed for the opening services approached, the interest in the event became intense in every part of the country, and Boston was crowded as it never had been before by hosts of strangers. Everybody and everything wore a holiday appearance. Citizens from every State in the Union were there.

At about three o'clock in the afternoon, the opening exercises of the celebration commenced as follows: Prayer, by Rev. E. E Hale; address of welcome, by Mayor Shurtleff; oration, by Hon. A. H. Rice. But it was the musical feature of the occasion for which the tens of thousands gathered together in that vast and magnificent scene were anxiously waiting. The immense amphitheater, two hundred feet in depth from the front of the orchestra by three hundred feet in width, was filled to its utmost capacity with the ten thousand ladies and gentlemen who formed the grand chorus, and its base or front center was occupied by the orchestra of one thousand instruments. Behind the orchestra was the big drum, eight feet in diameter and eight feet high, and, further back, beyond the central seats of the choir, rose the organ, thirty feet in height. A look at the orchestra from the extreme north end of the building presented a sight witnessed only once in a life-time.

The greatest celebrity noticed as yet among the musicians was Carl Rosa, who was seated among the violins, and beside whom there was a vacant chair. Presently there was burst of cheers, as the tall, graceful, and dignified form of Ole Bull was seen wending his way down from the back to take his seat as the leader of the violinists. And now there was a perfect torrent of applause, as Mr. Gilmore advanced to open the programme. It was a proud moment for him, as he stood there, to reflect that this, the greatest of musical festivals, sprang up under his magic wand. Another warm welcome was in store for Mr. Eichberg, Mr. Zerrahn, Mr. Tourjee, Madame Parepa-Rosa, Miss Phillipps, and other leaders, as they made their appearance.

Luther's great choral, "God is a castle and defense," began the grand performances, and as, in magnificent strength and beauty, the vast volume of pure sound arose from ten thousand voices and a thousand instruments, the grandeur of the effect was indescribable. To this succeeded the Tannhauser overture, exciting and entrancing the senses and filling the soul with weird and peculiar pleasure; and then came the "Gloria," from Mozart's Twelfth Mass. In Gounod's "Ave Maria," Madame Parepa-Rosa made her appearance as the first soloist of the jubilee. She was clad in faultless white, and received a tremendous ovation. The accompaniment of two hundred chosen violins, led by Bull, Carl Rosa, Schultze, Suck, Meisel, Eichberg, and others, began sweetly, thrillingly, and tenderly, adding to the anxiety of the audience. Suddenly a note, clear, sublime, and heard above all else and to the farthest corner of the hall, began the "Ave Maria," which the prima donna sang with matchless skill. In this, as also in the beautiful "Inflammatus," she was encored with a fervor such as no woman ever saw manifested by an audience before. The scene was enchanting.

P. S. Gilmore

At the conclusion of the first part of the concert, the "Star Spangled Banner" was given with grand and overpowering effect, producing the wildest excitement in the audience. The choral combinations of the parts used in the piece were very

ingenious, and, in addition to these, the aid of a great military band, of an immense drum corps, and of artillery, was given to the chorus, orchestra and organ. The artillery firing, by means of electricity, was a novel and most striking feature in this piece, as was also the ringing of the bells of the city in unison, from the telegraph stand.

In the second part, the "Hymn of Praise," composed for the occasion by Dr. O. W. Holmes, and set to the music of Keller's American Hymn, was the first piece, and was beautifully and nobly executed. After this came Rossini's overture to William Tell, the performance of which was pronounced to be the sublimest orchestral rendering ever given in America—true, wonderful, and lovely, revealing in most remarkable beauty, the noble melodies and harmonies of the composition. After the "Coronation March," from Meyerbeer, came the "Anvil Chorus" from "Il Trovatore," producing a tremendous sensation among the audience and receiving an uproarious encore. The picturesque hundred firemen, in black pants, red shirts, and white caps, did their duty admirably, beating their anvils with fine effect, and with such precision as not to miss a note amid the rapid cadences which the orchestra gave with such force. "My Country, 'tis of Thee," with the same novel accessories as the "Star Spangled Banner," concluded the first day's concert most appropriately, the audience joining in the last stanza with magnificent effect. The hundred anvils were ranged in four rows, extending from near the front of the platform to the back of the orchestra stage. No words can adequately describe the transporting effect of this first day's performance upon the thousands assembled under that vast roof. A distinguished gentleman sent the following telegram to his wife, at the close of the concert: "Nothing like it in a life-time. Will make any sacrifice to have you here Thursday. Come by express train."

The second day of the jubilee was rendered still more exciting and memorable by the presence of the chief magistrate of the nation, General Grant. The popular success of the great national festival proved, under these circumstances, absolutely enormous. The Common was covered with people, and the streets were so crowded that motion was almost impossible. The military marched with much difficulty along a portion of the route, and around the coliseum the mass of people became so dense all day, that it was difficult to approach the doors. Many of the hotels and restaurants were even forced to lock their doors, to keep out the hungry multitude whom they could not supply.

A constant ovation attended the president's reception until he reached the coliseum, and there he found acres of humanity waiting his entrance. The parlor to which the illustrious guest was conducted exhibited most elegant taste, in keeping with all the appointments of the magnificent edifice throughout. The walls were tinted and paneled in fresco; drapery, and lace curtains, and cornices enriched the windows; beautiful carpeting covered the floor; splendid sets of black walnut furniture were provided; and then there were rustic baskets filled with the choicest cut flowers suspended from numerous points, elegant and spacious mirrors and choice paintings hung upon the walls, and superb works of art contributed to the admirable *tout ensemble* of the apartment. Here the distinguished guest received the courtesies of the originator of the jubilee and his colleague, after which he proceeded to the audience hall.

As the president passed down the center aisle of the building to his seat, arm in arm with Governor Claflin, followed by Admirals Farragut and Hudson, Commodore Winslow, Secretary Boutwell, Mayor Shurtleff, and others, the vast assembly started to their feet as if by one common impulse, and while the hero stood, hat in hand, bowing to the mighty throng, *a cheer went up from sixty thousand voices,* and filled the far-extended structure, like the mighty roar of the ocean. For full five minutes were these cheers continued

from audience and chorus and orchestra, accompanied by the waving of thousands of handkerchiefs in the hands of fair women. In the midst of this scene of unparalleled enthusiasm, the powerful organ thundered forth the strains of "See the Conquering Hero Comes," and then, as the music progressed, at a signal from Mr. Gilmore's baton, ten thousand souls, in colossal chorus, gave voice to the words of that welcoming anthem. The climax of the Week of Festival was now fairly reached.

In compliment to the president, the "Star Spangled Banner" was introduced between the two parts of the programme; and to this was added the "Anvil Chorus," with the original one hundred anvils and the one hundred red-shirted firemen to beat them—and this, with the adjuncts of cannon and bells, threw the audience into a frenzy of rapturous delight. There was more classical music on this occasion than on the day previous, but the president appeared to prefer the more popular patriotic airs, and the firing of guns by electricity appeared to interest him much. This battery of Parrott guns, placed immediately within the coliseum, were manipulated in front of the conductor's stand, the process being that of touching, at the proper moment, the keys of an electrical instrument, to which the guns were connected by wires, precisely as the keys of an organ or piano are struck, when harmony in the measurement of time is demanded.

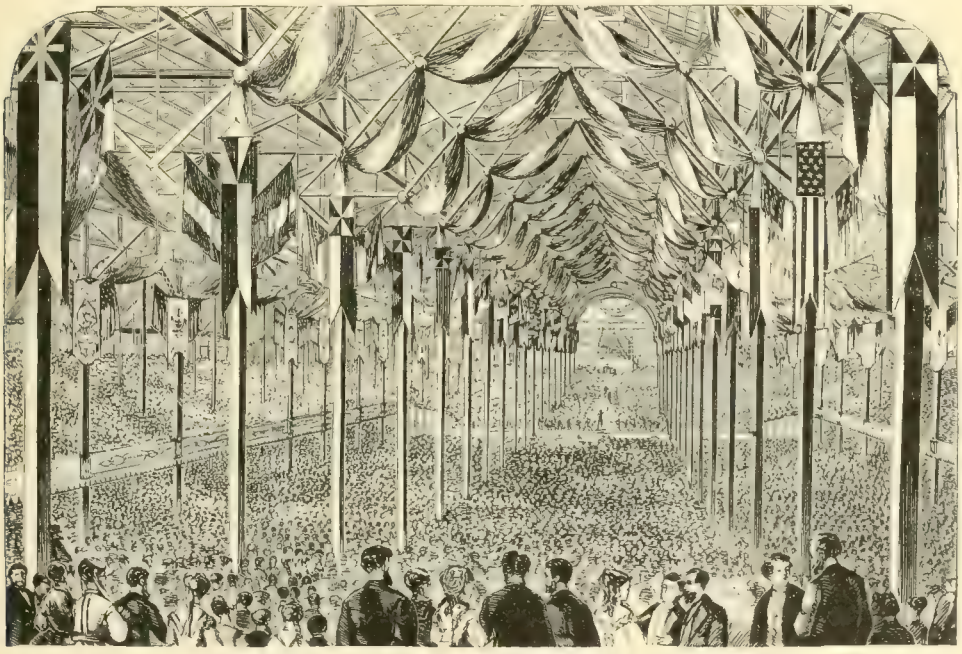
With evident satisfaction, the president listened to Parepa-Rosa, as she sang Handel's "Let the Bright Seraphim." Without the faintest appearance of effort, she sang as clearly and brilliantly as if in a concert room of ordinary dimensions, the clear sounds of her imperial voice sweeping throughout the galleries and corridors in trumpet-like tones. The audience was electrified. Not only spectators, but the twelve thousand choristers and one thousand performers, rose and vehemently cheered or waved their handkerchiefs. Another splendid vocal triumph was that achieved by Miss Adelaide Phillipps, in the singing of Mozart's aria from the Clemenza di Tito. The chorus, "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good will to men," was another of the performances. Hardly was it finished, when another—"And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed"—was taken up by the thousand altos, and echoed by the basses and sopranos until the hall rung. Nothing in the whole range of music could be more thunderous and intense than the concluding strains of this chorus. The chorus from Mendelssohn, "He watching over Israel, slumbers not nor sleeps," had an almost divine pathos and melody. The great swaying grandeur of "America" impressed the chief magistrate deeply. As he left the building, salvos of artillery broke upon the air, fired in unison with the last chords of the strains of music and the rounds of cheers.

Mr. Gilmore's programme for the third day consisted of popular and patriotic music, such as kept the vast crowd in a continual *furore* of pleasurable excitement. The first piece, the overture to Auber's "Fra Diavolo," was splendidly played by the full orchestra of upward of one thousand, and a novel and very pleasing effect was produced by placing fifty trumpets, or cornets, on the solo trumpet part, the matchless Arbuckle being at the head of the list. Luther's grand old choral, "The Judgment Hymn," was given by the full chorus, with full orchestral and organ accompaniment. The next performance was the "Peace Festival March," composed for the occasion by Signor Janotta. It was performed by the grand orchestra and military band combined, and was a magnificent success. Madame Parepa-Rosa next rendered an aria from "Robert le Diable;" and the Anvil Chorus, and "Overture Triomphale" on the American national air "Hail Columbia," composed for the festival by C. C. Converse, closed the first part of the programme. The second part included the "Prince Frederick" march, the "Star Spangled Banner," a cornet solo by Ar-

buckle, "The Harp that once through Tara's Halls," the overture to Flotow's "Stradella," and the "One Hundredth Psalm." The whole audience joined in the last verse of the psalm, and the accompaniment comprised the organ, orchestra, and cannon.

In the evening, a Jubilee Ball was given in the coliseum, which was an immense success. A dancing hall of colossal proportions was provided, and the coliseum presented a more magnificent appearance under the effect of fifty thousand gas-lights, than in the day time. The decorations were thrown out boldly, while the rich toilets of the ladies heightened the general enchantment of the scene. The order of dances was twenty-two in number, and the ball opened promptly at half-past nine, Mr. Gilmore waving the baton. The orchestra was made up of a dance and promenade band, the former under the direction of Mr. Gilmore, and the latter under Mr. Harvey B. Dodworth, of New York. Ten thousand persons were present, and the affair was in all respects superb, — the largest ball, indeed, ever known in this country.

A purely classical programme was arranged for the fourth day, and the highest expectations of success were fully realized. Complete in its artistic results, no heartier enthusiasm was displayed at any time during the festival than that which followed the various choral and orchestral selections of this day. Among the performances were the "Gloria" from the Twelfth Mass, the "Hallelujah Chorus," "Achieved is the Glorious Work," the "Prayer" from Moses in Egypt, etc. The choral, "To God on High," and "Sleepers wake, a voice is calling," were both sung almost perfectly, showing, magnificently, their solid grandeur and beauty. The purely instrumental performances, Weber's "Jubilee" overture, and the Fifth Symphony of Beethoven, were rendered in the most majestic style. Miss Phillipps gave Handel's beautiful "Lascia chio pianga" in the most finished and graceful manner, so that the audience were excited to the very highest pitch of enthusiasm, and an encore



NATIONAL PEACE JUBILEE AND MUSICAL FESTIVAL, AT BOSTON.

was rapturously demanded. Mr. George Peabody was introduced to the audience, during the intermisson, and was loudly cheered. There were also on the platform, with him, Governors Claflin and Jewell, Senators Sumner and Wilson, Generals Banks and Hawley, Bishop Simpson, Dr. Lowell Mason, and other distinguished guests.

Saturday was the fifth and last day of this grandest musical festival of modern times. Ten thousand school children, their innocent voices pouring forth a flood of sweet and simple song, constituted the great attraction of the day. Clad in white dresses, with red and blue ribbons, the appearance of the girls was charming in the extreme. It was the largest chorus of children ever brought together in the world, and the concourse of spectators was vast. Chorals, three-part songs, national airs, etc., were performed with great skill and power by the juvenile songsters, eliciting unbounded applause. "Hail Columbia," and "Now the twilight softly stealing," were exquisitely rendered. Brinley Richards's song, "So merrily over the ocean spray," was one of the most telling features of the day; the solo was sustained by five hundred pupils of the girls' high and normal school, and the chorus by all the children. "God is a Castle and Defense" was given with fine effect; and Ole Bull's marvelous skill as a violinist was displayed in the solo, "A Mother's Prayer." The orchestra played the overture to "William Tell," and the coronation march from "The Prophet." Madame Rosa repeated "Let the Bright Seraphim," with Mr. Arbuckle's accompaniment. A duet, "Quis est homo," sung by Madame Rosa and Miss Phillipps, was a performance long to be remembered. During the intermission, Mr. Gilmore was called from the orchestra to the editors' room, where Mr. Carl Gartner, of Philadelphia, presented to him a massive gold watch, of great elegance and cost, and a heavy gold chain, as a testimonial of respect and regard from the members of the orchestra. The gift was entirely unexpected to Mr. Gilmore, who made a fitting response. The "Russian National Hymn," with words of welcome to President Grant, was executed in a manner that showed the excellent vocal culture of the children; and the concert was brought to a close by singing, in grand chorus, the One Hundreth Psalm.

To say that the efforts and anticipations of those who originated the National Peace Jubilee and Musical Festival were crowned with triumphant success, from first to last, is but uttering the simple truth. It was a mighty conception, and the result was the greatest musical event in the history of modern times. The very first day's performances were so satisfying and so enthusiastically received, as to render the succeeding efforts comparatively easy and sure. From the opening to the closing performance, the rapturous excitement and delight continued without abatement. At times it rose to almost wild delirium. The audience and the performers seemed to be actuated by one impulse of magnetic fervor. Unquestionably, the great musical *artiste* was Madame Parepa-Rosa, who gained new triumphs every day. Even the musicians, when she came to the last notes of the "Star Spangled Banner," where in capacity of voice she almost rivaled Jenny Lind, laid down their instruments, and gazed in wonder. Her pure, full, and resonant notes seemed to triumph over walls and roof, and to fill all space with tangible and enchanting melody.

General Grant's presence gave magnificent eclat to the occasion. Fully half a million people were in the city on that day, and the rush to the coliseum was terrific, there being fifty thousand persons outside of the building, unable to obtain admission. Hours before the time of the concert, orders had to be issued prohibiting the further sale of tickets; and, almost as soon as the performances commenced, every door was closed, secured by iron clamps, and guarded by the police. Those who arrived late, holders of season tickets, purchasers of single day tickets bought of

the speculators at a great price, members of parties whose friends were already inside, even journalists with their tickets and badges, were firmly refused admission. General Grant surveyed the vast and brilliant mass of humanity with evidently greater interest than that with which he listened to the music. Indeed, it was well known that, among his many fine qualities, a taste for this divine art was not included. When, therefore, General Underwood called upon General Sherman, on the morning before the president's departure for Boston, General Sherman said, "Taking Grant off to that drum match, are you, Underwood?" "Yes, general, and I am very sorry you cannot join us." "Well," responded Sherman, "it *is* a kind of disappointment, you know, because I can appreciate those things; but the President! bless your soul, he'll be bored to death! And, worse than all that, he has no ear for music. Why, do you know that Grant actually couldn't tell the difference between Yankee Doodle and Zip Coon?" On his way from Boston, the evening after his attendance at the coliseum, President Grant was asked how he liked the discharge of artillery during the performances that afternoon. He replied that, in his opinion, "the firing was the best part of the music!"

Much of the sustaining character of the choruses was due to the admirable adaptedness of the organ to the occasion. Its tones were heard and felt clear over and through the host of voices and instruments; at times it seemed to overshadow all, and its thunder tones shook the whole vast building. It had but a single manual, besides the pedals and sub-bass, but was capable of all desirable combinations, and was an organ complete of itself. Repeated experiments were necessary to get pipes of sufficient compass as well as excellence, and the result was the production of an instrument which, for volume of sound, could not be surpassed by a union of the four largest organs in Boston. This power was due not only to the capabilities of the tubes, but to the immense pressure of air brought to bear on them—four thousand pounds. The chief element of strength was the *tuba mirabilis* stop—found in but two other organs in the whole country. There were twelve complete sounding stops, with one hundred and sixty pipes connected. The instrument was twenty-two feet broad and thirty feet high.

Another of the wonders of this wonderful week was the monster bass drum—the heads measuring nearly eight feet each in diameter, made from the hides of two mammoth oxen, which had been exhibited through the country during several years past. On each head was the motto, "Let us have Peace." The drum was about three feet through from head to head, and the rim was painted red, white and blue. It was thoroughly perfect in all its parts, and, being the largest drum in the world—for no larger one could be made, without using the hides of elephants for the heads—created a decided sensation.

Whatever deficiencies or shortcomings a critical eye may have detected in any of the various features characterizing so stupendous an undertaking, it was almost universally pronounced a great success, realizing, in the highest degree, the patriotic wish of the projector and his associates, that the restoration of Peace throughout the land should be celebrated by one of the most imposing national gatherings ever assembled in any land; and that the return of kindly feeling and the prepetuation of National Unity, should be sealed by the grandest outburst of sublime and inspiring harmony that had ever fallen upon human ears. The management of the whole affair was such as to command the highest praise.

The monster entertainment known as "The World's Peace Jubilee and International Musical Festival," was opened in Boston, June 17, 1872, and continued, with varying performances, which were attended by multitudes of people, from all parts of the country, until July 4th. The chorus numbered twenty thousand voices,

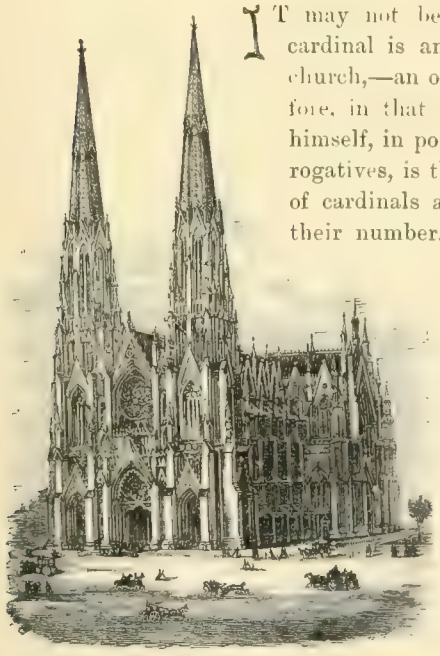
embracing one hundred and sixty-five musical societies from the different states, but principally from New England. The orchestra parts numbered about two thousand, including twenty-seven brass bands, beside the foreign military bands, the United States marine band, the Emperor William's cornet quartet, British Grenadier band, Strauss's orchestra, and such renowned virtuosos as Madame Arabella Goddard, Peschka-Leutner, Rudersdorff, etc.

XXXVIII.

CONSECRATION OF THE FIRST CARDINAL IN THE UNITED STATES.—1875.

The Venerable Archbishop McClosky, of New York, Selected by the Roman Pontiff, for this Great Office.—He becomes a Prince in the Church.—The Highest Ecclesiastical Appointment in the Catholic Hierarchy.—Reasons given for this Step.—Solemn Investiture, in the Cathedral, by Clerical Dignitaries from All Parts of the Country.—An Unparalleled Scene.—Illustrious Nature of this Office.—Special Envoy sent from Rome.—Announcing the Event to the Archbishop.—Time of Public Recognition Assigned.—A Mighty Stream of Humanity.—Decorations of the Church.—Procession of Priests.—Incensing the Altars.—Sacred Vessels and Vestments.—Insignia Peculiar to this Rank.—The Scarlet Cap.—Profoundly Impressive Service.—Unprecedented on this Continent.—Imposing the Berretta.—Intoning and Chanting.—Official Letter from the Pope.—Use of the Latin Language.—Inspiring Strains of Music.—Incidents Attending the Ceremonial.—Pontifical Benediction by the Cardinal.—Retirement of the Celebrants.—Dispersion of the Vast Throng.

"It was the intent and purpose of the holy father to give honor to our whole country; to give honor and show his deep respect and esteem for our great and glorious republic, of which the Catholic population form so essential a part, and who are so loyally devoted to her institutions."—CARDINAL MCCLOSKEY'S ADDRESS.



THE GREAT CATHEDRAL, N. Y.

IT may not be inappropriate, perhaps, to state, first, that a cardinal is an ecclesiastical prince in the Roman Catholic church,—an official of the most illustrious character, therefore, in that hierarchy,—second, in fact, only to the pope himself, in point of rank,—and, among his very highest prerogatives, is that of having a voice and vote in the conclave of cardinals at the election of a pope, who is taken from their number. The limit is seventy, and these also constitute the sacred college, and compose the pope's council. The distinguishing dress of a cardinal is a red sontaine or cassock, a rochet, a short purple mantle, and a red hat.

As usual, in such a case, a special envoy was sent from Rome, to bear to the eminent appointee the papal briefs. Count Marefoschi, of the pope's household, was deputed for this purpose, and by him the official announcement was duly made to the venerable prelate, and various insignia of his new rank presented to him. One special article of dress, however, pertaining to the cardinalate,—namely, the cappello—has to be received directly from the

hands of the pope himself; the article thus named is the flat-topped, wide-brimmed hat, from which depend two large tassels, and which is worn on the most exalted occasions.

In handing to the cardinal the papal letter and the special insignia—a scarlet skull cap,—the envoy stated that the objects had in view by the holy father in this step, were, first, to recognize and reward the personal merits and distinguished services to the Church of the archbishop himself; second, to testify his regard for and pay a just tribute to the piety and zeal of the Catholics of America; and third, to acknowledge, in an especial manner, his appreciation of all that the Catholics of the diocese of New York had accomplished for religion.

ARCHBISHOP McCLOSKEY, THE FIRST AMERICAN CARDINAL.

The 27th of April was the time assigned for the public ceremonial of consecration, and a mighty stream of humanity poured in from all quarters to witness the solemn and impressive pageant—the first of its kind since the settlement of our country. At the gate of entrance, the scene was one long to be remembered by the vast multitude—old men and women, young men and maidens—who there sought, with almost mortal struggle, admission to the portals of the sacred edifice.

In the decorations of the cathedral, the choicest taste was exercised. The sanctuary was festooned with scarlet cloth ornamented with gold lace and fringe, while over the cross, at the top of the altar, was arranged, in gas jets, 'Te Deum Laudamus,' and the floral decorations on the altar itself were profuse and elegant in the extreme. On either side of the tabernacle were floral columns of choice exotics, fully three feet in length and a foot in diameter, composed of roses, camellias and calla lilies, surmounted by a red cross

of carnation pinks, while other floral designs of every description were strewn about in graceful profusion. The gallery, which had been set apart for the sole use of the choir, was hung with crimson cloth fringed with gilt, and caught up with heavy gold tassels; in the centre was looped the papal banner, while on either side hung the stars and stripes.

At the appointed hour, the pope's legate, supported by his secretary and the master of ceremonies, came from the sacristy, bearing the berretta and the papal briefs, and deposited the treasures at the left of the cardinal's throne, the berretta, in this case, being of the color peculiar to the cardinalship. In a few moments came the procession of priests, in their priestly cassocks and short surplices, and, shortly after, the dignitaries came forth from the same sacristy door; first came a company of acolytes; then the archbishops and bishops, mitred and arrayed in all the insignia of their order; then the pope's legate; and next His Eminence the cardinal, his train borne by two boys. Behind the cardinal came Count Marefoschi, in the uniform of the papal guard; then another procession of priests, closed by the Dominican monks in white, and the Franciscans in brown robes. The bodies composing the procession being duly arranged, the church was now filled with joyous music from the choir.

Cardinal McCloskey was, of course, the noteworthy figure in this dazzling assembly. He wore a light purple or mauve cassock, a white surplice, and a velvet mantaletta of deep purple; about his neck was a gold chain, from which was suspended a ponderous cross, blazing with magnificent gems; on his head was a black berretta—a small cap with three crests which run from the central point on top to the other edge,—which, upon removal, showed beneath it the small scarlet skull cap, the well known sacerdotal insignia. His tall spare person, towering over the larger number near him, and his finely intellectual and energetic face, gave decided character to the scene. All the bishops, with their gorgeous mitres and copes of gold and silver and sheeny satin, embroidered in various colors; the cardinal tranquilly seated on his throne; the gigantic guard, in the person of Count Marefoschi, magnificently attired, at his left; Archbishop Bayley, on the throne beyond the blazing altar, whose wealth of flowers and their tender hues became well nigh lost in the dazzle and blaze of the firmament of candles; the sober yet superb decorations of the whole altar and sanctuary, and the storm of music that swept over all;—it was a spectacle never to be forgotten.

Cardinal McCloskey, wearing his rochet, purple cassock, etc., knelt at the epistle altar; the archbishop of Baltimore sat on the same side; the officiating prelate and clergymen stood at the altar steps; and mass was commenced. At the confiteor, the cardinal stood up and proceeded to his throne at the gospel side, he alone of all the prelates present having a pastoral staff, which was carried by an officiating bishop. After incensing the altar three times, he sat down with the deacon and sub-deacon. Bishop Loughlin read 'Introit,' recited 'Kyrie,' and intoned 'Gloria in Excelsis,' which was afterwards sung by the choir. Collects were read by the celebrant, the 'Epistle' by the sub-deacon, and, while Bishop Loughlin read the 'Gospel,' the congregation rose to their feet; he then chanted 'Credo in Unum Deum,' and in a low voice recited the remainder of the Nicene Creed.

At this point, after the choir had finished, Bishop Loughlin repaired to the altar, where, after the customary 'Dominus vobiscum' and 'Oremus,' he proceeded to read prayers at the offertory. The deacon and sub-deacon then prepared sacred vessels and bread and wine. Mercandante's 'Quam dilecta' was sung during this period. Acolytes then advanced with censers and the altar was incensed by the celebrant, the archbishop and bishop rising and removing their mitres, the priests and entire congregation also rising. At this time, the church was a level sea of heads, and, when the bells tinkled to an-

nounce the opening of canon or solemn part of the ceremony, the people were unable to kneel, so tightly were they packed together. Toward the end of the mass, was observed the interesting ceremony of giving the 'pax,' or kiss of peace,—not left hand side of the altar, and the archbishop of Baltimore stepped down from his throne and knelt at the epistle side. Ablegate Roncetti stood beside Archbishop Bayley, and in a loud clear voice read the message, in Latin, from the Pope to his

CONSECRATION OF THE FIRST AMERICAN CARDINAL.

exactly a kiss, but an inclination of heads together, while the hands rest on others' arms. 'Pax' was given from one to the other until it passed along to right and left, all through the crowded sanctuary.

When mass was finished, the most notable scene of the great occasion commenced. Cardinal McCloskey rose and knelt at the venerabilis frater, giving the reasons which induced him to confer the cardinalate upon Archbishop McCloskey, and at its close handed him the parchment 'brief,' authorizing him to confer the berretta, in the name of His Holiness, on this newly appointed prince of the Church. The archbishop having replied, in the Latin lan-

guage, delivered the brief to a deacon of the mass, and, after reading it, Count Marefoschi surrendered the berretta to Mgr. Roncetti, who, handing it to Archbishop Bayley, the latter walked over to Cardinal McCloskey and placed the cap on his head, at the same time addressing him as 'Eminentia tua.' Cardinal McCloskey made a suitable reply, in the Latin vernacular, and, after intoning 'Te Deum,' retired to the vestry, where he put on the crimson robes of his office, and returned to the altar, while the choir sang 'Te Deum.'

The interest, both ecclesiastical and historical, pertaining to the papal documents referred to, entitle them to an insertion in this place. The first of these, couched in the usual phraseology of communications of such grave importance, is addressed—

'To our Venerable Brother, JAMES ROOSEVELT BAYLEY, Archbishop of Baltimore. PIUS IX., Pope. Venerable Brother, *Health and Apostolic Benediction:*

After the example of the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, it has ever been our care to fill the College of Cardinals, which is the Senate of the Church, with men whose piety, virtue, and merits, should correspond to the splendor of so great a dignity. It is this that has moved us to proclaim Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, our Venerable Brother, JOHN MCCLOSKEY, Archbishop of New York; whose piety, learning, devotion to His Holy Apostolic See, and whose indefatigable zeal in the cultivation of the Lord's Vineyard, have been so conspicuously evident to Us that we have thought him worthy of this great honor. And now that we would choose a personage for the office of conferring upon him the *berretta*, one of the insignia of his new dignity, we have thought well to select for the office you, venerable brother, who presides over so illustrious a church, and one that has the right of precedence over all the churches of the United States of America. We know that such is your devotion toward us and toward this chair of the blessed Peter, that we are confident you will, in the discharge of this office, fulfill all our expectations. We, therefore, by these presents, charge you, venerable brother, that, strictly observing whatever is prescribed by the sacred rites of the Roman Church, you confer, in our name and in his own Cathedral church, upon our beloved son, JOHN MCCLOSKEY, proclaimed by us a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, the scarlet berretta, which we have sent to him by the hand of our beloved son, CÆSAR RONCETTI, one of our private chamberlains; and we, therefore, through these presents, by the same apostolic authority, grant you all the powers necessary and proper for the purpose. And it is our wish that nothing contained in any other ordinance shall be construed thwarting our purpose, even though such thing might seem to require special and individual mention.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman's Ring, on the 16th day of March, anno Domini 1875, and of our Pontificate the twenty-ninth.

[L. S.] F. CARDINAL ASQUINI.'

The above letter was followed by one which announced to the distinguished prelate, personally, that His Holiness had been pleased to make him one of the princes of the Church, and was addressed—

'To our Beloved Son, JOHN MCCLOSKEY—by the Appointment and Favor of the Apostolic of our Archbishop of New York, and now proclaimed a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. PIUS IX., Pope. Beloved Son, *Health and Apostolic Benediction:*

Having been placed, through the Divine will, without any merit of ours, in the supreme dignity of this Apostolic See, with that solicitude which should be characteristic of our pastoral office, while laboring for the welfare of the Catholic Church, we have ever sought to enroll among the number of our venerable brethren the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, men of such conspicuous merit as the dignity of their illustrious order demands. For this reason it is that we have chosen you, our well-beloved son, whose eminent piety, virtue and learning, and zeal for the propagation of the Catholic faith, have convinced us that your ministry would be of great utility and honor to the Church of God. Having, therefore, created you a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, we send to you, by our beloved son, CÆSAR RONCETTI, one of our secret chamberlains, the scarlet berretta, which is one of the insignia of that sublime dignity. When, with the proper forms, it shall have been conferred upon you, know that its shining crimson should ever remind him who is

elevated to the Cardinalitial dignity, that, fearless and unconquered, he must ever uphold the rights of the Church of God through every danger, even to that shedding of his blood which is pronounced precious in the sight of the Lord. We also greatly desire that you would receive, with all manner of kindness, him who we have sent to you, both for the sake of the mission upon which he is sent and for our sake. It is also our wish, that, before you receive the berretta, you should take and subscribe with your own hand, the oath which will be presented to you by the aforementioned, our beloved son, CÆSAR RONCETTI, and send it to us, either by his hand, or any other. And it is our wish that no persons, constitutions or ordinances, of this Apostolic See, or anything else whatsoever, shall be construed as invalidating this our present act.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman's Ring, on the 26th day of March, anno Domini 1875, and of our Pontificate the twenty-ninth.

[L. S.] F. CARDINAL ASQUINI.

The closing act in this solemn pageant, after the inspiring strains of music had ceased to fill the air, was the pontifical benediction by the Cardinal, and, after the retirement of the celebrants in processional order, the vast throng of spectators dispersed. The new Cardinal entered upon his great office with the reputation, accorded to him alike by Protestants and Catholics, of a name without a stain, and a career honorable and dignified, through a long life.

It is certainly not saying too much, that, in the annals of American Catholicism, so memorable a ceremonial as that now described must render historical, in the highest degree, the sacred edifice in which it occurred. But only a few years elapsed, after this unprecedented occasion, when the venerable Cardinal had the satisfaction of officiating at the dedication of the new and magnificent St. Patrick's Cathedral just completed on Fifth Avenue,—the most superb ecclesiastical structure not only in New York city, but on the American continent. The dedication took place May 25, 1879, or nearly twenty-one years after the laying of the corner-stone. The foundations rest on a bed of solid rock, in which excavations therefor had to be made, and at the normal level of the surrounding ground rests a chisel-dressed base course of granite. From this springs a pure Gothic marble superstructure, similar in architecture to the style obtaining in Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and, like the cathedrals of Amiens, Rheims, and Cologne, this is free from heaviness and over-ornamentation. Most of the windows on the lower tier were donations from various churches, and some are of American make; those of the nave were ordered by Cardinal McCloskey, when visiting Rome. These windows are declared by good judges to be masterpieces of art. The interior of the edifice is divided into three parts—transept, nave, and choir,—of dimensions as follows: Length of transept, 140 feet; height of nave, 108 feet; internal length of the building 306 feet, and breadth 96 feet. A series of chapels, each twelve feet deep, occupy either side of the edifice; the nave is divided from the aisles by two rows of clustered columns, sixteen columns in a row; the choir has five bays, and arranged with double aisles on either side of the central aisle. The area of the interior of the cathedral is 38,500 square feet; there is standing room for 19,000 people, and 14,000 can be accommodated with seats. The cost of the cathedral, when completed, will approximate $5,000,000. The first event in connection with the dedication of the edifice was the solemn consecration, two days previously, of the High Altar, the chief consecrator being the Right Rev. Bishop Conroy, of Albany, N. Y. This grand altar, exquisite in material, design, and artistic beauty, stands forty-eight feet in height to the apex of the cross surmounting the tabernacle. The number of eminent prelates present was quite large, comprising not less than six archbishops, in cope and mitre, followed by the bishops, similarly attired, and making in all a gathering of forty-three members of the Episcopacy. The scene of the dedication, under the lead, primarily, of the eminent and venerable Cardinal, was impressive to a degree rarely witnessed on American soil.

XXXIX.

THE TWEED RING — 1876.

The Character of New York City Government When Tweed Began Public Life.— State Interference.— Tweed's Entry Into Politics.— Sent to Congress in 1853. —"Tweedie Never Goes Back on Tweedie."— Becomes Grand Sachem of Tammany Hall.— The New "Wigwam."— The Democratic National Convention Held in It, July 4, 1868.— Tammany Forces Seymour on Party, and Supports Hoffman for Governor.— Oaths Administered on "Ollendorff's French Method," No Bible Being at Hand.— Constitution of Tweed Ring in 1868.— The "Big Four." "Oakey" Hall, Sweeny, Connolly, and Tweed.— Tweed Already Very Rich.— Marriage of Daughter and Costly Presents From Politicians.— The Americus Club and Its Tiger.— Latter Becomes Emblem of Tammany.— The New City Charter, "Tweed's Charter."— Places All Power in City in Hands of Ring Legally.— Charter Cost Tweed $1,500,000.—"The Young Democracy." - Exposures by New York Times.—"What Are You Going to Do About It?".— Tweed's Hold Upon the Poor.— Ring Overthrown in the Election of 1871.— Statement of Enormous Thefts.— Untold Millions.— Tweed's Various Trials. — Exciting Escape to Spain and Recapture.— Confesses Judgment for $6,000,000.— Unable to Pay or Secure $3,000,000 Bail, He Goes to Jail.— Dies in Ludlow Street Jail April 12, 1878.— Deserted By All His Henchmen and Former Friends.— Other Ring Members Escape to Europe.— Effect Upon Tammany Hall.— Similar Corruption in Other Cities.

"Corruption is a tree, whose branches are
Of an unmeasurable length, they spread
Everywhere,— and the dew that drops from thence
Hath infected some chairs and stools of authority."
— BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

THE year 1857 marked a turning point in the history of New York City. It was then that a great change began to be noticeable in the character of the voting population, as a result of immigration, which became more and more pronounced each year. About the same time, too, the State Legislature began to take a more positive interest in the city's affairs. Up to this time the municipality had been self governing, and had for many years practically always returned Democratic majorities in city elections. Naturally all the offices were held by that party, which had come to mean by Tammany Hall, or by those with whom Tammany leaders might have made trades. But the "political pickings" which had for many years enriched large numbers of Tammany office holders sorely tempted the statesmen at Albany, the majority of whom were Republicans, and many of whom were very hungry for some of the rich spoils which the richest city of the country afforded. It was decided, therefore, to take the control of the city out of the hands of the officials elected by the citizens, and to vest it very largely, at least, in commissioners appointed by the State authorities. The sadly peculiar feature of the whole movement,

as indicated by the press of that day, was that while the ostensible purpose of the Legislature was to secure better government for the city, it was evident that the real inspiring force was the desire of many leaders in that body to share in the spoils. Accordingly in that year (1857) a new charter and laws affecting the city government were passed. The powers of

WILLIAM MARCY TWEED.

the city council were greatly curtailed, and those of the mayor were somewhat restricted; but the most significant change, in the light of after events, was the appointment of a State Board of Supervisors, distinct from the municipal authorities; and in this Board were vested the most important administrative powers, —especially those of levying the local taxes, making appropriations, etc. This board was to be bi-partisan, and composed of twelve Republicans and twelve Democrats. A metropolitan police district, fire district, and health district were also created, the administration of whose affairs was to be in the hands of boards appointed by the Governor of the State. This action aroused great opposition in the city, and a spirit of rebellion was manifest; so that when the metropolitan police undertook to displace the municipal police several encounters resulted with considerable bloodshed. But the Supreme Court deciding that such action on the part of the State was entirely within its powers it was seen that opposition was useless, and physical resistance was abandoned. There were other ways of securing the same ends. "This," says one of the historians of the period, "was the general character of the government that New York possessed when it fell into the hands of a band of statesmen of more than average ability, *and of quite phenomenal dishonesty* whose career constitutes the greatest reproach that has ever been cast upon popular government."

The moving spirit and directing force of this gang of plunderers was William Marcy Tweed. He was of Scotch parentage and was born in Cherry street, in 1823. His father was a chair maker in comfortable circumstances, who gave his children a fair education; and for a time the son was associated with his father in business. But young Tweed's restless spirit yearned for a more strenuous life; and before he was of age he had joined the old volunteer fire department, and in 1849 he was elected foreman of a company. "Free and easy in his manners," says a contemporary, "loyal to his friends, with great animal spirits, and a large fund of coarse humor, Tweed was just the man to be popular with the class from which the fire companies were recruited; and his popularity among the 'boys' of the fire brigade gave him entrance into city politics." His first taste of official life was as alderman in 1850; and he had no sooner assumed the duties of the office than he began to manifest the traits that characterized his whole career. Every contract or job that promised to advance his interests financially or politically found in him an earnest and powerful advocate; and his political strength and popularity increased so rapidly that he was able to secure an election to Congress in 1853. He was delegate to the Congressional convention of the 5th district, composed of two East Side wards and Williamsburg, and was elected chairman

of the convention. Each section had forty-four votes, and a deadlock ensued. After several ballots the Williamsburg delegates dropped their candidate and threw their forty-four votes for Tweed; and claiming the privilege of the chairman to cast the deciding vote when there is a tie he declared himself elected, saying that "Tweedie never goes back on Tweedie." Serving one term in the national House of Representatives, he was defeated for re-election by the "Know-Nothings," whom he then and ever after fought so earnestly that he became the recognized champion of the foreign element. So popular had he now become that he was made a Sachem of the Tammany Society, and, in 1856, became a public school commissioner; and adroitly using the influences at his command he was elected one of the new board of supervisors in 1857. Here he found a field suited to his abilities, and at once began laying the foundations of the machine, or ring, he built up. As has been said, the board of supervisors was a bi-partisan board, but Tweed early displayed his political genius by bribing one of the Republican members to remain away from some important meetings, for which useful service he was paid $2500. At these meetings the inspectors of elections were appointed, and the "ring" makers were thus enabled to put the "right" men in charge of each election precinct. In 1861 Tweed conducted an aggressive campaign for the office of sheriff,—an office at that time worth from $100,000 to $150,000 a year; but in this race he was beaten by a popular Irishman named James Lynch. Nothing daunted by this incident, he turned his attention to strengthening his position in Tammany Hall, with such success that before the year was over he was elected chairman of the General Committee, and a little later, Grand Sachem; and, holding these two offices, he held the supreme power in the most perfectly organized political machine the country has ever known. He was now able to dictate nominations to public offices as he would, and so had become a power with which every interest in the city must reckon and, if necessary, placate. This power he used in a most despotic manner, yet with such tact that he gave little offense to other members of the Tammany Society. In presiding over its business meetings, when any matter came up which he wished decided in a particular way, his usual method was to call for the affirmative vote, and then declare the measure adopted, without calling for the vote on the negative side. In addition, too, to the power he possessed as the leader of all the Democratic forces, his control of practically every department of the city employing men enabled him to trade in the most effective manner.

But there has often been a thorn in Tammany's flesh in the form of an opposition society, which, during Tweed's time, was known as "Mozart Hall." These societies were always organized by hungry politicians who had failed to get all their greed demanded in the distribution of spoils, and so gathered about themselves other disaffected spirits, seceded from Tammany, and set up their own organizations. These movements were always in the nature of "strikes," though the leaders, surrounding themselves with a halo of righteous indignation, denounced the corruptions and evil influences of the old Society, proclaimed for themselves the highest principles of civic virtue, and announced the dawn of better days in municipal affairs. Generally the public was deceived and anticipated improved conditions, but Tammany leaders never were; and the results have ever been the same,—simply a more generous division of the plunder, and, after a few years, the holding of a "great love feast" in Tammany Hall, when the political prodigal son was received back into the home fold, under guarantees of more liberal consideration for the future. Tammany Hall has always been the dominant society; and, despite intestine quarrels and external attacks which seemed to threaten its very existence, its strength and vitality have never been materially affected. No

organism has ever manifested greater recuperative powers.

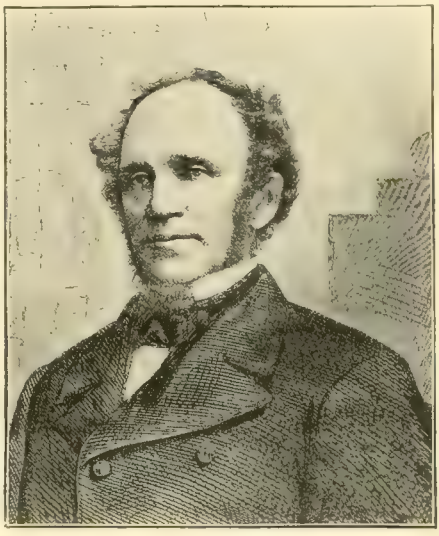
During the early "sixties" the antagonism of Mozart Hall was especially vicious, and Tweed undertook to bring the hostile forces together, and so to present a united front to their common enemy,—the business interests of the city and decent society. Fernando Wood, a most unscrupulous politician and as a clever schemer and spoils-monger no unworthy foe for Tweed to meet, was at the head of Mozart Hall. By giving to Wood, who had ambitions to figure in national politics, the nomination for Member of Congress, harmony between the hostile forces was

THE WIGWAM.

established, and the leading members of Mozart Hall returned to Tammany Hall, their less consequential followers being left out in the cold. This union greatly strengthened Tammany's position, and added to its forces many men of influence in the city's affairs, notably A. Oakey Hall and Judge Cardozo. Hall had originally been an active member of the Republican party, but had sometime before allied himself for political reasons with Mozart Hall; and now becoming a pronounced Democrat he was recognized as a most valuable addition to the Tammany ranks. He was a man who stood well in the city, of marked literary tastes, and considerable ability as a writer. Judge Cardozo allied himself with Tammany in return for a promised nomination for a seat on the bench of the highest court. Concurrently with the consolidation of the Democracy Tweed became street commissioner; so that now the control of all the offices of the city, and of all the avenues for levying tribute were in the hands of Tweed and his confederates. One important influence was still to be secured, however, and that was the mayoralty. Accordingly a most estimable citizen was induced to become the candidate of Tammany in the mayoralty campaign of 1865. This was John T. Hoffman, a man of good family and high social standing, but with ambitions looking toward the governorship; and with the promise of Tammany that he should have the next Democratic nomination for Governor, he consented to become the Hall's candidate for mayor, and was elected in that year. His early days in office were characterized by some well-planned and earnest assaults upon the ring, and the public soon believed that the administration was working for the true interests of the city, and Hoffman's popularity was greatly increased. But gradually his opposition to the worst elements of the Democracy became lukewarm; and by holding over him a threat to recede from their agreement as to the gubernatorial nomination the party leaders were able to silence him and nullify his apparent hostility.

The year 1868 was one of marked prominence in the annals of Tammany and of supreme importance to its leaders. The previous year Tweed, who had for some time been dissatisfied with the old Hall,

now the New York Sun building, determined that the Society should have a new home "up-town," more in keeping with its commanding position in the city's affairs. So liberally had the leading members of the organization enriched themselves out of their official positions that when Tweed proposed his plan, and stated that $250,000 was needed at once to put it into execution, fifteen men present immediately subscribed $10,000 each and the balance was quickly raised. The cornerstone of the new "Wigwam" in East 14th street, between Irving Place and Third avenue, was laid in the fall and the building was completed the next summer; and was one of the most imposing and pretentious semi-public buildings then in the city. The Democratic National Convention was held in the new hall on July 4, 1868, and the occasion was one to abundantly gratify the pride and patriotism of the average "brave;" while the leaders had planned to make this meeting the greatest event in their already remarkable career, and to secure by it the control of the governorship of the State, as well as the mayoralty of the city. The convention was a notable one and enthusiasm ran high, and flowed freely. Though the party at large had other views, Tammany succeeded in forcing Seymour on the Convention as its candidate for the presidency. In the State convention Hoffman was nominated for Governor, Tammany making good its promise to him when he ceased his hostility as mayor; and Hall was slated to succeed Hoffman in the mayoralty. The stakes for which the ring played were enormous; and no expenditure of money nor any trick which the shrewdest politicians could devise and their control of all the machinery of election enable them to carry out, was not resorted to. Owing to the tremendous increase in immigration of the previous few years the ignorant foreign voting material had become of vast importance; and men were naturalized at the rate of a thousand a day at times. Every preparation was made for repeating and stuffing ballot boxes. On October 30th, Tweed made the welcome proclamation that at ten o'clock the next forenoon the money for electioneering purposes would be ready for distribution, and it was announced that one thousand dollars was ready for each of the 327 election precincts, making a total of $327,000, to be distributed by



HORATIO SEYMOUR.

the General Committee alone, which was exclusive of the amounts derived by the district leaders from the saloons, gambling houses, and brothels in their respective districts. By all the evil methods that could be devised by the clever schemers in charge of the election the total vote of the city was run up to 156,288, of which a conservative estimate placed the fraudulent votes at not less than 25,000. Tweed himself confessed nine years later, when on trial, that he thought the inspectors of elections "lumped" the votes and declared them without counting, in order to overcome the Republican majority in the rest of the state and give the electoral vote to Seymour. In those days the complete returns were never declared until it was known with what majority the Republicans "had come down to the Harlem;" and to prevent them from getting the use of certain telegraph wires that night Tweed sent out long and useless messages, declaring his intention of telegraphing the whole Bible,

it necessary. It is said to have been at this election that, at the swearing in of election inspectors, no Bible being obtainable, they took the oath on a copy of "Ollendorff's New Method of Learning How to Read, Write and Speak French;" and the courts afterward held that the substitution of Ollendorff for the Bible was not such an act as could vitiate the election. The total vote was 108,316 for Seymour and 47,762 for Grant; and Seymour carried the State. The same tidal wave of fraud carried Hoffman into the governorship; and at a special election held in December to fill the mayoralty office made vacant by the elevation of Hoffman, the ring's candidate, Hall, one "of its very own," was elected by a total vote of 75,109 against 20,835 for the Republican candidate. The disparity between these totals and those of the presidential election a month earlier gives some idea of the number of fraudulent votes cast to secure Seymour's election. To further strengthen the position of the thieving conspirators Tweed had himself elected to the State Senate, so that he could personally supervise the "running" of the Legislature. Already the ring which existed in the board of supervisors between the two factions of partisans in the board had grown into a compact ring between the Republican majority at Albany, the board of supervisors, and the Tammany ring; and Tweed recognized the necessity of being on the ground in Albany, the centre of political bargaining and legislative manipulation. The corruption at Albany in those days was quite as great as that in the city, and the two rings were closely allied. But the Legislature was full of strikers and enormous sums were paid for the passage of bills. A difficult element to handle, too, was the famous "Black Horse Cavalry," a band of about thirty Republican and Democratic members who organized themselves under one of the most notorious lobbyists, mutually pledging each other to vote as directed.

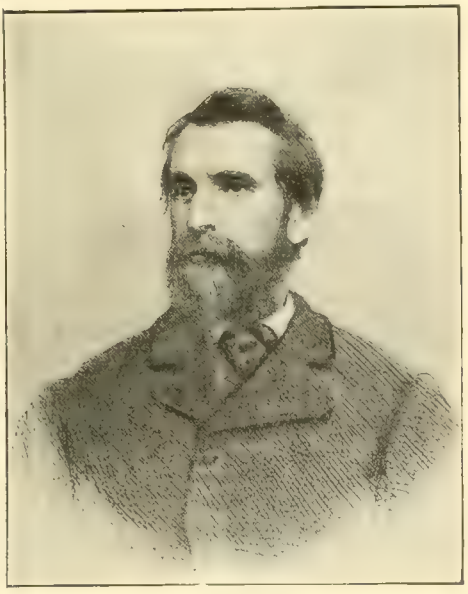
The ring interests in the city might now be considered as definitely established, and its membership was distinctly recognized. Besides Tweed, the men constituting the "Big Four," as they were familiarly known, were A. Oakey Hall (popularly called "Oakey" Hall), whom they had just caused to be elected mayor, Peter B. Sweeney, and Richard B. Connolly. As has already been stated Hall's general reputation in the city was good, and his intellectual attainments marked, so that his election was not regarded as offensive by citizens of either party. Sweeney had for years been one of the cleverest lobbyists at Albany, and so had become an experienced judge of men, as well as a master in the art of handling them; and for this reason was selected by Tweed for the important position of City Chamberlain. Connolly was the weakest member of the "Four" and was the one least trusted by his confederates. He was, however, recognized as a man of considerable financial experience and ability, and so was made Controller. His nickname of "Slippery Dick," however, illustrates the opinion held of him by his associates.

"By the election of 1868," said S. J. Tilden in his report as president of the Committee of Seventy, "the ring became completely organized and matured." Its leaders had now become rich men. When Tweed entered the board of supervisors he declared that he would soon be among the largest holders of real estate in the city; and the fact that in 1865 he was a comparatively poor man and in 1869 was generally estimated to be worth ten to twelve million dollars ought surely to give him a high place among the prophets. Of these men at this period one writer says: "Tweed was an enormously rich man. He had investments in real estate and iron mines; he was interested in every street opening and widening scheme; he had a hand in all city and in many State contracts; and held directorships in many railroads, gas companies, and other corporations. Connolly, who some years before had left a position as bookkeeper at a moderate salary, to engage in politics 'as a financial speculation,' Sweeney, and the rest of the ring suddenly became millionaires. Every active Tammany

man and many Republican accomplices shared according to the degree of each in the sacking of the city." It was about this time, too, that Tweed became actively interested in Erie, and other railroad affairs; and one who wrote a life of the notorious "Jim Fisk," said: "Jay Gould and Fisk took William M. Tweed into their (the Erie) board; and the State Legislature, Tammany Hall, and the 'Erie Ring' were fused in interest, and have continued to serve each other faithfully." From this source alone Tweed at one time declared his profits for the preceding three months were $650,000.

Nor did Tweed aim alone to establish a position in political life. The modest home in Henry street was exchanged for a most pretentious one on Fifth Avenue, where he kept up an elaborate and expensive establishment. The marriage of his daughter was one of the sensational events of the day, and through Tweed's influence with the papers most detailed and spicy accounts of the event were sent broadcast through the country. Most costly gifts were showered upon the bride, those from her father's political friends alone costing over $100,000. Among them were forty complete sets of solid silver, and fifteen diamond sets, one of which was valued at $45,000. Her wedding dress, we are told, cost $4,000 and the trimmings $1,000 more. Tweed spent money everywhere with a lavish hand. His summer place near Greenwich, Ct., was one of the most beautiful on Long Island Sound. The stables alone cost over $100,000, even the stalls being built of the finest polished mahogany. The Americus Club was his favorite social organization, and its house on the Sound was one of the best appointed and most sumptuously furnished club houses in the land. His followers gladly paid their initiation fee of one thousand dollars in addition to the two thousand charged for the furnishings of the room to which each member was entitled. The crest of the club was a tiger's head, and in the cartoons of the period the tiger figured largely with a collar on which was stamped "Americus," and it was through this association of the club emblem with the acts of its members that the tiger gradually became the symbol of Tammany Hall, and has so figured to the present day. Everywhere the same prodigality of expenditure was manifest. Trifles like a thousand dollars were thrown about as freely as the average citizen spends five dollars, or even one.

"Oakey" Hall took his seat as mayor, January 1, 1869. The ring now controlled the common council of the city, the Legislature of the State, and its Governor was the State's executive officer. Hall was mayor; Sweeney was city chamberlain, or treasurer of both city and county; Tweed was supreme in the street department;



A. OAKEY HALL.

Connolly was city controller, and as such had charge of the city's finances; and together they controlled the entire political machinery of Tammany Hall, so that there was little chance of their being dislodged through election methods. The account that has been given of the wealth and extravagance of these men and their satellites is sufficient evidence of the amount that must have been stolen up to this time. But when it is remembered that what they had personally kept bore only a small proportion to the amount

that had been spent in bribing men whom they needed in the city, in the legislature, and on the bench, one can easily see that the aggregate of plunder must already have reached scores of millions of dollars. Yet the orgy had only begun. As the election of 1869 had given the Democrats a clear majority in both branches of the Legislature, the ring determined to secure changes in the city charter which should make their work still easier and less expensive. And strangely, though the changes proposed were only in the interest of the ring, yet their general provisions were so good that the new charter received the unqualified indorsement of nearly the entire press of the city, and of the best citizens irrespective of party; and its principles accorded with the most advanced modern theories of municipal administration. The city secured a greater power over its own affairs; the complex administrative institutions were greatly simplified, and responsibility for administration was centred in very few hands. "But," as was said, "the only fault was that these hands at the moment were unclean and grasping hands." This charter restored to the city all the powers that had been taken from it by the charter of 1857; and on the specious plea that all the misgovernment of the few years previous was due to the various State commissions, the ring turned suspicion away from itself and secured the support of the majority of the best citizens for its measures. The old board of supervisors was abolished, the entire executive power, with that of appointment, was placed in the hands of the mayor, and an entirely new board was created, styled the Board of Apportionment. This was composed of the mayor, the controller, the commissioner of public works, and president of the park board, that is of Hall, Connolly, Tweed, and Sweeney; and they thus received power to make all appropriations necessary for carrying on the government. The ring thus legally became judges of the necessities of expenditures and were empowered to provide for their payment. Another law was passed creating a Board of Audit, whose duty should be to close up all the affairs of the late board of supervisors. This law made the mayor, Hall; the comptroller, Connolly; and the president of the old board of supervisors, Tweed, the members of the new board of audit, with power to examine and allow all claims against the county previous to 1870. This was the richest single mine yet struck by the ring. The new charter had cost them a frightful sum, generally estimated from $1,000,000 to $1,500,000; and this was the means taken to recoup themselves for this outlay, and replenish their exchequers. Claims to the amount of more than $6,000,000 were audited and paid out of the city treasury in less than three months. This charter came to be known as "Tweed's Charter." As a result of later investigations Samuel J. Tilden testified that it was evident that it cost Tweed about $1,000,000 to get it through the Legislature. Tweed himself afterward testified that he gave to one man $600,000, with which to buy votes, this being only part of the fund. He further testified that he bought the vote of five Republican senators for $40,000 apiece, giving one of them $200,000 to distribute. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the vote in both houses was practically unanimous in its favor. During the session of 1870-1871 the ring also got other bills through the Legislature enlarging their powers to raise money and increase the city's debt, with the result that from these sources they secured control of about $48,000,000 for the year 1871. But the most colossal single effort of the ring had been prosecuted in the building of the County Court House, which stands in the City Hall park. When the work began it was stipulated that the total cost should not exceed $250,000; yet by the end of 1871 over $8,000,000 had been paid out on this account, and it was still unfinished. The method of procedure here was that whenever a bill was brought in by one of the contractors he was ordered to greatly increase the amount of his total charge; and if he demurred, he was informed that he must wait indefinitely for

his pay. The result was that he always yielded. A warrant was then drawn for the amount of the bill as raised, the contractor was paid the original amount, or a little more, and the balance was divided between the members of the ring. In his "History of Tammany Hall," Myers says: "At a single sitting—on May 5, 1870—the board of audit made out an order for the payment of $6,312,500 on account of the building of the new court house. Of this sum barely a tenth was realized by the city. Payments under the 'Adjusted Claims Act' were first made by the controller in July, 1868, and were continued until January, 1869. During this time fifty-five per cent of the claims was divided among members of the ring, twenty-five per cent to Tweed, twenty to Connolly, and ten to Sweeney. In July, 1869, payments under the act were resumed, but the percentage of spoils was raised to sixty, and after November, to sixty-five. Of this increase a small amount was allotted to three clerks and 'go-betweens,' and five per cent was reserved for 'Expenses,'—that is, for bribery. Later in making payments on the court house the spoils rate was raised to eighty-five per cent. 'Jobs' significant of untold millions lurked in every possible form. One of Tweed's favorite schemes was to create on paper a fictitious institution, jot down the names of three or four of his friends as officers, put a large amount in the tax levy for that institution, and pocket the money. Asylums, hospitals, and dispensaries that were never heard of and never existed except on paper, were put down as beneficiaries of state and city." To cover up the real condition of affairs the controller failed to make a public statement of the financial conditions which was due January 1, 1870, until the following October. In this report everything of a suspicious character was in an account entitled "General Purposes,"—and in a total expenditure of $21,000,000, it appeared that $9,000,000 had been paid out for such "general purposes." This naturally aroused suspicion in the public mind; but so earnestly did the controller "court" an investigation of his office and methods by a committee of the citizens that the suspicions were quieted for a time. A little later, however, such a committee, composed of some six or seven of the foremost lawyers and business men of the city, was named for the purpose of examining the books and the workings of the controller's office; and so well did Connolly cover up the tracks of the ring and conceal the true state of affairs that, after their examination, the committee published a "card" in the daily papers stating that the financial affairs of the city under the charge of the controller were administered in a correct and faithful manner. And they further stated that the debt of the city was about $20,000,000 less than it was afterwards proved to be; also that *if the then existing rate of redemption was kept up the total debt of the city would be extinguished in less than twelve years.* This statement read very strangely in the light of subsequent developments, which showed that the debt of the city actually increased during the years 1870 and 1871 at the rate of $28,652,000 a year; and that it had grown from $20,000,000 in 1860, when Tweed first began to get his work in, to $100,955,330 in July, 1871, as reported in the New York Tribune of August 8, 1871.

But without any warning to its members the days of the ring were being numbered. An opposition political society had sprung up called the "Young Democracy," and in the spring of this same year, at the solicitation of James O'Brien, the leader of the Young Democracy, Connolly appointed one Copeland to a clerkship in the auditor's office. Soon after his appointment there came into Copeland's hands certain vouchers which seemed to him peculiar and excited his curiosity. Upon investigating the matter further he found an account entitled "County Liabilities," which contained some of the enormous bills paid by the city for plastering and furniture. Awaiting his opportunity he copied the entire account and gave it to O'Brien. The latter decided not to make it public at once, but to use it as an aid in

collecting certain large fees he claimed were due him from the ring, which had accrued while he was sheriff. Failing in this, early in the summer of 1871 O'Brien took the statement to the New York Times, and immediately that paper began its exposure of the operations of the ring. It boldly denounced the members, in large capitals, as thieves and swindlers, and defied them to sue that paper for libel. Commencing July 22d it published in successive issues extracts from the secret accounts obtained from O'Brien, and on the 29th summed up all the charges against the ring in a supplement. This general statement was published in both English and German, and showed that over $10,000,000 had already been paid out for the furnishings of the court house and armories. The immediate result was a mass meeting of the leading citizens in Cooper Union, and the appointment of the famous "Committee of Seventy," with whom Samuel J. Tilden acted most energetically, though chairman of the Democratic State Committee. Seeing that the storm was not going to blow over, the other members of the ring undertook to make a scapegoat of Connolly. But he vigorously protested, refusing as he said to be offered as a "vicarious sacrifice," and hastened to make terms with Mr. Tilden. At the latter's suggestion Connolly appointed Andrew H. Green, a leading member of the Committee of Seventy, his deputy with full powers, a course provided for in the city charter. The committee now had complete access to all the records and accounts in the controller's office. Unfortunately, however, after the storm broke the ring's servants burned over thirty-five hundred of the most compromising vouchers, so that it was with difficulty that the committee gathered legal evidence.

Meanwhile Tweed's hold on the people was manifested in many ways. It was during the winter of 1870-71 that, partly to ease his conscience, as was surmised, and partly to pose as a philanthropist, he gave to each of the Aldermen $1,000 to be used in buying coal and wood for the poor of his ward; and among the needy in his own ward he distributed $50,000. When, therefore, charges began to be made against his honesty a cry went up from thousands in protest and the general refrain was "Oh! but he was so good to the poor." Moreover the New York Sun seriously proposed in March, 1871, that a statue should be erected to Tweed, an idea which his adherents immediately seized upon, and $8,000 was raised in a very short time. But Tweed emphatically declined the honor, and published a letter in the Sun discountenancing the project. This was printed in the Sun of March 14, 1871, under the bold heading

"A Great Man's Modesty

"The Hon. Wm. M. Tweed declines the Sun's Statue—Characteristic letter from the great New York Philanthropist—He thinks that virtue should be its own reward—The most remarkable letter ever written by the noble benefactor of the people."

For the fall election of 1871 Tweed undertook to make the fight of his life, believing that if he succeeded it would be taken as a vindication of his course and character. With the other members of the ring he affected an air of unconcern regarding the disclosures; and when questioned as to the charges made his famous reply, "What you going to do about it?" Sooner than he anticipated, however, he received a very practical and positive answer to his query. The exposures already made had so aroused the public conscience that all the forces outside of Tammany Hall united in an effort to overthrow the dominance of that organization. During the excitement of the campaign, on October 26th, Tweed was arrested on the affidavit of Samuel J. Tilden, and held to bail in the sum of $1,000,000. This was speedily furnished, and Tammany at once undertook to make capital from the "hounding of Tweed." The result of the election was a sweeping victory for the entire citizens' ticket. But one Tammany candidate for the Senate was elected, and that was the "boss" himself, who received over nine thousand majority.

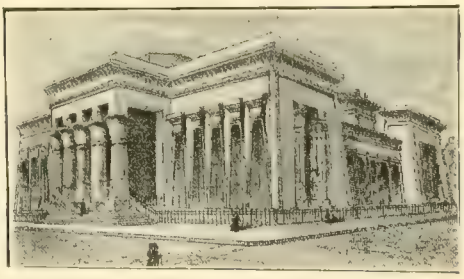
But the spell was now broken and the

collapse of the ring was sudden and complete. On November 25th, Connolly was arrested and placed under $1,000,000 bail; and being unable or declining to furnish this he was sent to jail. In October the subcommittee of the Committee of Seventy, which had been appointed to examine the books of the controller's office, reported among other things that $3,200,000 had been paid for repairs on armories and drill-rooms, the actual cost of which was less than $250,000; that over $11,000,000 had been charged for outlays on the unfinished court house, the entire cost of which, on an honest estimate, would be less than $3,000,000; that safes, carpets, furniture, cabinet-work, painting, plumbing, gas and plastering had cost $7,289,486, the real value of which was found to be $624,180; that $460,000 had been paid for lumber worth $48,000; that the printing, advertising, stationery, etc., of the city had cost in two years and eight months, $7,168,212, etc. It was on the basis of this showing that Tweed had been arrested, and on January 30, 1873, he was tried, the jury disagreeing. He was again tried and found guilty on ninety out of one hundred and twenty counts, *and sentenced to Blackwell's island for twelve years, and to pay a fine of* $12,000. Anticipating his release by the Supreme Court on a technicality the Committee of Seventy secured the passage of a special bill by the legislature authorizing the people to institute a special civil suit against Tweed. Accordingly when set free on his appeal, he was at once arrested in a new suit for $6,000,000 under the Special Act, and bail was fixed at $3,000,000. Not being able to secure this he lay in prison until December 4th, when, while visiting his home in the custody of two keepers, he was allowed to escape. This privilege he afterwards testified cost him $60,000. Fleeing from place to place he was finally arrested at Vigo, in the North of Spain, and returned to the United States in the warship *Franklin,* reaching New York November 23, 1876. In one of the civil suits judgment had been given against him for $6,000,000. Confessing this he was sent to jail until he should be able to satisfy it. No personal property of his could be found on which levy could be made. During his trial Tweed stated that he was never worth more than $3,000,000, and that he had recklessly thrown his money away. As soon as his star began to decline, he was set upon by all his old henchmen and unmercifully blackmailed.

"Yesterday, Cæsar might have stood
against the world;
Now none so poor as to do him reverence."

Deserted by all his political associates and most of his friends, disgraced, with the memory of his crimes as his only companion, he lingered in Ludlow street jail until released by death on April 12, 1878. By failures of juries to convict, and by various compromises, all the other members of the ring escaped punishment, and went into exile in Europe.

Thus ended the Tweed Ring, the most infamous and most successful band of thieves that ever plundered a great city. The fame of the ring and its spectacular



THE TOMBS.

ending spread throughout the world, and Tammany became a by-word and reproach among all civilized peoples. But—that was all! It is doubtful whether any other political organization could have survived the exposures made. But Tammany has a charmed life! It has been overthrown, crushed, paralyzed, wiped out of existence, time and time again, only to revive before the next election, and probably overthrow the very reform organizations that defeated it two or four years before.

For one hundred years it has continued this very existence, and the defeats as well as the victories are taken simply as a part of the game. It is easy to hold up one's hands in horror at the suggestion of Tammany; and its name has become a synonym for greed and plunder in municipal affairs. But it should not be forgotten that every large city in the country has, and has had, its Tammany. Except in the few years of the ascendency of the Tweed ring, the role of Tammany has been no worse than, generally not so bad as, that of the Republican ring which has held the city of Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania by the throat for the past forty years. The scandals connected with the building of the new capitol at Harrisburg recently exposed are identical with those connected with the building of the court house in Tweed's time, even down to the minutest details; while in Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, San Francisco,—wherever the searchlight of investigation has been turned on, the same rottenness in municipal government has been exposed. The government of its cities is one of the most serious questions that confronts the American people; and unless some solution shall be found, the very existence of the nation is imperilled.

XL.

NEW FORMS OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY.—YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR — 1881.

Recent Organizations of Young People Into Immense Societies.— Meaning of Such Movements. — Dr. Hale and the Lend-a-Hand Clubs.— Mottoes of the Clubs.— Mrs. Bottome and the King's Daughters.—An Outgrowth of the Lend-a-Hand Movement.— Rapid Growth of Order. — Changed to "International Order of the King's Daughters and Sons."— Rev. F. E. Clark as a Pastor.—Origin of Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor.— Its First Meeting.— Dr. Clark's Statement of Results.— October, 1884, More Than 150 Societies With Upwards of Eight Thousand Members.— Incorporation of United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1885.— Mighty Force Toward Christian Unity.— Organizations not Denominational but Interdenominational.— Third World's Convention at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1906 — Sixty-four Thousand Societies Reported; Close to Four Million Members.— Withdrawal of Methodists and Baptists in 1891.— The Epworth League Strictly Denominational and Under Control of Church.— Organization of Baptist Young People's Union the Same Year.— Educational Features of Later Societies.— The Brotherhood of St. Andrew, Organized October, 1886.— "Object" and "Rules" of the Society.— The Rule of Prayer and Rule of Service. — Contrast of Working of These Societies With That of the Young Men's Christian Associations.— A Mighty Power For the Uplifting of All Peoples.

"Whatever makes men good Christians makes them good citizens."
— DANIEL WEBSTER.

ONE of the distinctive developments in the evolution of the social and religious life of the last half century has been the rapid organization of young people into immense societies, both within and without the Church. Fifty years ago elderly men and women were still regarded as important factors in the orderly arrangement and working of human and divine institutions and movements; and, to claim the least, the adage "Old men for counsel, young men for action" was recognized as voicing the precepts of wisdom, as well as the results of a wide and varied popular experience. But between the association of the youth of the land into societies that have either assumed, or had thrust upon them, so large a share in the direction and working out of all social and religious movements, and the dictum of Science, as voiced by Dr. Osler, that the only proper course for those who have passed middle life is either to resignedly submit themselves to the headsman's axe, or enter a home for the aged, there seems now little left for the counselors of old but to quietly take their seats in the grand stand, and admiringly, and without criticism, watch the progress of the game. Whether the change simply represents the extreme swing of the pendulum in one direction, or the young giant shall main-

tain his control, remains to be seen. But whatever the outcome, the movement is a most interesting one, and demands serious consideration. That the plasticity of mind and enthusiasm of youth were too much neglected until very recently, no thoughtful person will deny. It is but little more than a century since the first Sunday School was organized by Robert Raikes, and the Young Men's Christian Association has but recently passed its half-century mark; while within the last forty years probably not less than ten millions of young people have been banded together in different great societies, inspired by a common purpose and desire to

REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.

cultivate a higher life among themselves and, by united effort, to bring others to share in the advantages they are deriving from such union. It is evident, therefore, that a tremendous force which, a century ago, was ignored or carefully and studiously restrained, has now been set free, which, if wisely directed, must work mightily for the spread of righteous thought and righteous action. It is not our purpose to make any attempt to measure the successes or mistakes that have attended this revolution, but simply to outline briefly the origin, aim, and growth of some of its leading forces.

When, in 1870, the Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale sent his little book "Ten Times One Is Ten" out into the world, he had little idea how many thousands of his readers were really waiting for some announcement of a "Lend-a-Hand" gospel. But the immediate and spontaneous response to his thought proved that he had struck a chord whose vibration has brought good cheer, help, and comfort to millions. "Lend-a-Hand" clubs and "Ten Times One" clubs were at once organized in many places; and the noble father of the movement was soon buried under the avalanche of letters from earnest inquirers who sought guidance or advice as to the best form for such organizations to take, and the most promising lines along which to direct their work. The first "Lend-a-Hand" club was formed in Boston in 1870, and it largely took over the work of directing the movement, under Dr. Hale's wise supervision. No effort was made to unite the many scattered clubs into one central society, but it was advised that each individual club should organize as it preferred, choose its own name, make its own constitution, and select its own work. The only common basis for thought and work was embodied in the great principles of Faith, Hope and Love, which were expressed in the mottoes:

"Look up and not down; (Faith)
Look forward and not back; (Hope)
Look out and not in;
and lend a hand" (Love).

From the first, the general advice as to organization was summed up tersely in the suggestion "Go as you please,—*only go.*" But in every case it was urged that each society should have for one of its objects the uplifting of some person, neighborhood, or institution outside the club itself. In 1874 a "Look Up Legion" was formed at Chautauqua, which gave occasion to Dr. Hale and his fellow workers to publish successive circulars, which soon gave place to a "Journal of Organized Beneficence," entitled "Lend-a-Hand." As the number of clubs multiplied rapidly

through the country a central organization became a necessity; and in November, 1891, "The Ten Times One" corporation was formed. This action, however, did not involve the abridgment of the independence of any local societies, but simply established a general clearing house for work, and a legal depository for any property of the central society. The badge of the "Lend-a-hand" clubs is the Maltese cross; and their watchword, "In His Name." But in these matters, as in all others, each individual club decides whether it will adopt one, or both, or neither. In all the parent society's work the desire has been not to suggest *how* individual societies shall work, or go, —but simply to inspire the impulse to work and go in some way, "In His Name."

One of the earliest results of the "Lend-a-Hand" movement was the formation in New York of an independent organization which first took the name of "The King's Daughters." The secretary of the club later wrote to Dr. Hale: "In October, 1885, I went to Mrs. Bottome (wife of Rev. Dr. F. Bottome), who received the outline of the 'Sisterhood' which you sent with enthusiasm. I read 'Ten Times One' before her class in her husband's church to-night. She is carried away with it." As a result ten women met at the home of Mrs. Bottome on January 13, 1886, and organized a "Ten," adopting the four mottoes of the "Lend-a-Hand" clubs quoted above, the watchword "In His Name," and the silver Maltese cross as their badge. This movement proved very contagious, while the character and special gifts of the members of the original "Ten" constituted it a natural centre for counsel and co-operation. They wisely, however, guarded against governing too much, "disclaiming any purpose to control any circle in its choice of a field." In 1887, "after urgent requests, membership in the order was opened to men and boys," and the corporate title was changed to "The International Order of the King's Daughters and Sons." Early in the history of the sisterhood a "Declaration of Independence" was issued, which distinctly circumscribed its field. Among other things this declaration said: "In answer to the repeated question that comes to us, 'Do you belong in any way to the other

MRS. MARGARET BOTTOME.

"Ten," "Lend-a-Hand" clubs, "Look Up Legions," etc.?' we desire to clearly state that we have *no connection with any other orders whatsoever.* The Daughters of the King recognize that they are indebted to these friends for admirable suggestions, which they have thankfully adopted. Ours is distinctly a spiritual organization, based on strictly evangelical principles. Our foundation is Jesus Christ, our Lord, in whose atonement we rely for salvation, and by whose power, and in whose name, and to whose glory, all our work is done." This declaration of dogmatic orthodoxy was, however, modified later by an official announcement that the order "demanded no uniformity in choice of labors. It declined to make of its central council a board of examiners into the theological views of its members. It had no right to

question the love of those who accepted a call to commit themselves to labor for His sake and in His name. It did not found a church. It only summoned women to greater and sweeter service, in and beyond their own churches." The constitution of the order provides for circles, chapters of circles, and State secretaryships, under the general direction and advice of the central council, with which they are expected to keep in close correspondence. "In the development of the idea the direction specially emphasized is: first, the heart; next, the home; then the church; and after that the great outside." The growth of the order was marvelous, and at the end of the first decade of its history the original "Ten" had become more than four hundred thousand, with circles in nearly every country on the globe. "Hardly any class," states one of the official reports, "has been forgotten in its ministrations. Among the poor and the sick, in hospitals and jails, among the victims of flood, and fire, and disease, the little cross has gone with its loving service. Special interest has always been shown in the care of the aged and little children. And the distinctly educational work in school and college extension by correspondence among members of the order has no insignificant place among the varied activities of the King's Daughters and Sons." The office of the Central Council is in New York city, where is published the official paper of the order, "The Silver Cross." The present total membership of the order is estimated at about half a million.

In the year 1881 the young and earnest pastor of a new and aggressive church in the city of Portland, Me., conceived the not very novel idea of interesting his young people in the active work of the church. This young man had not outgrown the old-fashioned idea of revivals as a feature of the church life, nor did he fear the evil of enthusiasm which it is now proper to deprecate. As was not wholly uncommon in those days in evangelical churches, he believed that the stated week of prayer should bring results; and so successfully had he inoculated his people with the same idea, that during each of the years of his service the expected,—not the unexpected,—had happened, and the church had been blessed with a period of pronounced religious awakening, as a result of which many people, and especially many young people, had been brought into the church fold. It was just toward the close of such a period in the spring of 1881 that the Rev. F. E. Clark was anxiously studying how the full force of enthusiasm engendered by the revival might be made a permanent asset in the character of the new converts, as well as of enduring benefit to the whole church. As a step in this direction he invited forty or fifty of the young people to meet at his house, that in a social way he might stimulate their zeal, and thinking that perhaps together some helpful plan might be worked out. But upon the day of the meeting he hit upon the idea of a permanent organization of the young people into a society whose constitution should bind each signer to certain collective and individual effort; and at what seemed the psychological moment, after a pleasant entertainment and during a social talk, he presented the proposition to his young guests for their consideration. The document which he had prepared provided for the formation of the Williston Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, "Williston" being the name of the local church. Its proposed object was "to promote an earnest Christian life among its members, to increase their mutual acquaintance, and to make them more useful in the service of God." But it was to the prayer meeting that the constitution looked as the pivotal point in the whole scheme, and its most important clause relating to it read as follows: "It is expected that all active members of the society will be present at every meeting, unless detained by some absolute necessity, and that each one will take some part, however slight, in every meeting." This article further provided that once each month an "experience meeting" (this was later called

a "consecration meeting") should be held, "at which each member shall speak concerning his progress in the Christian life for the past month. If anyone chooses he can express his feelings by an appropriate verse of Scripture." It was still further provided that at the close of each monthly experience meeting, "the roll shall be called, and the response of the active members who are present shall be considered a renewed expression of allegiance to Christ." A look-out committee was appointed to follow up any who absented themselves from the experience meetings; and if any member persisted in such absences for three successive months, without sufficient excuse, his name was dropped from the roll. Brief as this statement is, it embodies all the principles of the constitutions of the thousands of societies that have since been formed in all parts of the world. When the proposition was first laid before the young people of the Williston church by Dr. Clark it rather terrified them, as it seemed as if they were covenanting to perform more than they might have the grace to execute. But after a little deliberation one leader signed, and then in turn all present affixed their names and the greatest religious organization of young people the world has ever known was born. Dr. Clark has told us with what anxiety he attended the first prayer meeting after the organization of the society to see how the young people realized the character of their undertaking. "The result," he says, "was that, instead of three or four little sermonettes and long prayers which had heretofore filled the hour of the young people's meeting, forty young people, more or less, with Scripture verses and sentences of prayer, and some of the more experienced with longer testimonies or exhortation, were heard in the precious and prophetic sixty minutes devoted to the first genuine Christian Endeavor prayer meeting." And he adds: "But this meeting, though the first, was by no means the last of the series, nor was it the best; for each successive meeting seemed to grow in interest and power. Numbers increased rapidly, young men and women who never thought of going to a prayer meeting before were attracted to this one, and when they came once they came again." After a thorough test of the plan for about six months Dr. Clark felt that its efficiency was so well established that he wrote of his experiment and its results to "The Congregationalist" under the caption "How One Church Looks After Its Young People." This letter was copied in the "Sunday School Times" and other religious papers; and thus the idea was successfully launched and started on its world-wide career. The second society formed was in the fall of the same year, in Newburyport, Mass., and before the end of 1881 societies had been formed in a Rhode Island and a Vermont church, and in another of the Portland churches. Our space does not permit of our following the interesting development of the

REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK.

young organization; and it is, moreover, so well known that it is hardly necessary. Suffice it to say that even at the third annual convention in October, 1884, one hundred and fifty-six societies were reported, with an active membership of

8,905, and that among the number were societies in China, India, and Hawaii.

In 1885 the need of incorporation having become manifest the "United Society of Christian Endeavor" was organized, with headquarters at Boston; and in 1886 the official paper of the society, "The Golden Rule," was first published, on October 7. In 1898 its name was changed to the "Christian Endeavor World." At the sixth annual convention, held at Saratoga, N. Y., in 1887, the Rev. Francis E. Clark, the father of the movement, was elected president of the United Society, resigning his pastorate shortly after to give his entire attention to Endeavor work. Dr. Clark has visited every country of the world, practically, establishing new societies and stimulating the energies of those already organized; and the society's literature is now published in about fifty distinct languages and dialects. In 1906 the twenty-fifth anniversary of the society's organization was observed in all parts of the world, meetings of special importance being held at Portland, Boston, New York, and Washington, in the United States. The second European, and the third World's Convention, was also held that year at Geneva, in Switzerland, at which over 64,000 societies, with a membership of about 4,000,000, were reported. On February 28, 1909, President Clark issued a birthday message to the members of the society, in the course of which he said: "To-day, on the 28th birthday of Christian endeavor, we find more than 71,000 societies, in practically every land on the face of the earth. Here is the inspiring list: Africa 503; Argentina 1; Australia 2,926; Austria 9; Barbardos 3; Belgium 2; Bermuda 8; Bohemia 7; Brazil 93; British Guiana 11; Bulgaria 11; Burmah 15; Canada 3,669; Caroline Islands 4; Chili 7; China 391; Colombia 6; Costa Rica 10; Crete 4; Cuba 44; Denmark 2; Dutch Guiana 1; Egypt 17; Ellice Islands 9; England 11,550; Fiji Islands 1; Finland 31; Formosa 1; France 141; Germany 400; Gibraltar 3; Gilbert Islands 4; Greece 4; Grenada, West Indies, 2; Guatemala 3; Hayti 1; Hawaiian Islands 54; Holland 1; Hungary 23; Iceland 1; India 850; Ireland 339; Italy 15; Jamaica, West Indies, 259; Japan 147; Korea 12; Labrador 1; Laos 29; Lapland 1; Loyalty Islands 25; Madagascar 93; Madeira Islands 1; Marshall Islands 21; Mauritius 1; Mexico 133; Newfoundland 2; New Hebrides 1; Norway 26; Palestine 5; Panama 5; Persia 65; Philippine Islands 6; Portugal 4; Porto Rico 7; Russia 49; Samoa 42; Scotland 597; Siam 2; Spain 63; Sweden 374; Switzerland 24; Syria 19; Tokelau Islands 3; Trinidad, West Indies, 21; Turkey 62; United States 46,324; Wales 460,—total 71,064."

In 1888, at the Chicago Convention, the society adopted the motto: "Not to be ministered unto, but to minister;" and its badge is a monogram made up of the letters "C" and "E."

A most promising feature of the earlier history of the Christian Endeavor Society was its attitude toward denominationalism. It is not many years since the devout Methodist, or Baptist, or Congregationalist looked upon members of the other sects as irretrievably lost unless they abandoned their peculiar tenets and adopted those of the observer. But the Christian Endeavor Society claimed from the beginning to be not *un*denominational but *inter*denominational. Its theory was that each society, under normal conditions, belongs to some church, and exists to strengthen that particular church in every way. Moreover similar societies, actuated by the same motives, exist in a multitude of different churches, and in many denominations, to do the same service loyally for each church and each denomination. The general society unreservedly encouraged in each local society the liveliest zeal for the sect to which the church in which it existed belonged. Then it sought to bring together on terms of kindly fraternization and fellowship, in general and convention assemblies, those strongly differentiated societies. This was a most attractive and Christian plan to

bring the denominations into more harmonious relations, and to break down dividing walls. For several years the scheme worked well, and great results were being achieved. As one has said, "In the annually increasing conventions of the united societies the fervid mutual fellowship of societies attached individually to many differing and almost antagonistic sects was to many generous minds an inspiring sight, conveying the prophecy and the earnest of the manifold unity of the church of Christ." But this spirit of fraternity was not in harmony with the thought of older members of some of the denominations, who considered sectarian exclusiveness more fundamental and vital than Christian fellowship. The result was that the Methodist and Baptist churches soon counseled the union of all their societies within the lines of their sectarian bodies.

In May, 1891, a meeting of representatives of five different organizations of young people within the Methodist Church was held at Cleveland, Ohio, with the result that it was determined to consolidate their various societies under a general organization to be known as the Epworth League, taking its name from the birthplace of the founder of Methodism, John Wesley. The Christian Endeavor Society started with units of the individual church societies, which were later drawn together by natural development into the larger associations. The Epworth League, on the contrary, started with a central organization under whose direction all individual societies should be formed. This central organization adopted a constitution which was to be the type for all the constitutions of subsidiary societies. The executive body in the main society is the "Board of Control;" and immediately after its organization in 1889 this board sent out a ringing call to all young people's societies of the church to unite under its banner. The call was, "To Your Tents, O Israel;" and was sent to all Christian Endeavor Societies in the Methodist Episcopal Church, virtually instructing them to reconstitute themselves under the denominational order. "The Epworth League," the call stated, "has its origin in the conviction that the various young people's societies of the church should be united in one organization. Its scheme of work has been made large enough to comprehend all forms of Christian activity. We therefore recommend that all literary, social, and religious societies of young people now in existence in our church merge into the Epworth League, and that every such society continue its special work through that department of the league under which it would properly fall." This organization lacks all the democratic features that were so attractive in the earlier society, and exists within hard and fast lines which are determined by the controlling society and the general church government. The board of control is presided over by one of the bishops of the church, and is made up of five ministers and nine laymen appointed by the bishops and of fourteen other members each elected by one of the Conference Districts. The response to the call of the board of control was immediate and effective, so that in 1897 it could report an enrollment of 24,000 chapters, with a membership of 1,650,000. The headquarters of the board of control are in Chicago, and the official publication is "The Epworth Herald." The motto of the league is: "Look up: Lift up!" and its membership at the present time is approximately 2,000,000.

In 1891 representative members of the Baptist Church met in conference at Philadelphia and put forth over their signatures a document which was sent broadcast among the Baptist churches entitled "A General Basis of Organization," whose preamble reads as follows: "The undersigned, cognizant of the fact that there is a widespread desire for a more thorough organization of the young people of the Baptist churches for indoctrination in distinctive Baptist principles, and instruction in Baptist history; for more effective service in the local

churches; for a better acquaintanceship among our young people; for the better pushing of all mission work—domestic, home and foreign—suggest the following basis of organization." It will be observed that this plan provides for educational features which were not so clearly announced in the preliminary statements of the earlier general societies. This feature was implied in the formal plans of the Epworth League, and has since been made a more pronounced characteristic of its work. Both of these later denominational societies had the advantage of several years' experience in the working of the principles of the Christian Endeavor societies, and so were able to outline organizations that seemed more in harmony with the individual denominational needs. Regular courses of study have been important features in the work of the Baptist societies, and have proved both attractive and helpful. The result of the Philadelphia conference was the organization of the "Baptist Young People's Union," whose relation to local societies is much the same as that of the United Society of Christian Endeavor to its individual chapters. The headquarters of the Baptist Union are also at Chicago, and its official organ is "The Baptist Union." The watchword of the union is "Loyalty to Christ."

The Episcopal Church has never affiliated with the Evangelical churches, and so was without the range of the influence of the Christian Endeavor movement. It could hardly happen, however, that a church which manifests so much interest in young men, especially in the cities, should fail to be influenced by the spirit of organization that was everywhere in the atmosphere. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that in October, 1886, the representatives of twenty local societies that had been formed in as many parishes, in different regions, met in Chicago and organized a general "Brotherhood of St. Andrew." This brotherhood has developed from a loosely tied band of church guilds into an order of laymen in the Protestant Episcopal Church, divided, for local work and administration, into parochial chapters. As might be expected, this organization is much more conservative in its activities than any of the other societies that have been described, and rather discourages the establishment of new chapters until the evident need has become manifest. It has, however, had a steady growth, and now has a membership of about 20,000. The headquarters of the Brotherhood are in New York city, where the official organ, "The St. Andrew's Cross" is published. There are two Brotherhood badges; one, a St. Andrew's cross of gold and red enamel, and the other a black silk button with a red St. Andrew's cross woven on its face.

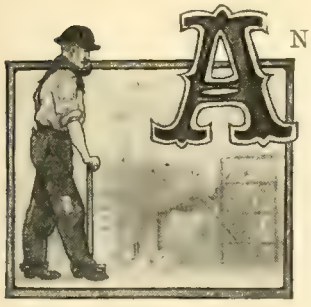
This brief description of the aims and purposes of the leading organizations of young people within the churches will give a general idea of the magnitude of the movement. That it has worked mightily in stimulating an interest in religious work can hardly be doubted. Enthusiasm is contagious, but its heat can only be maintained in a social atmosphere. For many years the Young Men's Christian Associations had centred the interest of the young men, at least, outside the churches, necessarily weakening their power for good. The various organizations described above, however, have all tended to revive the love of all the young people for their individual church homes, which has served in a marked way to quicken the religious activities of such churches and enrich their social life. No imagination can picture the possible effects of the more or less close union of eight or ten million youths inspired with a common purpose and a common hope; and though all the ideals set up may not be realized, it is a happy prophecy for the uplifting of all peoples that such a potent influence looks toward righteousness and social betterment alone.

XLI.

THE FEDERATION OF LABOR — LABOR ORGANIZATIONS — 1881.

Ideal Relation of Capital and Labor.— Actual Conditions.— Labor of Earliest Historical Times.— Origin of Slavery.— Conditions in Greece and Rome.— Change from Slavery to Serfdom.— Gradual Acquisition of Rights of Freemen by Serfs. - Influence of Wyclif and His Itinerant Preachers.— Conditions in England in Eighteenth Century.— Unions of Laboring Men Organized.— Early Labor Situation in United States.— First Organizations and Their Weakness.— Individual Versus Collective Bargaining.— The Weakness of the Labor Unit.— John Mitchell's Description of the Trade Union and Its Purposes.— Flexibility of Union Organizations.— The Knights of Labor.— "That is the Most Perfect Government in Which Injury to One is the Concern of All."— The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada.— Importance of Federative Principle.— General Position of Unions as to Strikes and Boycotts.— Evil Results to All Unions of Political Alliances.— Present Status of Federation of Labor; 1,500,000 Paying Members.— Organization of Employers' Unions.— "The Citizens' Industrial Association of America."— Statement of Its Principles.— Reactionary Position of Its Leaders.— "Labor Has No Rights Capital is Bound to Respect."— The Twentieth Century Spirit Will Not Tolerate Reactionary Measures.— The Rights of All, Labor, Capital, and the Public Must be Considered.—"No Man Liveth to Himself Alone."— End to be Aimed at is Peace.

"When labor quarrels with capital, or capital neglects the interests of labor, it is like the hand thinking it does not need the eye, the ear, or the brain."— JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.



AN Oriental legend tells of a species of birds of great size and strength, whose natural habitat was the clear air of the loftiest mountains and the invigorating atmosphere of the highest heavens. Yet they were so formed that by union alone could they rise. The male bird was equipped with a powerful right wing; but in the place of a wing on the left side, he had only a hook-like joint. Conversely the female bird had a strong wing on the left side, while from her right side protruded a joint prepared to fit that on the left side of her male companion. United they could soar to the loftiest heights, and revel in the most luxurious airs; separated, they floundered and groveled in forest and in swamps,—"useless each, without the other." It would seem difficult to illustrate better the relations that should exist between labor and capital. Yet from the dawn of history to this year of our Lord, 1909, one has refused to recognize the power of friendly union by which the greatest good for both could be attained; and yielding willing submission to those birth-marks of the bestial nature of the race,— Greed and Avarice,— long and weary centuries of injustice, mutual hostility, and angry defiance have been endured, until

to-day, as all through the ages, these giant forces that, working in harmony, should make for civilization and righteousness, are drawn up in antagonistic lines, under hostile banners, moving toward the most deplorable crises, unless mutual concession and wise legislation shall lead them to see the power for their own good and for that of all mankind that lies in their cordial union.

Students of the life of primitive men agree that as far back as our evidence goes the individual was an independent unit in all his relations. He supported himself and female associate and their offspring by hunting and fishing, while the woman in a crude way reared the children, prepared their food, and fastened together the skins for clothing. Later, as individuals allied themselves together in families, or village communities, or tribes, the stronger unions began to prey upon the weaker, and war became common. The family or tribe that conquered its neighbors at first merely seized upon their cattle or war implements, and killed off all the members of the conquered tribe. But as the wealth of those stronger tribes or families increased they began to realize that it would be a much better business proposition to make prisoners of their conquered foes, and let the captives do all their work while they enjoyed the spoils of victory. And thus slavery arose, the natural and immediate result of war, and its ethical principle that "Might makes Right." But it is essential to note that whatever had been their previous relations, as the custom grew up of enslaving the conquered instead of killing them off, the conquerors came to place the captive in exactly the same category as the herds, or the spears and shields, which they had formerly brought home as the spoils of war,—simply as so much property. The captive ceased to be a man, a worthy foe or useful ally; he became a thing, a useful tool, and was classed with the other chattels. As wars became more common, and certain tribes developed into powerful nations, the number of slaves rapidly increased. With this increase grew up the idea that it was ignoble for one of the conquering tribe or nation to perform any kind of labor, even of the most personal or trivial character; that was left to the slaves. So that in the days of the glory of Greece and of Rome we are hardly surprised to find that all the philosophy of their learned men and the theories of their statesmen are based upon the absolute inequality of the few and the many. With Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Cato, the slave is such by nature; slavery is a political necessity,—since no one who labors in any way could be fit for citizenship. In order to have free citizens to rule the State, there must be slaves to support them in idleness. How often have our pulses throbbed more quickly and our enthusiasm been fired as poets and orators have sung and declaimed of the glorious liberties of Athens, and the high character of Athenian political life during the golden days of the city's history! But we are seldom reminded of the fact that these statesmen and philosophers, these men who "spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing," were a most inconsiderable part of the total population of the city, probably not at any time over thirty thousand men, while an aggregate of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty thousand slaves supported them in this idleness. What slavery was in Rome after the great conquests, and what its influence was upon the people has been repeatedly told us by historians. But the significant fact for our present purpose is that all through these ages there were just two distinctly antagonistic classes,—the idle, who could own or hire slaves to do their work, and the slaves or laborers who maintained their masters in idleness. While Rome was tottering toward her fall a new and life-giving element was injected into the situation, and that was the simple teachings of Christianity. The distinguished German historian and theologian, Harnack, has summed up the whole revelation of Jesus under two heads: (1) The Fatherhood of God, and its corollary, the brotherhood of man; and (2) the infinite

value of the human soul. And the history of the last eighteen centuries has fully demonstrated that whenever the full import of this revelation has been grasped by any people, slavery and every form of tyranny has been doomed. As a result of the Christian Spirit and of the Teutonic invasions and conquests the rigors of slavery were greatly mitigated throughout Europe, and the status of the laborer was materially raised. Everywhere serfdom succeeded to slavery. Under its laws the master has no right of ownership in, nor of life and death over, his subject man, but the latter has become attached to the soil. He has gained a larger measure of personal freedom, but still is far from being a free man. "The owner of the land," as a historian has said, "could not sell them (the serfs) nor drive them from their homes, nor could they, on the other hand, run away; if they did, the master could bring them back. Generally they were required to pay him a portion, fixed by law, of the product of the land which had been assigned to them; and they owed to him also a certain yearly amount of labor upon the land which he kept for his own purposes. The rent dues and the labor dues could not be increased by the master. *Adscripti Glebae,* these laborers were called; they were tenants registered by the state, and fastened forever to the same spot of earth; for them there was no freedom of movement and no choice of occupation. The serf could not marry a wife who belonged on another estate; his children were tethered to the same soil. The title of the property might pass from owner to owner, but the serf remained. Lords might come and lords might go, but he stayed on forever." This description, of course, applies directly to agricultural communities; but similar relations existed in the cities. Most laborers were in some way attached to a Master, as menials or retainers. This status of serfdom obtained in Europe from the fourth or fifth century of our era down to varying periods in different countries from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. For most of the countries it was undermined or swept away by the French Revolution; in Russia it was abolished by imperial edict in 1861. In England, however, its decline dated from the preaching of Wyclif's itinerant priests, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, who circulated his little tracts consisting of translations from the Latin Bible into the new English tongue of the great truths of the brotherhood of men. "Wyclif's poor priests," says Thorold Rogers, in his 'Six Centuries of Work and Wages,' "had honeycombed the minds of the upland folk with what may be called religious socialism. By Wyclif's labors the Bible men had been introduced to the New World of the Old Testament, to the history of the human race, to the primeval garden and the young world, where the first parents of all mankind lived by simple toil, and were the ancestors of the proud noble and knight, as well as the down-trodden serf and despised burgher. They read of the brave time when there was no King in Israel, when every man did what was right in his own eyes, and sat under his own vine and fig tree, none daring to make him afraid." And Wyclif's disciple, John Ball, the "mad priest of Kent," as he was called, preached: "Good people, things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villeins (serfs) and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call Lords greater folk than we? On what grounds have they deserved it? Why do they hold us in serfdom? If we all came of the same father and mother, of Adam and Eve, how can they say that they are better than we, if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend on their pride? They are clothed in velvet and warm in their furs and ermines, while we are covered with rags. They have wine, and spices, and fair bread, and we eat oat-cake and straw, and water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses, we have pain and labor, the rain and the wind, in the fields. And yet it is of us and of our toil that these men hold their state." A troublesome

leaven this to have working in the dough of Feudalism!

Of course, too, the religious reformation of the sixteenth century did much to elevate the status of the serf, and the slow but sure abolition of the restraints of serfdom upon the rights of the masses of the people was a natural result. Freedom of action, freedom of contract, and the rights to secure and hold property were gradually acquired. Thus in the slow grinding of the "Mills of God" centuries of slavery gave place to other centuries of serfdom,—a distinct step upward, and bearing the seed of a better harvest; and after centuries of serfdom, the labor questions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries all unfolded, but with the parties to them each recognized as men, with equal rights before the law to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Such, in brief, has been the evolution of the Labor problem. From slavery to complete legal independence is a far reach; and though the higher status has been attained only after and through the unspeakable suffering, misery, and wretchedness of untold millions of men, women, and children, yet the orderly development promises that even present conditions are but transitory, and that brighter days and more equal privileges are before all God's children, as surely as the brightness of dawn follows the darkest hours of the night.

Our space does not admit of any detailed reference to the mediæval guilds, which played no unimportant part in the abolition of serfdom and the determination of the rights of man, as man. Their influence was, however, powerful chiefly on the Continent, and affected the development of labor questions in England and the United States only indirectly. But as we review the whole period, covering more than four thousand years of recorded history, the sad spectacle is everywhere presented of mankind ranged in two hostile lines, the few ever exploiting the many; and one cannot fail to observe that all through the ages no point or advantage has ever voluntarily been yielded to the weak by the strong, but that every advance has been gained in the teeth of the bitterest opposition, through force or fear. The great capitalist of to-day is a more interesting and pleasing person to contemplate than the gluttonous, drunken, bestial owner of thousands of slaves in the days of Nero; but the same contemptuous indifference to the conditions and privileges of the many has characterized the policy of both. Greed, avarice, lust of possession are jealous masters, and quickly strangle any better sentiments in those who have once submitted themselves to their brutalizing rule.

Modern labor organizations, that is, distinctly *labor* organizations, are the outgrowth of the great industrial revolution which began about the middle of the eighteenth century, and whose end no man can foresee. Then came in rapid succession the great discoveries and inventions that revolutionized every phase of production and distribution. Great factories sprang up in certain centers, which drew the working people from rural communities and massed them in towns. The change was attended with the most acute misery, and "man's inhumanity to man" was never more forcibly illustrated. It would be well for every critic of labor organizations to read the detailed statement of the conditions that resulted from the unrestrained action of so-called economic laws, as they are recorded in the writings of students of this period. And it was not until the wholesale mortality among factory and mining operatives and the threatened extinction of a large class of English laborers forced upon Parliament a consideration of the existing conditions, that the country at large awoke to the horrors of the situation. Nowhere in the history of the treatment of slaves is there such a record of brutal, selfish greed coining money out of the very life-blood of human beings. It was a terrible experience, but it demonstrated one fact beyond question, and that was, that through combinations of laborers alone could any relief be obtained; and it was under such conditions that labor organizations first came into

existence in Great Britain, during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

As the factory system developed in the United States, too, and mines were opened, similar forces began at once to operate. Happily here the vast area of undeveloped country, and the many openings for labor, tended to mitigate the evils that bore so heavily upon laborers in Great Britain; but the same tendencies and principles were operative here as there, and the laboring men early realized that through union alone could they secure any just and adequate return for their work. It was not, however, until toward the middle of the nineteenth century that tendencies toward the union of independent and local organizations began to manifest themselves. The first quarter of that century has been called the "germinal period," during which mention of labor organizations becomes more and more frequent, though there is no well-defined movement. The quarter of a century from 1825 to 1850 was a period of intellectual and political ferment all over Europe, as well as in the United States. Then flourished the Transcendental Movement and the attempts at the practical application of the new theories of Communism and Socialism. Reform was in the air. The determined opposition to the advance of the slave power in the South was constantly growing, and the equal rights of all men were being heralded. This widespread phase of thought and action could not fail to have its effect upon the laboring men; and the immediate result was the formation of a large number of loosely organized, semi-political societies, to whose membership unskilled laborers, women, farmers, and many employers were admitted. The most typical of these organizations were perhaps the New England Workingmen's Association, the New England Protective Union, and the Industrial Congress of the United States. These Associations, which were closely allied in their form and purposes, were organized between 1840 and 1850, died early deaths, and achieved little of value to anyone. Their mistakes, however, showed clearly to later organizations what must be avoided. These pioneer, indiscriminately mixed, associations dissipated all their energies in championing women's rights, the nationalization of land, and the abolition of slavery; and with their failure ended the attempts to establish organizations upon enthusiasm, altruism, and general social discontent. Practical men saw the necessity of careful, systematic organization upon business principles, with clearly defined purposes in view, the achievement of which should be the sole aim of the society. The first of the distinctively national labor organizations was the International Typographical Union, which was organized in 1850. The next fifteen years was a period of nationalization; and by 1866 from thirty to forty national and international Trade Unions were in existence, some of them numbering their membership by tens of thousands.

As popular notions as to Trade Unions are somewhat vague it would be well at once to get a clear idea of what such an organization is and what are its aims. It will, we think, be generally conceded that no one is better fitted than John Mitchell to state the Union's case, and we shall quote from his work entitled "Organized Labor." "In its fundamental principle trade unionism is plain and clear and simple. Trade Unionism starts from the recognition of the fact that under normal conditions the individual, unorganized workman cannot bargain advantageously with the employer for the sale of his labor. Since the workingman has no money in reserve and must sell his labor immediately; since, moreover, he has no knowledge of the market and no skill in bargaining; since, finally, he has only his own labor to sell, while the employer engages hundreds or thousands of men and can easily do without the services of any particular individual, the workingman, if bargaining on his own account and for himself alone, is at an enormous disadvantage. Trade Unionism recognizes the fact that under such conditions labor becomes more and more degenerate, because the labor which the workman sells is, un-

like other commodities, a thing which is of his very life and soul and being. In the individual contract between a rich employer and a poor workman, the laborer

Copyright 1903 by J. E. Purdy, Boston.

JOHN MITCHELL.

will secure the worst of it; he is progressively debased, because of wages insufficient to buy nourishing food, because of hours of labor too long to permit sufficient rest, because of conditions of work destructive of moral, mental, and physical health, and degrading and annihilating to the laboring classes of the present and the future; and, finally, because of danger from accident and disease, which kill off the workingman or prematurely age him. The 'individual bargain,' or 'individual contract,' between employers and men means that the condition of the worst and lowest man in the industry will be that which the best man must accept. From first to last, from beginning to end, always and everywhere, trade unionism stands unalterably opposed to the individual contract. *There can be no concession or yielding upon this point. There can be no permanent prosperity to the working classes, no real and lasting progress, no consecutive improvement in conditions, until the principle is firmly and fully established, that in industrial life, especially in enterprises on a large scale, the settlement of wages, hours of labor, and all conditions of work, must be made between employers and workingmen collectively, and not between the employers and workingmen individually."*

American Unions are either local, district, national, or international. Local Unions ordinarily represent members of single trades who live and work in the same city or small community. The National Union, as its name implies, covers the various states and localities where the members work at a particular trade; and the District Organization is a subdivision of a National Union, exercising supervision over the locals in a particular state; it is chartered by and subordinate to the National. International Societies are so called because they include Canadian or Mexican Unions; not because of affiliation of American National Organizations with those of Europe or other parts of the world. Historically it is unquestionably true that the local union is the father of the National Union; yet it is equally true that by far the greater majority of the local unions have been formed by the National Organization. Naturally these local bodies are extremely democratic in their forms of government, and are usually composed of men working at the same trade, of about equal wages and position in the community, and so connected closely by ties of personal acquaintance. The government of a trade union is a government of workingmen, for workingmen, by workingmen, and the framers of its constitution have been workingmen. Though the supreme law of the Union has not been formulated by highly paid constitutional lawyers, yet it represents in a clear and definite manner the ideals, purposes, and aims of the great majority of the members of the organization; and the faithfulness with which trade union constitutions rep-

resent trade union sentiment is due to the elasticity of those constitutions. The government of trade unions is loose and flexible. The object of the leaders, as of the rank and file of trade unionists, has been to preserve the largest possible elasticity and freedom of movement to the ruling majority of the organization. The formal written constitution of a Trade Union is rather a statement of principles and a formulation of the present policy of the Union than a hard and fast determination of its future laws.

As has been emphatically stated, the first, last, and all-important principle of all union organizations is that of collective bargaining, which undertakes to secure adequate or reasonable wages, hours of labor, etc. There are many other things of only less importance that are distinctive features of all labor organizations, such as insurance,—old age and death; sick benefit funds; out-of-work provisions, etc.; all of which are recognized and provided for in the make up of the total annual payment of each member of the Union; and Unions have often been severely criticised by their alleged friends for the occasional use of pension or insurance funds to maintain an important strike. But with the explicit statement made by all Unions that the charitable features must always be held in a secondary position to its one imperative purpose to maintain wages, secure better hours of labor, etc., it is difficult to see with what justice such criticism is advanced. It is certainly puerile, and would never be set up in opposition to any similar act on the part of capital. Every advantage that the Unions have gained, either in the way of increased wages, better hours of labor, improved conditions under which the work shall be done, increased responsibility of the employer in case of accident, —all of these gains have been made through absolute adherence to one principle, and they never could have been gained otherwise. Altruism in commercialism is an absolutely idle dream; and, as we have said before, the saddest position one is forced to take in studying the whole subject of the rise of the laborer from slave to Union man is that never by grace of the consideration or courtesy of employers has a point been gained. Every step has been won in weakness, suffering, under ridicule and stringent penal laws, by persistent, self-forgetful, determined, aggressive action. And it would indeed seem strange if, after generations of experience the laboring men had evolved one principle of absolutely basic character in their movements,—a veritable "big stick" potent to secure "square deals,"—they should hesitate to use it to its utmost power because of any puling sentiment as to the ethics of their insurance or pension funds.

Previous to the civil war in the United States there were no successful attempts made to form alliances among national trade unions. Labor federations, when they existed, were local in character. Thus the General Trades Union of the City of New York, organized in 1833, was a federation of the Unions of that City. On January 8, 1834, The General Trades Union of Boston was organized on the same general lines, and shortly after similar organizations appeared in Philadelphia and Baltimore. In 1866 representatives of organized labor assembled at Baltimore and formed the National Labor Union, the chief declared aim of which was to secure the establishment of the eight-hour working day. This organization held national conventions in 1867 and 1868, and seemed to possess elements of vitality. But too active participation in the political campaigns of 1868 and 1872 created internal dissensions that proved fatal to its continued existence. The general industrial depression of the early "seventies" forced very many Unions to disband. They had been organized on the basis of low dues and light benefits, and hard times found them without any resources for the emergency. But with the later industrial revival, the labor world again looked toward organization along broader and stronger lines than before. The experiences of the Unions dur-

ing the depression had shown the need of strong *inter-trade alliances*, supplementary to the local and national trade Unions then existing.

This need the Knights of Labor undertook to supply. This, the first successful National Union of Laborers in the United States, had its origin in a local union or assembly of Garment Cutters, formed in Philadelphia in 1869. With increase in the number of local assemblies, demand arose for a body which should represent all the local unions in a certain district. This was the origin of the "District Assembly No. 1," others being formed as fast as the number of local assemblies in a new field warranted union in a District Assembly. On August 2, 1877, a circular from "District Assembly No. 1" was sent to all officers and members of Knights of Labor, notifying them of a convention to be held in Reading, Pa., on January 1, 1878, for the purpose of forming a "General Assembly," and establishing a general assistance fund, a bureau of statistics, and

URIAH S. STEPHENS,
Founder of the Knights of Labor.

a system of revenue to aid in the work of organization. This resulted in the "General Assembly of the Knights of Labor of North America." Full and final jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to local and district assemblies "was given to the General Assembly, while each District Assembly was given power to decide all appeals and settle all controversies within or between local assemblies." Many principles of this Order, as enunciated in its constitution, were of the most advanced and ennobling character. Though it was during its supremacy in the labor world that the earliest and fiercest of the great national strikes occurred, yet, as a body, it officially discouraged strikes and boycotts, urging that the main reliance of the Order should be placed on political action, co-operation, and education. Back of its educational policy was the theory that mechanical inventions were making the skilled trades increasingly dependent upon the lower grades of unskilled labor, and that, consequently, the laboring classes must be elevated *en masse* or not at all, —taking for its official motto the sentiment, "That is the most perfect government in which an injury to one is the concern of all." The year 1886 was the banner year of the Knights, when they reported at their Convention upwards of 600,000 members of the different local and district assemblies. But the mistake was again made of engaging too actively in national politics: and the autocratic form of government of the supreme body was not in harmony with the best ideas of the time. Consequently when, in 1881, "The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada" was formed, the Knights could not long resist the influence of the *federative* idea, which has proved the most potent principle in the history of labor organizations. In organization The Federation is the very antithesis of that of the Knights of Labor. In structure it is a confederation, dealing with Unions or local federations whenever possible, carefully refraining from the slightest infraction of the autonomy of the constituent unions, and confining itself to those objects which are of vital importance to all labor organizations in common,—such as the maintenance of a labor press, the pas-

sage of favorable labor legislation, the amicable settlement of disputes between unions, the more extended use of the union label and the "unfair" list, and, most important of all, the complete organization along trade lines of the entire body of wage earners. Perhaps the greatest element of its strength, however, may be found in its basic principle, persistently and consistently adhered to, that partisan politics shall in every way, and on all occasions, be absolutely eschewed.

The Federation of Labor has recently taken important part in many questions of national importance, and is constantly gaining in strength, having now a membership of close to one and a half million men actually paying dues. As John Mitchell has said: "The American Federation is the sovereign organization in the trade union world, and represents the apex of a pyramid, the foundation of which consists of one hundred and twelve national unions, and many thousands of local organizations. The steady, and, at times rapid, growth of the Federation has resulted from its adoption of a wise, conservative policy, and from its adherence to the interests and purposes for which it was instituted. The object of the Federation has been, and still is, to foster and encourage the formation of local and national organizations, to secure the institution of local and state central bodies, to establish friendly feelings between the various national and international organizations though without destroying their autonomy and self-government, and to encourage and promote the labor press of the country, as well as the use of union label goods."

Naturally a great number of Employers' Associations and Unions have also been formed to present a united front to the demands and movements of the laboring men. These have assumed a great variety of forms and characters, some embracing all the employers of labor in the same line in the same state, or a union of employers of allied interests,—as of all connected with the building interests, etc. The most formidable organization of this kind, however, both because of its strength and its confessedly reactionary character, is the "Citizens' Industrial Association of America." This Association was organ-

Copyright 1903 *by J. E. Purdy, Boston.*

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

ized at a convention of representatives from all employers' associations which met at Chicago, October 29, 1903, to which more than one hundred and fifty organizations,—local, state, and national, sent delegates. At a meeting of the Executive Committee on December 3, 1903, the following were adopted as the principles of the Federation: "(1) No dealings with walking delegates; (2) The open shop; (3) No sympathetic strikes; (4) No restriction in the number of apprentices; (5) No restriction of output; (6) The full enforcement of the law." While these principles are not, perhaps, more hostile to labor unions than one would expect, it is the commentary on them, as expressed in the addresses of leading officers of the organizations at their various conventions, that manifests the real animus of the members of the Association. On these

occasions the fiercest expression has been given to the most hostile feelings toward any such modern ideas as the "rights of labor." In the eye of the Citizens' Industrial Association labor neither has nor can have any rights which capital is bound to respect. As one of the most conservative students of the movement has said: "Nothing less than the entire destruction of the power of the Unions, whether the exercise of that power be legitimate or not, can fulfill the purpose of these militant associations. They refuse to recognize the generally conceded right of Unions to exist in the present industrial régime, and deny that Unions have a legitimate function." The great wealth that this organization has at its command and the resultant ability to influence legislation all through the country and to practically control the press, will tend to make more difficult the long desired consummation of industrial peace. But that is all! Too great advances in that direction have already been made for such selfish opposition to be of permanent influence. Already the "small cloud" has appeared on the horizon which is yet destined to determine industrial development. "No man liveth to himself alone" is as true in commercial affairs as in social or moral; and it is in the establishment of this principle that relief will yet come. Nothing that anyone possesses, whether it is wealth, interest, strength,—is his to do with as he pleases; but every possession or accomplishment is to be held and used with due regard to the rights—legal and moral—of all other men. Already this truth has been feebly voiced in important crises, as in the assertion of the rights of third parties in the case of great strikes, like that of the Anthracite Coal Miners; and it is bound to be heard more and more frequently and imperatively in the years to come.

We feel that we cannot better close this brief review of the industrial situation and the labor movements, than by quoting the words with which the Rev. Washington Gladden closed a lecture on a like subject. "The labor question of to-day," he said, "when we get at the heart of it, is simply this: What can be done to bring Employer and Employed together upon a basis of genuine good will; to make them friends, comrades, helpers of one another? This is the labor question of the twentieth century, and it is the question which the twentieth century must answer. I am not sure that the answer can be put into the terms of the wage-system; I rather doubt it. I think that some kind of co-operation will have to be found by which the interests of the men who direct the work and the men who do the work will be more perfectly and more consciously identified. *But the answer must be found and it must be an answer of peace.* We are not going to solve the labor question by gathering men into mighty armies and setting them to fighting one another; that is simply madness. All war is madness; it is the climax of unreason. Brutes and savages know no better than to fight; for men, for the men of the twentieth century after Christ, it is not only wicked, it is absurd. The time is near when these industrial wars will appear to be as senseless, as monstrous, as the 'wager of battle' and 'the ordeal' by which disputes were settled in the Dark Ages. *The answer must be peace.* Among men of good will there can be no other answer. And there is no permanent place upon this planet for any other kind of men. Men of ill will are not wanted here. They do not fit into the nature of things; they do not make sense; they make confusion, discord, chaos; they must go. O bells of the New Year, of the New Century, ring them out! ring them out! Ring out the churl, the egoist, the sect-man, the party man, the class-man! Ring them out from church, and school, and council chamber, and capitol, from office and counting room and shop and factory!

"'Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand;
Ring out the darkness of the land,
Ring in the Christ that is to be.'"

XLII.

THE REVISION OF THE BIBLE — 1885.

The Bible of the Apostles.— The Jewish Scriptures.—A Library of Law, Prophecy, Philosophy, and Poetry.— Rise and Importance of the Synagogues.— Manner in Which the Scriptures Were Kept.— The Rolls.— Papyrus and Methods of Writing.— The Septuagint.— Libraries of the Early Christian Churches.— Three Great Sources of Our Bible.— Remarkable Work of Dr. Tischendorf.— The Old Latin Bible.— St. Jerome's Revision.— The Accepted Vulgate. — Caedmon's Paraphrases and Bede's Translations.— King Alfred's Dooms — Translation from Saxon to Modern English. Effects of the Norman Invasion of England.— Influence of Bible on the Rise of Intellectual and Civil Liberty.— The Black Death.— Wyclif's Translation of the Bible.— Purvey's Revision.— The Invention of Printing.— First Printed Book, the Mazarin Bible.— Luther and His Translation of the Bible.— Intellectual and Religious Conditions in the Church at Close of Fifteenth Century.— Tyndale and His Translation of Bible.— First Division into Chapters.— Final Revision in 1534.— Coverdale's, Matthew's, and Taverner's Bibles.— The "Great Bible."— Influence of Bible upon English People and Language.— Green's Estimate.— The Geneva, or "Breeches," Bible.— First Division of Chapters into Verses, and First Use of Modern Type.— The Bishop's Bible.— Accession of King James and His Character.— The King James, or Authorized, Version of 1611.— The Geneva a Strong Competitor.— Reasons for another Revision.— Wonderful Increase of Texts and Documents Unknown to Revisers of 1611.— Character of Revision Committee and Methods of Work.— Three Million Copies Revised New Testament Sold in One Year.— Work of American Revision Committee.— The American Revised Bible of 1901. — Many Notable Opinions Regarding the Bible.— "In this Book is Contained All the Wisdom of the World."

"Here he expressed a wish that I should read to him, and when asked from what book, he said 'Need you ask? There is but one.'"— Lockhart's Life of Scott.

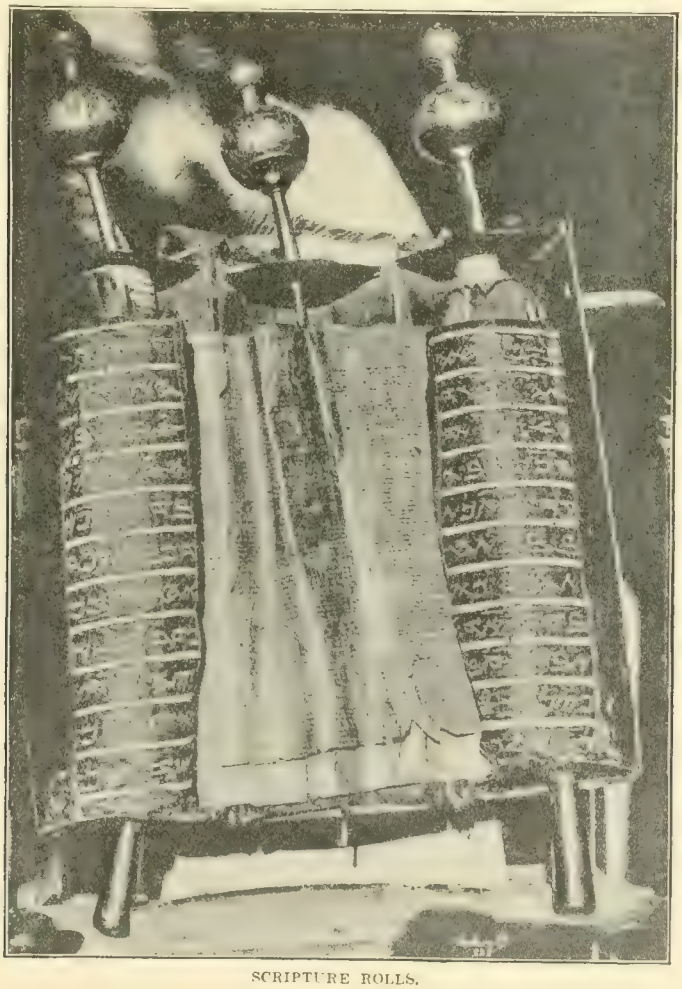
O long have English-speaking peoples been accustomed to a Bible in a single volume, and to regard it as one book, made up of a series of more or less closely connected parts, following each other in an established order, that comparatively few persons realize that our Scriptures have ever existed in any other forms, or that our so-called Authorized Version is itself the result of a great number of previous revisions. In his recent work, the "Canon and Text of the New Testament," Professor Caspar René Gregory, of the University of Leipzig, says: "As a general rule the mass of people take things as they are. They are also likely to think, or at least to go on the supposition, that things have always been as they are now. They can buy a New Testament, a nicely bound one, for a mere trifle. It rarely occurs to them that six centuries ago that would not have been possible. Perhaps there are men who would be surprised to learn that Paul, and

even Peter and John and James, did not each carry a little New Testament in his girdle." And Bishop Wordsworth tells of the curate who, while public feeling was deeply stirred over a proposed revision, that of 1880, declared that "if the authorized version was good enough for St. Paul, it was good enough for him." But Jesus and his immediate followers knew no Bible literature save the Hebrew writings which constitute our Old Testament and the Apocrypha; and when the Master bade the Jews "Search the Scriptures," it was to those writings alone that he referred them. It is equally true, of course, that neither Paul nor Peter ever saw or heard of one of our gospels; and their own letters, with the Epistle of James, were the only books of our New Testament that had been written up to the time of their martyrdom. It was not until the fourth century after Christ that the books constituting our Old and New Testaments were brought together in one volume; and it was a thousand years later before such a combination of the Hebrew and Christian sacred books became common,—each of the individual books still circulating and being read, copied, and revised, independently of any of the others. The Old Testament was the "library" of the Jews, as it, with the writings of the Apostles, became the "library" of the early church and Christians,—a library consisting of separate books, or rolls, of history, law, prophecy, philosophy, and letters.

We are prone to forget that Jesus and his disciples were Jews and remained to the end of their lives regular attendants upon the services of the Jewish synagogues. Without exception, too, Paul on his missionary journeyings undertook first to preach his new Gospel of a Risen Christ to the Jews and in the Jewish synagogues of every place he visited; and it was only when he and his teachings were rejected by the Jews in their synagogues, that he established his separate Gentile and Christian churches. It is, then, to the Jewish synagogues that we naturally turn to learn of the form and character of the earliest books, upon which a large part of our Bible has been built up. The synagogue, as an important factor in Jewish life, only goes back to the destruction of the Temple, and the captivity in Babylon, in the sixth century before Christ. From that time on the Jews became more dispersed over the civilized world, and at the time of Christ there was hardly a city or town of any size or importance where a synagogue would not be found. Separated as the people were from the fountain of their national life, and from their Temple worship, the local synagogue stood in the place of both, and was the center of all the religious, educational, and social life and activity of each exiled community. In those little Jerusalems the Jew was ever reminded of the greater city of his God; and here all the great events of the Hebrew national life were rehearsed, the law studied and taught, and the prophets searched for the signs of His coming who should restore to the nation its former glory, and redeem its people. In those worshiping groups, far from their home-land, perhaps, and possibly few in numbers, we may almost hear the oft-repeated lament of their fathers in exile, —"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea we wept when we remembered Zion;" while the pious vow was oft repeated: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning; if I do not remember thee, let the tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy."

Each synagogue had a ruler who directed the general affairs of the religious body, and an attendant, or Chazzam, who looked after the church property and building, and had charge of its sacred books. These were kept in a "press," or chest, usually in a separate corner of the audience room, and the chest was generally hidden from public view by a curtain. It corresponded to the *Ark of the Covenant*, which contained the law in the great Temple at Jerusalem. When the service was opened, it was the duty of the "Chazzam" to hand to the reader the roll containing the lessons of the day from

the law and from the prophets; and after the reading of each, the leader handed back each roll to the "Chazzam," who, after rolling it up behind the curtain, returned it to its proper division in the chest library. In Luke iv:16, and following verses, we read that Jesus "came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and, as his custom was, he went to the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him (from the chest) the book of the prophet Esaias . . . and he closed the book and gave it again to the minister." Had we followed the minister as he went behind the curtain to return the roll to its proper place, and with his permission, perhaps, examined the chest, we should have found that it was separated into three main compartments,—one each for the law, for the historical books (among which were included some of the prophets), and for the "writings," as they were generally called, or *Hagiographa*, covering the poetical works, the wisdom books, and the remainder of the prophets. Examining any one of the rolls, we should have found it mounted at the end upon a wooden roller, or if the congregation was an important and wealthy one, upon two rollers, made probably of more costly material and, perhaps, with considerable ornamentation. Opening one of the rolls to examine it, we should see that the matter was written by hand upon a rather stiff and somewhat brittle material



SCRIPTURE ROLLS.

known as "papyrus." Printing and paper were yet centuries away. This material was made from the pith of the stem of the papyrus plant, which grew along the banks of the Nile in Egypt, although it was found in small quantities in some other places. Of course the strips that could be secured by cutting through the pith would necessarily be narrow; but a sufficient number of these strips were laid edge to edge horizontally until the desired width of a roll was reached. Then a thin paste was spread over this surface and a like number of vertical strips were laid over the others. The whole sheet was then pressed and dried, after which the surfaces were smoothed with pumice stone. Several of these sheets were pasted together to make a roll long enough to contain the matter one wished to write out. The longest roll known is Egyptian, and measures one hundred and forty-four feet; but the usual extreme length of Greek rolls was about thirty feet. The height, or width, varied from five to fifteen inches. Of course this material was costly, and various economies, such as running words and sentences together and the contraction of words, were exercised in its use; and sometimes, though not often, the scribe would write upon the reverse side as well as on the front, if his sheet was not long enough,—as is mentioned in Ezekiel xi:10, where a "roll of a book" was spread before the prophet "*written without and within.*" Having prepared his papyrus of the right dimensions the scribe would commence to write his matter on the extreme left of his long sheet,—unless it was Hebrew,—arranging it on the papyrus in columns of from two to three and a half inches in width, which was considered the best literary form, though of course if the matter was poetry the length of the line determined the width of the column. Reed pens were used, and ink, for the making of which there were several well-known formulae. Having carefully written out the entire matter which he was copying, as for example, the roll of the prophet Isaiah, the scribe would attach the end section or right edge of his sheet to a roller, over which the whole manuscript would be wound. So that when Jesus, as referred to above, was handed the "roll of the prophet Esaias," he commenced unrolling from right to left until he came to the passage he wished to speak upon, or the lesson for the day. As the papyrus was easily broken, however, and became more brittle with age, the double roll became the more common; and in using it, the reader simply unrolled from the right roller on to the left as he went along. On the back of the roll a thin strip of papyrus was pasted which bore the title of the work.

The older and original manuscripts of the Jewish sacred books were written in Hebrew; but in the greater number of the churches of the dispersion, that is, of the exiled Jews, the Septuagint translation of these books was used. This is one of the great basic versions for all later revisions, it being a complete translation of all the Jewish Scriptures into Greek, and derives its name from the fact that the translation was attributed to seventy of the most learned Jewish Rabbis. One of the most familiar legends regarding this translation is that Ptolemy Phidadelphus sent to the Jews of Jerusalem for a Greek version of their Scriptures for his great library at Alexandria. Accordingly, seventy elders skilled in the Scriptures and in languages were sent to him, whom he separated in seventy different cells while they were prosecuting their work. When all had completed their translations and appeared before the King, "God was glorified," as the legend recites, "for they all agreed exactly, word for word." The generally accepted theory is that the work was done by learned Alexandrian Jews at different periods during the third and second centuries before Christ. This Septuagint version is of especial interest to us because it was the form of the Jewish Scriptures with which Jesus and the early Christians were familiar; and the slight difference between their quotations from those Scriptures and the form with which

we are familiar in the authorized version is accounted for by the fact that the Old Testament of that version was another translation from the original Hebrew, and not from the Septuagint, which Jesus and his followers used.

Within one hundred years after the Ascension of Christ the Christians throughout Western Asia and Southern Europe had separated themselves from the synagogue connection, and had organized their churches and erected their church buildings. If we could have visited one of their more influential churches, say that of Rome, or of Ephesus, or Alexandria, we should still have found, as one of the most important of the church furnishings, the "chest" for the sacred books; and upon looking into it we should have discovered the same rolls which we have described as constituting the library of the synagogues. But in addition to those works we should also have found rolls of nearly all, perhaps all, of the books which now make up our New Testament,—some originals, others copies from originals,—all of which had been written within the century that had passed since the Crucifixion. Not every church for another hundred years yet would have all these new rolls; but one would have one or two gospels, another a different one; nearly all would probably have Paul's four great Epistles,—to the Galatians, Romans, and Corinthians,—as well as the Acts; while some congregations cherished as priceless treasures the Apostle's personal letters to them individually. *But the important fact is that a search through the chests of all the churches at about this period would have revealed to us in the Christian libraries original manuscripts of all the books of our Bible; and that those early manuscripts constitute the only sources from which we have obtained that Bible.* These later manuscripts were all written out by hand in the same manner, and upon the same material, as those which made up the library of the Synagogues, already described. If anyone of these collections had been preserved intact to modern times the work of revisers would be simple and easy; but, unfortunately, the libraries of the early churches —the Christian writings,—were more recklessly destroyed than were the Christians themselves during the persecutions of the first three centuries, with the result that not a single manuscript of any book of the Bible belonging to that period has been preserved. The question, therefore, how we get our Bible, and upon what basis the revisers and translators of different ages have worked, becomes an exceedingly important one.

Taking the position of the learned Revisers of 1880, we should have before us three classes of material to work upon, a very large proportion of which was unknown to the Revisers who produced our Authorized Version, in 1611. This matter has been discovered from time to time, chiefly during the last five hundred years, often in the rubbish heaps of the old monasteries of Europe and Asia, and is now scattered among the great libraries of Europe,—those of the Vatican, of the British Museum, of St. Petersburg, and of Paris, especially, possessing documents of inestimable value. Of this material, the *first class* consists of *Manuscripts*, by which is technically meant copies *in the original language* of the different Scriptures. The *second class* is made up of a great number of ancient *Versions*, a version technically meaning a *translation of the Bible*, or any of its books, *into the languages of early Christendom*. Some of these, like the Syriac, Egyptian, Latin, and Gothic Versions, are very ancient and of supreme importance. The *third class* consists of the writings of the Early Church Fathers, which make an extensive library. These men were generally earnest controversialists, and quoted Scripture so freely that it has been said if all other sources of our Bible were lost, we could recover the greater part of it from their writings alone.

The most important of these three sources is, of course, the Manuscripts, the copies of the *Scriptures* in the *original tongue*. Of these there are now a great number in existence, some of them having

originally been translations of the whole Christian library, that is, of the entire Bible, others of single books or groups, as the Psalter, the Gospels, the Epistles, etc. The manuscripts vary greatly in age and so in value, as it is evident that the nearer in point of time a manuscript belongs to the original text, the nearer will be its approach to a perfect copy. It must be remembered that all copies were made by hand from other copies; and when one considers how difficult it is even to transcribe a page of printed matter *exactly*, it is easy to see that errors must have crept into the successive copies as made, even though the most loving and conscientious effort was made to avoid any mistakes. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons in the second century, wrote as follows on a copy he had made of one of the sacred books: "Whosoever thou art who shalt transcribe this book, I charge thee with an oath by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by His glorious appearing, in which He cometh to judge the quick and the dead, that thou carefully compare what thou hast transcribed, and correct it according to this copy when thou hast transcribed it; and thou transcribe this oath in like manner and place it in thy copy."

Three of these manuscripts, which are nearly complete copies of the whole Bible, go back to the fourth and fifth centuries, and so are the most ancient of the sacred documents, as well as the most priceless treasures of the Christian church. Curiously one of them belongs to each branch of the church,—the Greek, Roman, and Reformed. All of them were before the revisers of 1880, though none of them were known to those of the Authorized Version. The most ancient of these is the "*Vatican Manuscript*," which has lain in the Vatican library for several hundred years, but has been of no use to scholars, as access to it was forbidden until the latter part of the nineteenth century, when Pope Pius IX. allowed excellent facsimiles of it to be made, which can now be studied in all the larger libraries of the world. This manuscript is written on vellum, which began to take the place of papyrus for sacred writings about the end of the third century, and is in book form instead of on rollers, a change that was made about the same time, and partially because of the use of a different writing material. This "Codex Vaticanus" as it is known among scholars ("codex" meaning simply the book form in distinction from the roll) has about seven hundred leaves of the finest vellum, is about a foot square, and bound. It lacks the first forty-six chapters of Genesis, Psalms 105 to 138, and all of the New Testament after the fourteenth verse of the ninth chapter of Hebrews. Each page has three columns, the writing is all in capital letters, and there is no spacing between the words nor any punctuation or division into sentences, all of which makes it very difficult to read. This form of writing was one of the economies practiced when writing material was very expensive. It is also one of the best proofs of the age of a manuscript, as a few centuries later modern forms of writing were adopted in copying. These old, capital-letter manuscripts are known as "*Uncials*," in distinction from those written in the modern or running form, which are called "*Cursives*." The value of a manuscript depends chiefly, as a general proposition, upon its age, which places the Uncials far above the Cursives in that regard. Yet it is quite possible that a Cursive of the fifteenth century should have been copied directly from an early Uncial, like the Codex Vaticanus of the fourth century, and so have a greater value than an Uncial of the eighth century; and several of such Cursives have been found which are highly esteemed.

Foremost among the distinguished group of scholars of the last century who devoted their time, energy, and study to the manuscripts and texts of the Bible books, was Dr. Constantin Tischendorf, Professor of Theology at the University of Leipzig from 1845 until the time of his death in 1874. For many years he made frequent visits to old Greek monasteries in southeastern Europe and western Asia,

eagerly searching for new material. In 1844, when only twenty-nine years of age, he arrived at the ancient convent of St. Catherine, on the range of Mt. Sinai. While quietly conducting his investigations he came upon a large basket filled with worn and damaged manuscripts, which had been set aside to be burned, as two similar baskets-full had already been. Here he found a considerable number of vellum leaves of a Greek manuscript, which his practiced eye at once recognized as one of the oldest in existence. He obtained possession of forty-three sheets,

MT SINAI CONVENT.

about one-third of the number he had rescued, but was not permitted to take the remainder. Unfortunately his enthusiasm had betrayed the value of the treasures in the basket to the unconscious monks. For fifteen years he made repeated but unsuccessful attempts to get possession of the remaining sheets, working through various influential channels. In 1859 he determined again to visit the convent himself, and was happily able to go armed with a strong personal letter from the head of the Eastern Church, the Emperor Alexander II. of Russia. After five days of fruitless search through the library and among all the papers of the convent, he was about to take his departure. While walking with the steward the evening before he had planned to leave, their conversation turned upon the text of the Old Testament; and returning at twilight to the convent, he was invited by the steward to partake of a luncheon with him in his cell. While they were eating the host said that he had there a copy of that Septuagint, at the same time bringing from the corner of the room a large manuscript wrapped in a red cloth. Glancing at the pile of vellum, Tischendorf quickly recognized it as belonging to the same codex of which he had rescued some leaves from the waste basket fifteen years before. Concealing his emotion, he obtained the privilege of taking the manuscript to his chamber, where, to his unspeakable joy, he found it contained the New Testament entire. Then began the long and weary efforts to get possession of the entire manuscript, or proper conveniences for copying it; and, though these were eventually granted, the work could not be done under such circum-

stances as to guarantee the perfect accuracy which alone would satisfy Tischendorf. As a last resort he made the happy proposal that the monks should make a gift of the entire material to the great defender of their church, the Emperor Alexander; with the result that about eight months after reaching the convent, the precious treasure was placed in his hands to bear to the emperor at St. Petersburg. This codex is written upon vellum of extreme fineness and beauty, and has 346 leaves, of which 199 contain twenty-two books of the Old Testament, while the remaining 147 have the whole of the New Testament, the "Epistle of Barnabas," and part of the "Shepherd of Hermas." The whole work has many points of similarity with the Vatican Codex, though the latter has three columns on a page, while the former has four. This is known as the "*Codex Sinaiticus*," and it is believed that it goes back to before 350 A. D. The early church historian, Eusebius, who was also secretary to the Emperor Constantine after his conversion, states that the Emperor ordered him to have fifty of the most perfect and beautiful copies of the Bible made and delivered to him; and many learned scholars, including Tischendorf, are confident that the Sinaitic manuscript is one of those fifty copies. Facsimiles of this codex have also been made, and in this form it is accessible to all scholars.

The third in antiquity of the great Uncial manuscripts of the Bible in the Greek language is the "*Codex Alexandrinus*." This codex was presented to Charles I. of England, in 1628, only seventeen years after the revisers had completed their work on our Authorized Version, by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Alexandria, from whence he had brought the manuscript, which is named after the city of its origin. It is in quarto form, about thirteen inches high and ten wide, each page being divided into two columns of fifty lines each. Like the others it is written on thin, fine, and very beautiful vellum, with an elegant though simple Uncial, and without spacing the words. Ten leaves are missing from the Psalms, and the first twenty-four chapters of Matthew, the seventh and eighth chapters of St. John, and eight chapters of First Corinthians. But there is added to this the one genuine letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. The trustees of the British Museum have published a beautiful photographic facsimile of this, one of the greatest treasures of their library.

Another curious and valuable manuscript is in the National Library of France, and is known as the "*Codex Ephraemi*." It was brought from the East by Andrew Lascar, a learned Greek patronized by Lorenzo de' Medici, and was carried to Paris by Catherine de' Medici when she became Queen of Henry II. of France. This codex illustrates a custom among the monks of the Middle Ages which is doubtless responsible for the loss of many valuable manuscripts. As vellum was very expensive, if a monk wished to transcribe any new matter he would often take an old book and clean its pages as far as possible of its written matter by rubbing them with pumice stone. As this could never be perfectly done, the old matter always appeared indistinctly under the new writing. Such manuscripts are called "*Palimpsests*," and the *Codex Ephraemi* was one of them. During the seventeenth century a scholar discovered the importance of the first writing, and for two hundred years various attempts were made to remove the later matter. But it remained for Tischendorf, after nearly a year's hard labor, to succeed in the work, and in 1840 to disclose a very rare and ancient Uncial which unquestionably belongs to the fifth century, and is esteemed by many critics as only second in importance to the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts. These four codices are the chief manuscripts which have preserved the Greek text for nearly the whole Bible; but there are scattered through the libraries of Europe manuscripts of groups of books, or single books, or parts of each, which are usually classed as "*Fragments*;" and of these there are now known about 100 Uncials, while in

1890 Dr. Gregory counted up 3,553 Cursives,—all of which, as has been said, are more or less complete parts of the Bible in the original Greek language.

Of the Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament it is only necessary to say that none are in existence dating earlier than the tenth century. The lack of old manuscripts here, however, is of little importance; for about a thousand years ago all the old ones were collected and compared for the purpose of a grand revision, so that at that early date the Hebrew of the Old Testament was made as nearly perfect as the best scholars of the Jewish academies could make it. After that the older manuscripts gradually disappeared. The work of revision was done with the most scrupulous care, and every mechanical device was used in addition to clerical skill to prevent errors from creeping in. And the reason that in the latest English revision there are so few changes in the Old Testament compared with those in the New is that there was less need, as well as fewer means, of making any corrections.

Before taking up the second class of sources of our Bible, the Versions, a few words may be said in reference to the change from the use of the roll to the book. Vellum had been in use in the ancient world since about 180 B. C., when King Ptolemy of Egypt, jealous of the great library that the King of Pergamus was building up, undertook to cripple him in his work by forbidding the export of papyrus. The King of Pergamus, therefore, was forced to find another material for writing, and hit upon skins; and the other name for vellum—"parchment"—is simply a derivative from "Pergamine." For this purpose the skins of sheep, calves, and of asses were chiefly used, the hair being carefully scraped from one side and the flesh from the other. The skin was then stretched and dried, and, before using, the surfaces were carefully smoothed and polished with pumice stone. At a later date a very fine quality of vellum was made from antelope skins. Strictly speaking vellum denotes material made from calves' and antelopes' skins, while parchment was applied to skins of sheep, asses, and even swine; but practically no distinction was made, and the term vellum came to be applied to all kinds of dressed skins used for purposes of writing. In the first and second centuries it was used only for note books, rough drafts, and inferior classes of literary work. But its use for note books, shaped according to the form of the wax tablets, the kind of note books previously existing, naturally led to the evolution of the codex, or modern book form, and together they gradually displaced papyrus and the roll for literary productions, during the early part of the fourth century. One demand which greatly stimulated this movement was that for complete collections of the Scriptures in a usable form both for reading and reference. It was not until towards the close of the second century that anything like an accepted canon of the New Testament writings was recognized; but as soon as tradition and usage had determined what books should be accepted and read by all Christians as the Scriptures, a more convenient form than the old rolls was imperatively demanded. And as it was recognized that some twenty or thirty rolls were needed for the New Testament alone, while the whole could be gathered into one codex of not immoderate size, the latter quickly came into general use.

The second class of material for Bible revision, next in importance to the manuscripts, consists of "Versions," that is, of translations from the original language of the Scriptures into the languages of the various peoples who from time to time became converted to Christianity. Of these versions a great number are in existence, some of which bear evidence of great care in translation, others more carelessly done and from corrupt originals. Many versions are very ancient, the early Christians in their missionary work among the Egyptians, Armenians, Syrians, and Latin peoples of North Africa and Southern Europe, from the first endeavoring to give those peoples at least the principal

books of the New Testament and the Psalms in their own tongues, the complete Bibles following in due course. As some of these translations go back to the early part of the second century, they become of the greatest value as aids in verifying and correcting the texts of the early New Testament Scriptures.

The church at Rome of the first century was more Greek in its character than Roman; and not only did Paul write his Epistle to its members in Greek, about 60 A. D., but its earlier bishops all appear to have been Greeks, one of whom, Clement, at the end of the century, wrote an important letter to the Corinthian church in Greek which, as we have seen, was bound up with the New Testament books in the "*Codex Alexandrinus.*" There was not, therefore, the same necessity for a Latin translation of the Scriptures for the Italian churches as for those of the Roman province of North Africa, where many important churches were early established, and from whence came many of the most noted of the church fathers, including the great St. Augustine; and it was chiefly for these outlying churches that the first Latin Bible was made. This is known as the *Old Latin Version*, to distinguish it from the later work of Jerome. This Old Latin Bible has great value for the New Testament, as it was probably the first translation made from the original Greek texts, but the Old Testament was only a translation of a translation, that is, of the Septuagint. As the Church spread, this Bible would necessarily have to be made in large numbers, and owing to the fragile character of the papyrus, earlier copies would have to be replaced by newly made ones. It naturally resulted, therefore, that in the process of these many translations the original text soon became very much corrupted, so that by the middle of the fourth century, as one has said, "the Latin speaking churches were in danger of losing the pure Scripture of the Apostolic days." Fortunately, just at this period the great Eusebius Hieronymus, better known as St. Jerome, returned to Rome after several years of travel, study, and ascetic life in the East. Reputed to be the best Bible scholar in the church, and nearly the only one who was thoroughly familiar with Hebrew, Damasus, Bishop of Rome, in 382 urged him to undertake a revision of the Latin Scriptures. This work Jerome at once began, and in 385 had finished the New Testament. He then began work upon the Old Testament, making first two or three separate translations of the Psalter from the Septuagint. But being dissatisfied with this, he turned to the original Hebrew text and made an entirely new translation, which was completed in 404. This final translation of Jerome has become one of the most important factors in all later Biblical revision. It is known as the "Vulgate," which means simply the "commonly received translation." This became the officially accepted Bible of the Western churches, and holds that position in the Roman Catholic church to-day, as it did in England until the Reformation; and the Septuagint and Vulgate are the two great versions in the immense library of Biblical literature.

Human nature, however, changes but little through the ages, and Jerome's great work met with the same determined opposition, as well as bitter criticism and abuse, that later greeted the work of the revisers of 1880. All over the world, that is the Western world, Christians had become familiar with and loved the Old Latin version; and as, owing to the corruptions of the latter, Jerome's changes were many and marked, a storm of hostile criticism broke over him. This he fought vigorously and with considerable temper, insisting that no amount of sentiment could be a plea for a faulty Bible, and that the most venerated translation must give way, if found to disagree with the original texts. In a letter to one of the church fathers, Jerome mentions "certain poor creatures" who studiously calumniate him "for correcting words in the Gospels;" and says: "I could afford to despise them, if I stood upon my rights; for a lyre is played in vain to an ass. If they do not like the water from the pure

fountain head, let them drink of the muddy streams;" and again returning to the subject closes his letter with a reference to those "two-legged donkeys." Nevertheless the Old Latin held a conspicuous place, and was highly esteemed by the churchmen for centuries, both versions being used and existing side by side, much as the Revised Version and the King James Version exist in our own religious life to-day, until the Council of Trent gave to the Vulgate the official recognition of the Roman church.

It was not until late in the seventh century that any attempt was made to give our English ancestors any portion of the Bible in their own tongue; and even then, so low was the mental state of the people, anything like a written Gospel would have been of little use. As hardly any, either of the nobility or the peasantry, could read their own tongue, there was little demand for a translation of the Scriptures. These were truly the "Dark Ages." Religious interest could only be aroused with any measure of success by appeals to the senses, and it was by the ministry of art and song that the sacred story first touched the popular heart, or caught the popular ear. Like all primitive peoples, the Saxons were most susceptible to the emotional songs of their bards, and no festivities were complete without the minstrel's lays in which they delighted. One of the foremost centres of religious life and light at this period was the famous Abbey of Whitby. High up on the cliffs in the north of England, looking out over the North Sea, the Princess Hild had established her religious houses; and about her were gathered a goodly number of monks, and many lay helpers. Among the latter was Caedmon, the earliest of English singers, with whom English literature and the English Bible alike have their beginning, and to the "music of whose native harp," as one has said, "the Bible story, in the form of poetic paraphrase, begins to pass out of its old Latin into its new English dress, out of the dim seclusion of cell and school to the open sunlight of the countryside, and from the narrow limits of the parchment-scroll to the wandering minstrelsy of the vernacular poetry." Caedmon was already an old man when, as the Venerable Bede, the Father of English history tells us, "being at the feast where all agreed for glee sake to sing in turn, he no sooner saw the harp come toward him than he rose from the board and went out." As it was his day to look after the cattle, he went to the stables, where he soon after lay down and fell asleep. Presently a beautiful form, clothed in light, stood before him, and said:

"Sing, Caedmon; sing some song to me."

"I cannot sing," was Caedmon's sorrowful reply; "for this cause I left the hall and came hither."

"Yet," said He who stood before him, "Yet, shalt thou sing to me."

"What shall I sing?" asked Caedmon.

"The beginning of created things," replied his visitor.

"Whereupon," continues Bede, "he presently began to sing verses to the praise of God, which he had never heard. Awakening from sleep, he remembered all that he had sung in his dream, and soon added much more to the same effect in verse worthy of the Deity. By his verses the minds of many were often excited to despise the world, and to aspire to heaven. Others after him attempted, in the English nation, to compose religious poems, but none could ever compare with him, for he did not learn the art of poetry from man, but from God; for which reason he could never compose any trivial or vain poems, but only those which relate to religion suited his religious tongue." But this minstrelsy was not confined to monastic circles; its songs were sung before kings and warriors, and among the peasantry in the villages and in their homes. Through these channels the Scripture narratives circulated for generations, and the common people acquired in a form which fixed itself in their memories a rudimentary Bible knowledge to which, otherwise, they must long have remained strangers; just as, fifteen centuries earlier

the ancient Greeks first learned the stories of gods and men which later made the Greek Bible,—the Iliad,—through the songs of their minstrels in royal halls and at public festivals.

But the sacred songs of Caedmon were not translations into the Saxon tongue, but merely free paraphrases of the Scripture narrative, and so may be regarded as a prologue of the long drama of the evolution of the English Bible, whose first act calls us to the renowned monastery and school at Jarrow, near the mouth of the Wear. Here one of the world's great scholars had built up one of the most famous schools of the age. Beda, or as he is more familiarly known, the "Venerable Bede," was born close to the monastic halls at Jarrow in the year 673; and he never left the cloister's shades until he sweetly breathed out his life in prayer on Ascension Eve in the year 735. His entire life was devoted to study, teaching, and writing; and little by little he made himself master of the whole range of the knowledge of his day, so that he became, as Burke justly styled him, "the father of English learning." Six hundred monks, besides strangers, gathered at Yarrow to enjoy Bede's instructions; and in treatises prepared as text-books for his scholars he brought together all the knowledge that the world had then accumulated in astronomy, physics, philosophy, rhetoric, grammar, music, arithmetic, and medicine. The best known of all these works was his "Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation," from which all that is really known of the century and a half following the landing of Augustine must be learned. As the historian Green has said, "Beda was at once the founder of mediaeval history and the first English historian." But notwithstanding his commanding position and great learning, he remained to the last the simple, unaffected, loving and beloved master, whose personal influence upon his students worked greater results even than his secular and religious teachings; and there is hardly in all literature more tender and loving tribute to the memory of a great teacher than the letter in which Cuthbert, one of his disciples, writes to his fellow student, Cuthwin, of the passing of the master. "He was much troubled," writes Cuthbert, "with shortness of breath, yet without pain, before the day of our Lord's resurrection, that is about a fortnight. During these days he labored to compose two works well worthy to be remembered, viz: he translated the Gospel of St. John as far as the words, 'But what are these among so many' (John vi. 9) into our own tongue, and some collections out of the Book of Notes of Bishop Isodorus, saying, 'I will not have my pupils read a falsehood, nor labor therein without profit after my death.' When the Tuesday before the Ascension of our Lord came, he began to suffer still more in his breath; but he passed all that day and dictated cheerfully, and now and then, among other things, he said 'Go on quickly, I know not how long I shall hold out, and whether my Maker will not soon take me away.' By turns we read, and by turns we wept, nay, we wept always whilst we read." As the last day dawned, again the master called his scholars about him and bade them write. "There is still a chapter wanting," said the scribe as the morning wore on, "and it is hard for thee to question thyself any longer." "It is easily done," replied Bede; "take thy pen and write quickly." And so, amid work and tears and farewells eventide approached. "There is yet one sentence unwritten, dear master," said the boy. "Write it quickly," bade the dying saint. And when after a little time the youth said, "See, dear master, it is finished now," the teacher replied, "You speak the truth; all is finished now. Receive my head into your hands, for it is a great satisfaction to me to sit facing my holy place, where I was wont to pray, that I may also sitting call upon my Father." "And thus," says Cuthbert, "on the pavement of his little cell, singing Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, when he had named the Holy Ghost he breathed his last, and so departed to the Heavenly kingdom."

Of the character of this translation, the dying gift of the great teacher to his spiritual children, nothing can now be known, as no copy of the work has come down to our day. Still, the Venerable Bede stands as the first link in the chain of translators which, through Wyclif, Tyndale, Coverdale, and their successors in the continuous work of revision, binds the eighth to the nineteenth century in the history of the English Bible.

From the middle of the eighth to the close of the thirteenth century was a barren period in Saxon intellectual and religious life. For more than two hundred years the country was repeatedly laid waste by Danish invaders, only to be followed, before peace had brought any lasting results, by the more complete conquests by the Normans in the eleventh century. That anything Saxon survived the barbarous destruction of life and property that paralyzed all endeavor and blighted all national hopes of this period, is strong evidence of the enduring vitality of the love of independence, of justice, and of wisdom, which were the basic principles of the better Saxon character, and which have become the rich heritage of the later English nation. The success of the Norman invasion resulted in a more complete subjugation than had attended the inroads of the Danes; and a strange language and a religion that seemed hardly less strange to them were forced upon the people. The Saxon clergy were turned out of their churches and livings and were replaced by priests from Normandy, who despised both the native language and the people who spoke it; and as the whole spirit of the Church on the continent was adverse to any translations of the Scriptures into vulgar tongues, not only was nothing done to enlighten the people, but even the few versions that existed in the Saxon tongue were contemptuously cast aside and destroyed. During the intervals of peace previous to the Norman conquest, sporadic attempts at translation of parts of the Bible, especially of the Gospels and the Psalter, had been made; but the whole life of the people had become that of the camp and not of the home, and so afforded no congenial soil for the propagation of the graces of literature and religion. The great, shining figure of the entire period was that of the most noble and Christian king, Alfred,

ALFRED THE GREAT.

who accomplished marvelous things considering the conditions under which he labored. One of the great monuments of his reign was his collection into one body of all the laws of the Saxon realm, which he entitled "Alfred's Dooms." His introduction to this code, which began with these words, "The Dooms which the Almighty himself spake to Moses, and gave to him to keep, and after our Saviour Christ came to earth He said, 'He came not to break or forbid, but to keep them,'" was followed by the king's own translation of the Ten Commandments into the native tongue, which thus became the first part of the most ancient law of England.

Although the thoroughness of William the Conqueror's plan contemplated the complete obliteration of the native language, as well as the supplanting of all national customs by the more refined modes of Norman French life, yet the sturdy patriotism of the conquered race

frustrated his purposes. The Saxon priests, driven from their churches, became wandering friars, and, going from hamlet to hamlet, kept alive the fires of nationalism and became the inspirers of new hopes in the subjugated, but not subdued people. So that, though Norman French was the only language of the court, the church, the school, and for the transaction of all public affairs, yet the native tongue was cherished with all the sentiment of nationality and fellowship that its use inspired, in the halls of the old Saxon nobles, and in the rude homes of the people. What this double life of the people meant is most interestingly portrayed in Scott's great novel, "Ivanhoe." But the result of the friction between the two languages was the gradual formation of a new one which was to become the medium of expression for all the thought and action of the great English-

JOHN WYCLIF

speaking nations. Just when the change occurred cannot be marked, any more than one can say when a child becomes a youth, or the youth a man. But the important point is that when the pent-up forces of national and religious life and thought broke through the barriers that had so long restrained them, the immortal verse of Chaucer, as well as the noble and dignified prose of Wyclif, found a language rich enough in its vocabulary, and flexible enough in its form, to give full expression to the glowing fancy of the poet, and to the exalted protests and passionate denunciations of the great reformer. There have been certain great periods in the evolution of the Divine plans as manifested in the world's history, which no expression seems so well to describe as Paul's pregnant one,—"the fullness of time;" and the era of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries appeared most forcefully to mark such a "fullness of time." It was the breaking of the morning light of a new and more glorious day for all mankind. In its earlier years a spirit of unrest and discontent had become well-nigh universal that boded ill for all the forces of tyranny and despotism that enslaved the minds, as well as the bodies, of the mass of the people; and there is no more interesting study than to trace the influence of the English Bible in arousing, stimulating, and directing the course of these uplifting movements.

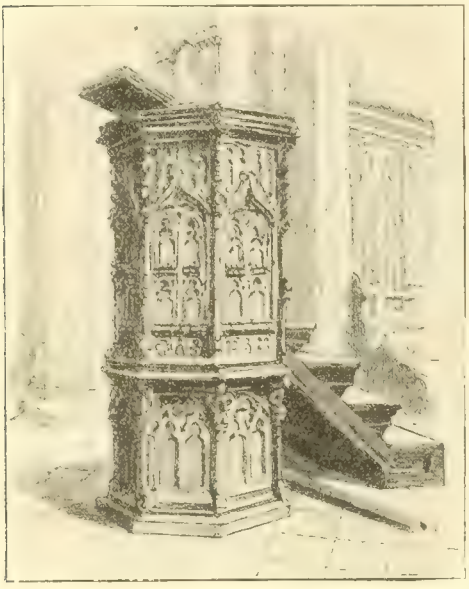
The most notable of all the heralds of the new day, the most intelligent and determined of all "Reformers before the Reformation," was John Wyclif. The date of his birth is uncertain, but was previous to 1320; and the period of his life covers a time of grievous distress throughout Europe. The most terrible plague the world has ever known, the so-called "Black Death," advancing from the East, devastated all Europe, and in 1348 invaded England; and of the population, then estimated at between three and four millions, more than one half succumbed to its dread power. No words can describe the effects of its ravages upon the social life of the kingdom. All industry was paralyzed, and famine stalked in the steps of the pestilence. The land was untilled, and even where crops came to maturity, no one could be found to harvest them and they rotted in the fields. Down

to the thirteenth century, the great mass of the people was made up of peasants attached to the soil, mere serfs,—a little higher in the scale of life than the cattle, but not much. As a result of the great scarcity of laborers, those whom the plague had passed by recognized the opportunity that was placed in their hands and made bold and determined strikes for freedom. The line of demarcation between the rich and the poor was painfully distinct, with the result that the same social and industrial questions that agitate the life of to-day sprang fully developed into existence in Wyclif's time.

Moreover the state of religion only aggravated the conditions of social life. The church had only the husks of religious forms to offer suffering humanity. The monasteries and church institutions had become enormously rich, while dire poverty and ignorance oppressed the people. The clergy as a class were ignorant and corrupt. Their chief interest in the people was to extort by masses and pardons the last farthing from them, "as if," as an old writer expressed it, "God had given His sheep not to be pastured but to be shaven and shorn." And, as though their cup of misery was not full, Christians throughout Europe were, for fifty years, scandalized by the quarrels of rival Popes at Rome and at Avignon, each anathematizing and hurling damnation at the other, while marshaling their armies and slaughtering men, women, and children for their own aggrandizement. Truly, the "fullness of time" had arrived. Space forbids any reference in detail to the events by which Wyclif was led, step by step, to his final break with the church; but when it came, it was decisive, and marked the birth of new forces, and doctrines that were to result later in the religious reformation of the sixteenth century, and in the establishment of political and civil liberty in the seventeenth. Fortunately, the situation between Edward III. and the Papacy was strained, so that Wyclif could rely upon political protection in his agitation, without which he would have been quickly silenced. With unflinching courage he declared: "If there were a hundred Popes, and if all friars were cardinals, one ought not to trust them in matters of faith except as they agree with Holy Scripture." In works of great force of learning and argument he assailed one after another the various positions of the Papacy, striking at the very heart of its teachings when he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. But the great reformer saw that he must get the life-giving truths of the Gospel into the hands and the hearts of the people, and so determined to make his translation of the Bible into the English language. But even with that made, he recognized that its circulation must be very limited, and confined to the class that he was least desirous of reaching. The mere writing out of the words of the entire Bible was the work of months, and it is estimated that a copy could not cost less than two hundred dollars. Wyclif, therefore, conceived the plan of organizing bodies of lay preachers who should go among the people; and for their use little tracts were prepared, made up of quotations from the Gospels and the Psalter, which they carried into the hovels of the poor throughout the land, explaining, as they went, the full purport of the texts left with them. Wyclif's cardinal doctrine was the Fatherhood of God, and the direct relation of each child to the Father, involving the infinite value of each individual human soul, and the brotherhood of all men as children of the one Father. In this creed there was no place for a hierarchy of priests, nor for the saving power of sacraments; each child was in direct communication with, and was the heir to, all the love and bounty of an Infinite Father. This was new doctrine, and to the hungry bodies and souls of the suffering people it was most palatable and promised peace and plenty.

Just when Wyclif began his translation of the Bible into English cannot be determined, though the entire work was completed in 1382. It is certain that a part of the Old Testament was

translated by Nicholas of Hereford, one of Wyclif's Balliol scholars. The translation was made from the Latin Vulgate, which had already become very corrupt as the result of constant copying, without reference to Hebrew or Greek manuscripts; and so has the many defects of a translation from a translation. But



WYCLIF'S PULPIT.

the great truths of the Gospels and of the New Testament Wyclif wrote out not for scholars or nobles, but for the common people, and he suited his style to those for whom he wrote. Plain, vigorous, and homely were his expressions, yet of such dignity and solemn grace as to fix the attention of all readers. The master was not blind to the faults of the work, however, and was preparing for a new revision, when on the last Sunday of the year 1384, while serving at the altar of his church at Lutterworth, in the very act of elevating the Sacrament, he was suddenly stricken with palsy, and passed away on the last day of the year without having spoken once. It is needless to say that his death brought great rejoicing into the fold of the Church, while its manner was loudly advertised by the monks, and declared to be the direct judgment of God upon his heresies. One of their writers thus refers to the subject: "The devil's instrument, church's enemy, people's confusion, heretic's idol, hypocrite's mirror, schism's broacher, hatred's sewer, storehouse of lies, flatterer's sink, was stricken by the horrible judgment of God, breathed forth his soul to the dark mansion of the black devil." And the more dignified, but no more friendly, Knighton says: "This John Wyclif translated into the Anglic, not angelic, tongue, the Gospels. Whence it is made vulgar by him, and more open to the reading of the lay men and women than it usually is to the knowledge of lettered men and intelligent clergy, and thus the pearl is cast abroad and trodden under feet of swine. The jewel of the church is turned into the common sport of the people." Very different has been the estimate of posterity. An eminent German biographer (Buddenseig: Wyclif) has well summed up the present-day opinion of the great reformer and his work: "As a bold and powerful critic of papal abuses, and as a mighty champion of the principle that the authority of the Bible is higher than the authority of the Church,—a principle which had been buried since the very earliest Christian times,—it can be said of Wyclif that he has profoundly affected the entire spirit of the Western world. His blow struck a spark from the flint, Hus applied the spark to the coals, and Luther, having lighted the torch of the Reformation at these coals, bore it aloft until all Europe saw its light and felt its heat."

The unfinished work of revision was taken up by Wyclif's friend and curate at Lutterworth, Richard Purvey, and was completed in 1388. Purvey's Preface to his great work is hardly less interesting than the work itself, manifesting as it does the spirit and purpose that had animated him in his labors. He says: "A simpel creature hath translated the scripture out of Latin into Englische. First, this simpel creature had much travayle (labor) with divers fellows and helpers to gather many old Bibles and other doctors and glosses to make *one Latin Bible some deal lern and then stode it anew*, the texte and

any other help he might get, especially Lyra on the Old Testament, which helped him much with his work. The third time to counsel with the olde grammarians and old divines of hard words and hard sentences, how they might best be understood and translated, the fourth time to translate as clearly as he could to the sense, and to have many good fellows and cunnynge at the correcting of the translacion. . . . A translator hath great nede to studie well the sense both before and after, *and then also he hath nede to live a clene life and be full devout in preiers, and have not his wit occupied about the worldi things, that the Holy Spyrit, author of all wisdom and cunnynge and truthe, dresse him for his work, and suffer him not to err.*"

These two versions are generally classed together as the Wyclif Bible and rightly so, if one understands their history. Purvey's work was done in no spirit critical or envious of his master's, but in the most loving sympathy, and all that gave to Wyclif's translation its distinctive strength and charm was retained. Notwithstanding the great expense of this work, its circulation must have been very extensive, as, in spite of all the penal acts of the few years following whose purpose was to utterly destroy every vestige or line of the books, there are now in existence one hundred and seventy copies of the Wyclif Bible. The hunger of the people for the Word becomes strikingly manifest when we realize that, as an old writer has stated, "the readers of the book were burned with the copies around their necks; that men and women were executed for teaching their children the Lord's prayer and the commandments in English; that husbands were made to witness against their wives, and children forced to light the death fires of their parents; and possessors of the banned Wyclif Bible were hunted down as if they were wild beasts." "Certes," says old John Fox, "the zeal of those Christian days seems superior to this of our careless times."

That "God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform," is recognized as a truism; nor is it less marvelous how He uses the most untoward and unrelated events, apparently, to further His vast designs. About twenty-five years after Wyclif had fallen asleep, little Johann Gooseflesh was having a dull morning in his German home. Left to amuse himself he began to cut the letters of his name out of bark, and to put them together in their proper order. Accidentally dropping the last one into a pot of purple dye that stood beside the stove, he thoughtlessly thrust his hand into the boiling liquid and pulled the letter out, only to drop it again as quickly. But this time it fell upon a white dressed skin that was lying close at hand, and lo! he had a beautiful

JOHANN GUTENBERG.

purple "h" printed on a rich yellowish ground of vellum. It was a trifling matter, but evidently impressed itself upon little Johann's mind; for about forty years later Johann Gutenberg—he has dropped his father's name and taken his mother's more euphonious one—is turning out the first book ever printed from mov-

able type, in 1456. And what could be more fitting than that it should be a copy of the Latin Vulgate Bible, which is now known as the "Mazarin Bible," and has become one of the rarest and most costly books in the world—the last copy sold a few years ago, from the library of Lord Ashburnham, having brought £4,000, or $20,000.

A few years before the invention of printing and the publication of the first printed book, the detestable Turk had begun to close in upon Constantinople with his armies. Happily there had been living in that city many very learned Greek scholars, whose worldly goods consisted chiefly of old manuscripts of the works of Homer, and of Plato and Aristotle, of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and far more interesting for our purposes were the many copies they had of very old manuscripts of the Bible in Greek. Fearing the excesses of the Turks they began to migrate into western Europe, bearing their sacred treasures with them. They found friendly shelter at the courts of some of the patrons of learning, like the Medici in Florence, and at the great universities. And for the first time all the glories of Greek literature and philosophy illuminated the intellectual world of western Europe. Hungry Bible students became possessed of ancient texts of the Bible books in their original language and so became familiar with readings by which it was possible to correct the corrupt texts of the Vulgate. The effect of all this was electrical, and the light of the new learning soon banished the shadows of the Dark Ages, stirring enthusiasm and arousing such a larger thirst for knowledge as never had been known before. So little Johann Gooseflesh and the unspeakable Turk became the moving forces in events the most beneficent for all mankind that have occurred since the Saviour walked the earth.

With this broadening of the intellectual vision came the impulse to test everything; and all existing institutions,—political, religious, social,—all were put on trial. This awakening was one phase of the great change called the Renaissance which came over the Western world, starting at an undefined period towards the close of the Middle Ages, and whose influence is still potent among all civilized peoples. As has been well said: "Expressed in terms of literature, we call it the revival of letters. Expressed in terms of religion, we call it the Reformation. Contrasted with mediævalism the Renaissance is like a bright fresh morning after a close and sultry night. It represents the change in men's views of life from asceticism to freedom and humanism; from the monastery to the college; from a civilization based on Feudalism and educated by the Latin Church to a civilization educated by science and based, within the restrictions of nationality, in a spiritual inter-community of ideas and interests." An interesting fact regarding this great movement on its religious side is that it has been confined, almost without exception, to races of Teutonic descent; while all the Latin races, and those that have come under their conquering influence, have clung to the old Church. Among these Teutonic races the Bible has been the teacher and guide in their continued advance toward civil and religious liberty. Luther posted his famous "Theses" on the door of the church at Wittenberg in 1517, which was the first definite step in the great religious reformation; and the smoke of the initial battle had hardly cleared away before he was at work upon his translation of the Bible into the popular German tongue; he, like all the great reformers, being convinced that neither civil nor ecclesiastical absolutism could long hold in their fetters peoples familiar with the great, essential truths of the Bible, all of which make for freedom. Luther's translation of the New Testament, with pertinent commentary, was published in 1522; and his completed Bible in 1534. The New Testament, with many of Luther's tracts, soon found their way into England, and were somewhat important factors in the early reform movement there; while, with the first printed edition of the Greek Testament, edited by

the foremost Greek scholar of the age, Erasmus, they spurred on the impulse which was constantly becoming more imperative for an English Bible, translated directly from the new-old manuscripts which had only recently come to the knowledge of Western scholars.

In 1484, the year after the birth of Luther, and one hundred years after the death of Wyclif, William Tyndale was born, the most important personality connected with the whole history of our English Bible. Distinguished at a very early age for his remarkable scholarship, he was entered at Oxford, where he took high rank. Changing to Cambridge University later he fell in with Erasmus, who had recently completed his Greek Testament. Tyndale quickly made himself familiar with this, and his spirit was stirred to its depths by this wonderful revelation of Divine love. It had all the force of a new revelation, and aroused a spirit of earnest study and discussion among the priests at the universities; and on one occasion, in the heat of controversy, when the opponent of Tyndale had affirmed, "We had better be without God's laws than the Pope's," Tyndale indignantly declared, "I defy the Pope, and all his laws; and if God spare me, I will one day make the boy that drives the plow in England to know more of Scripture than the Pope does."

As has been said, the first printed book was the Mazarin Bible, published in 1456; and the impulse given to the new learning came largely as the result of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. England, however, was more backward in appropriating the benefits resulting from those epochal events than were the nations on the Continent. Before the end of the fifteenth century about eighty editions of the Latin Bible had been published in different parts of Europe, and national versions of the entire Bible were circulating in the German, Italian, French, Dutch, Danish, and Spanish languages. In his most excellent work on the "Evolution of the English Bible," Mr. H. W. Hoare has collected some data showing how limited had been the facilities for the study of the original texts of the Scriptures, even if the scholars had possessed them. The public teaching of Greek was not introduced into the University of Paris until 1458, and its earliest teacher at Oxford was Grocyn, who went to the University in 1492. The first Greek grammar was published in 1476, the first Greek lexicon in 1480; while the earliest Hebrew grammar

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS.

was printed in 1503, which was followed by the first Hebrew lexicon three years later. The first printed Hebrew Bible appeared in 1486; and the first printed New Testament in Greek, by Erasmus, was published in 1516. Printing was first introduced into England by Caxton, in 1470. So that, even if the clergy had been animated by a desire to study any subjects other than those connected with ecclesiastic Latin and the scholastic theology, the "tools" at their command could have afforded them but little aid in their work. But as a matter of fact there was an utter paralysis of moral and intellectual purpose among the clergy, which means, of course, among nearly all the so-called learned men of Europe, as the Church, as a general proposition, embraced within its

robbed all the scholars, as well as all the learning of the age. But this fact did not exalt the scholarship of the clergy to a high plane. Writing about the end of the fifteenth century the distinguished Cardinal Bellarmine, no unfriendly critic, said: "Some years before the rise of the Lutheran heresy there was almost an entire abandonment of equity in the ecclesiastical judgments; in morals, no discipline; in sacred literature, no erudition; in divine things, no reverence. *Religion was almost extinct.*" And a few years later, in the preface to his work entitled "The Obedience of a Christian Man," Tyndale wrote: "Alas! the curates themselves, for the most part, wot no more what the New or Old Testament meaneth than do the Turks, neither care they but to mumble so much every day as the pie and poppin-

WILLIAM TYNDALE

jay speak, they wot not what, to fill their bellies withal. If they will not let the layman have the word of God in his mother's tongue, yet let the priests have it, which for the greater part of them do understand no Latin at all, but sing and patten all day with the lips only, that which the heart understandeth not." Still a little later, Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, made a visitation in his diocese, and examined three hundred and eleven clergy. Of these, he reported, *one hundred and seventy-eight were unable to repeat the Ten Commandments; thirty-one were ignorant from whence the Decalogue came; forty could not repeat the Lord's prayer, and about the same number did not even know to whom it should be ascribed.* If such were the shepherds, what of the sheep! And yet these unpriestly priests were content to live in their fat livings, and had complete power of life and death in all questions of theology; and as all criticism of their habits and mode of life was as heretical as the denial of doctrines of the Church, the path of the reformer was thickly strewn with dangers, and promised only suffering and death in return for the most unselfish labors. All this Tyndale knew full well when he defied the Pope, and proclaimed his purpose to make the boy at the plough more conversant with the Scriptures than was the great head of the church, the Vicar of Christ.

Before leaving the university Tyndale had already begun his work of translation; and having heard that Tunstall, the Bishop of London, was a patron of the new learning, he asked for permission to carry on the work in the episcopal palace under the bishop's patronage. But it was in the study of classical authors only that Tunstall was interested, and Tyndale's proposal received a very cold reception. Through the generosity of a wealthy merchant who had heard him preach, however, and who had become interested in him, Tyndale was able to continue his study and his work of translation during the greater part of the year 1523 under his patron's roof, and with his generous support. But what he saw of the life of the clergy in London during the year proved to him that no mercy would be shown to one who should undertake to give to the people the Bible in their own tongue. Already many of Luther's writings were finding their way into England, and he saw men led to prison and even to execution for possessing and reading such works. "Wherefore," as he sadly said, "I perceived that not only in my Lord

of London's palace but in all England there was no room for attempting a translation of the Scriptures." So in 1524 he sorrowfully left his native land never to see it again; and at Hamburg, in poverty and in distress and in constant danger, he most diligently prosecuted the work of translation, with the result that in 1525 he was able to go to Cologne, the most famous center of printing at that time, and place the copy of the translation in the printer's hands. It was arranged that three thousand copies should be issued in a small quarto edition, with a prologue, references, marginal notes, *and with divisions into chapters,—the division of chapters into verses came much later.* But the spies of the Inquisition were everywhere through Europe; and one of its agents, Cochlaeus, known among his Catholic contemporaries as the "Scourge of Luther," was then in Cologne looking after the publication of a book of his own. Chancing to be near a little group of compositors who were indulging rather freely in native wines, he overheard their boast that before long all England would become Lutheran. Joining the party and generously supplying all they would drink, he gradually learned the facts regarding Tyndale's translation. Cochlaeus at once applied to the magistrates, demanding that the sheets be seized and the work stopped; and also dispatched a messenger to the English bishops warning them of their unexpected danger. But, happily, Tyndale was informed at his lodgings of what had happened; and with a friend rushed to the printer's, seized all the sheets that were printed, and hurriedly fled to Worms, where the enthusiasm for Luther and the Reformation was then at its height. There he at length succeeded in his noble purpose, *producing for the first time in modern English a complete New Testament.* Knowing that as a result of the disclosures of Cochlaeus the greatest vigilance would be exercised to prevent the entry of the books into England, they were dispatched secretly, packed in all kinds of merchandise, in barrels, in bales of cloth, in sacks of flour, and in every covert way that could be devised. Thousands of copies were, however, seized and burned with solemn ceremony at the old cross of St. Paul's "as a burnt offering most pleasing to Almighty God;" but other thousands supplied their place. The Church had not now to contend with the slow methods of production that attended the distribution of Wyclif's New Testament; the printing press could defy the

ST. PAUL'S CROSS.

utmost diligence of the opponents of the work. "In burning the book," wrote Tyndale, "they did none other thing than I looked for; no more shall they do if they burn me also, if it be God's will that it should be so."

Seeing that they could not keep the books out of the country, Bishop Tunstall conceived the brilliant scheme of buying up the whole edition in Germany. He accordingly sought out a merchant having extended connections with German business houses, Augustine Pakington. "Deeming," as the old chronicle has it, "that he hadde God by the toe, whanne in truthe he hadde, as after he thought, the devyl by the fiste," the bishop urged Pakington to use all diligence and get the books for him, and he would gladly give him whatever they might cost; as he intended "surely to destroy them all and to burn them at Paul's Cross." A short time after, Pakington, who was friendly toward Tyndale and knew that

his funds were low, sought him out and said:

"Master Tyndale, I have found you a good purchaser for your books."

"Who is he?" asked Tyndale.

"My Lord of London."

"But if the Bishop of London wants the books it must be only to burn them."

"Well, what of that? The Bishop will burn them anyway, and it is best that you should have the money to enable you to imprint others instead."

"So," as the chronicle continues, "the Bishop had the books, Pakington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money." "I am the gladder," quoth Tyndale, "for these two benefits that shall come thereof. I shall get money to bring myself out of debt, and the whole world will cry out against the burning of God's word; and the overplus of the money that shall remain with me shall make me more studious to correct the said New Testament, and so to imprint the same once again, and I trust the second will be much better than ever was the first."

Finding that burning Tyndale's books could not prevent their distribution, a vigorous denunciation of them was made from all the pulpits of the land, which was more effective, as only one side of the question was presented. In 1529, however, one of the most powerful preachers of the time, Hugh Latimer, who fortunately enjoyed the favor of the King, preached at Cambridge his celebrated "Sermons on the Card," in which he fearlessly championed the translation and universal reading of the Holy Scriptures. The rage of the friars knew no bounds, and it was especially quickened by the realization of the fact that his reasoning was so unanswerable. After many conferences, however, they decided that an opposition sermon must be preached. Friar Buckingham was chosen as their champion, and a Sunday was selected on which he should answer Latimer. On the Sunday named, a great audience assembled; and to illustrate the character of the arguments of the opponents of biblical translation, we quote a few sentences from the sermon. "Thus," asked the preacher triumphantly, "where Scripture saith, no man that layeth his hand to the plough and looking back is fit for the Kingdom of God, will not the ploughman when he readeth these words be apt to forthwith cease from his plough, and then where will be the sowing and the harvest? Likewise, also, whereas the baker readeth, 'A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump,' will he not forthwith be too sparing in the use of leaven to the great injury of our health? And so, also, when the simple man reads the words, 'If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee,' incontinent he will pluck out his eyes and so the whole realm will be full of blind men, to the great decay of the nation and the manifest loss of the King's grace. And thus, by reading of the Holy Scripture, will the whole realm come into confusion." It would, indeed, be surprising if any such puerile arguments could have influenced anyone; and it was becoming more evident every day that no persecution, no burning of books, no preaching against them availed to abate the constantly increasing thirst the people had for the Scriptures. In spite of all opposition Tyndale's books were everywhere bought, talked about, and read. "It passeth my power," wrote one bishop to the primate, "or that of any spiritual man, to hinder it now; *and if this continue much longer it will undo us all.*"

But Tyndale had not rested after the completion of his earlier work. He soon began the great task of translating the Old Testament from the original Hebrew into English; and as the first fruit of this labor appeared his translation of the Pentateuch in 1530. In 1531 he published his translation of the book of Jonah, with a lengthy prologue, reviewing the condition of ecclesiastical affairs in England. After this for some time he seems to have devoted himself to revision, as he expressed his purpose of doing when Pakington's deal with the Bishop of London was consummated; *with the result that in* 1534 *he published a thorough revision of his New Testament of* 1525. *This revision has al-*

ways been regarded as the crowning glory of the great scholar's work. He had carried into it the same pious enthusiasm which had characterized his labors in translation. The first edition had appeared anonymously for several reasons; but the revision of 1534 had Tyndale's name on the title page, and the preface is headed, "William Tindale yet once more to the Christen reader." Prefaces were also written for each book excepting Acts and Revelation, and the original marginal notes were all rewritten.

But Tyndale's enemies were many and powerful in England, and they were not inactive. For years the weary, hunted, hungry, poverty-stricken exile in German towns had eluded emissaries, though all the subtle craft of the state as well as of the Church had been exercised to get him into their power. But he "was simple, and inexpert in the wily subtleties of the world;" and through the influence of Sir Thomas More a villainous clergyman, of the most plausible appearance and character however, was sent to Antwerp, where Tyndale was then working, to gain the friendship and confidence of the lonely exile. The scheme worked only too well. Tyndale became deeply attached to this man Phillips, and confided in him, even loaning him money from his ill-lined purse, and caring for him in sickness. His friend Poyntz, with whom Tyndale was lodging in Antwerp, was suspicious of Phillips and warned his lodger to be on his guard. Unfortunately, however, Phillips one day succeeded in leading him some distance from his lodgings, when confederates attacked them, and Tyndale was carried off to the Castle of Vilvorde, near Brussels, where he was cast into a dungeon, which he was never to leave again.

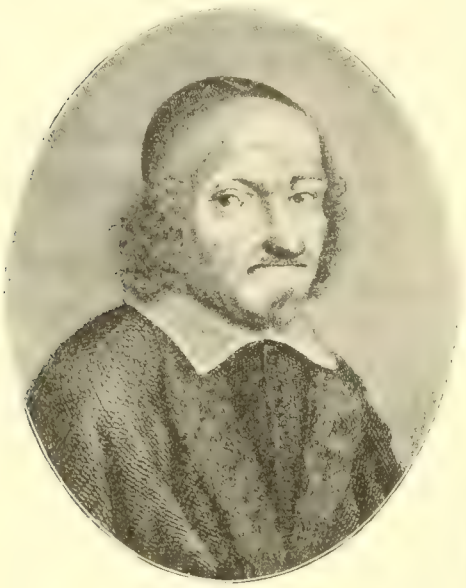
If the value of civil liberty and spiritual enlightenment could be measured, it would doubtless be found that all English-speaking peoples owe as much to Tyndale as to any other one man on the long roll of their benefactors; and it is pitiful to read the appeals to the governor of the castle of this helpless sufferer who was wearing out his life in cold and misery that his countrymen might gain a personal knowledge of the true God. He writes, "I beg your lordship, and that by the Lord Jesus, that if I am to remain here during the winter you will request the Procureur to be kind enough to send me from my goods which he has in his possession a warmer cap, for I suffer extremely from a perpetual catarrh, which is much increased by this cell. A warmer coat also, for that which I have is very thin; also a piece of cloth to patch my leggins; my shirts, too, are all worn out." And again, "I wish permission to have a candle in the evening, *for it is a weary work to sit alone in the dark.* But above all things, I entreat and beseech your clemency to be urgent with the Procureur that he may kindly suffer me to have my Hebrew Bible, grammar, and dictionary that I may spend my time with that study." After a confinement of about eighteen months, of which but few particulars are obtainable, on the 6th of October, 1536, the great, good man was strangled at the stake, and then his body burned to ashes,—his *last words being, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."*

All previous English Versions of the

VILVORDE CASTLE.

Bible, or parts of it, were simply translations of translations, being taken from some edition of the Vulgate, or older Latin Versions. Tyndale's translation is distinguished not only by the fact that he went back for the first time to the orig-

inal Hebrew and Greek texts, seeking the true meaning of Scriptures in the original language, but also because of the wonderful character of the translation itself. He fixed for all subsequent time the mold in which the Scripture translations should



MYLES COVERDALE.

run, and all later versions, including our so-called Authorized Version, are in reality little more than revisions of Tyndale's work; and all the simplicity, the beauty, the majesty of language and style that have made our Bible the crowning glory of the English language, all belong to Tyndale. As Froude has well said: "The peculiar genius which breathes through the English Bible, the mingled tenderness and majesty, the Saxon simplicity, the grandeur, unequaled, unapproached in the attempted improvement of modern scholars, all are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one man, and that man, William Tyndale."

Following Tyndale's death the change in the official English sentiment was rapid and complete; and could the noble martyr of 1536 have lived but four years longer he would have seen the answer to his prayer, for the eyes of the King of England were opened, though not very hardly admire the causes that led to that desired consummation. After Tyndale, the name most frequently and most closely connected with Bible revision was that of Myles Coverdale. Born in 1488, he was as a young man attached to the monastery of the Augustine friars at Cambridge; and later was a member of the "Club of Lutherans" in the University. Though little is known of his early life, he seems to have been an occasional visitor at the house of Sir Thomas More, and to have become intimately acquainted with Cromwell, who was rapidly rising in power and was to succeed his master, Wolsey, in his influence with Henry VIII. About the year 1526 Coverdale became a secular priest, and in 1528 worked in the county of Suffolk, preaching against the Mass, compulsory confession, and the worship of images. It is supposed that this course led to his enforced retirement to the Continent, where in 1529 he is said to have met Tyndale at Hamburg, and to have worked with him on his translation of the Pentateuch. Though there is no reliable account of Coverdale's movements between 1529 and 1535, it has been surmised that Cromwell, who had become Secretary of State, seeing the course affairs were taking, determined to be ready with a new Bible to introduce at the opportune moment. Knowing Henry's hatred of Tyndale and the consequent impossibility of using his translation, the supposition is that the Secretary communicated with his old friend Coverdale, encouraging him to be ready with a version of his own. However this may be, it is certain that in 1536, while Tyndale still languished in the Vilvorde dungeon, a new Bible appeared in England, printed in black letter, and of small folio size, containing an elaborate and obsequious dedication to King Henry, which was signed by his "humble subjecte and dayle oratour, Myles Coverdale." This Bible makes no pretense to being a new and original translation; it is, as its title page states, "translated out of Douche and Latyn into Englishe, with the help of five sundry interpreters," that

is, translators; and the chief of these was evidently Tyndale, whom he practically copies in the New Testament.

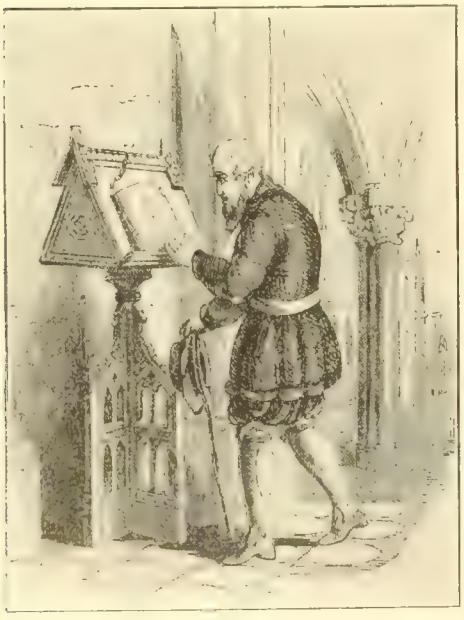
This Coverdale Bible is sometimes called "The Treacle Bible," because of its rendering of Jeremiah viii. 22: "Is there no treacle in Gilead?" The exigencies of the obsequious editors are well illustrated by the reference to the King's "dearest, juste wyfe, and most virtuous princesse," who is named in the first edition as *Ane*. Dr. Smythe tells us that the copy now in the British Museum has the same inscription, but *Ane* has been changed to Jane,—thus, JAne. Other copies have some Ane and some Jane, while some leave the space blank, the editors apparently being unable to keep pace with Henry's rapid matrimonial ventures.

The version known as "Matthew's Bible" appeared in 1537. This was really the work of John Rogers, one of the noted early reformers and the literary executor of Tyndale, who suffered martyrdom during Mary's reign. The suppression of his name is easily accounted for by his well-known close connection with Tyndale, as well as on account of his liberal opinions. This version was Tyndale's work pure and simple, excepting the latter half of the Old Testament, which the latter did not live to complete; that matter was taken chiefly from Coverdale's Bible. The peculiar thing about the reception of Matthew's Bible was the fact that Tyndale's work was not recognized at the time, though all his anti-papal marginal notes were reproduced exactly as in the original edition. Archbishop Cranmer, one of Tyndale's bitterest opponents, declared the Matthew's "better than any translation heretofore made," and he would "rather see it licensed by the King than receive £1,000." Moreover he thought "if they waited till the bishops should set forth a better translation they would wait till the day after doomsday."

In 1539 what is known as "Taverner's Bible" appeared; but this was little more than a revision of "Matthew's Bible," by a private scholar.

But there were several reasons, mostly political, why none of these versions were entirely satisfactory. Cromwell and others high in authority were determined to have the Scriptures in a form that should really be worthy to stand as a National Bible. Again Coverdale was appealed to and he took charge of the work. Apparently thinking that there was virtue in bigness, it was arranged that this should be the largest Bible ever made, and that it should be produced in the most perfect form mechanically. Accordingly, it was arranged that the printing should be done by Regnault of Paris, one of the most famous bookmakers of the period; and Coverdale went to Paris in 1538 to supervise the work. Although Regnault had a special license from the King of France to prosecute this work, they labored in constant fear of the interference of the Inquisitor General of the Inquisition; and before the work was completed in December, an order for confiscation was issued, and Regnault was cited. By some peculiar business transaction, however, in which bribery was understood to be an important factor, a large proportion of the sheets were soon recovered; and then Regnault's entire outfit for this work was moved to London,—compositors, type, presses, and all,—where the work was completed. This "Great Bible" as it has always been called, was first published in April, 1539, and *"was authorized to be read and frequented in every Church in the Kingdom."* It was a very large folio, in black letter, and was regarded as the finest specimen of the printer's art extant. One of its distinctive features was a marvelous allegorical frontispiece said to have been designed by Hans Holbein. In anticipation of the appearance of this work Cromwell had prepared an injunction, issued in September, 1538, by which all the clergy were ordered to provide before a specified date *"one boke of the whole bible, in the lattes volume, in Englushe, sett up in some convenient place within the church that we have cure of, where as your parishons may most commodiously resort to the*

same and read yt." This injunction had the full authority of a royal command; and thus within thirteen years of the burning of Tyndale's New Testament at St. Paul's cross, the battle for the free use of the English Bible had been fought and won. First, forbidden; then, silently tolerated; and next licensed, it was now commanded by the King's highness to be set up for the benefit of each one of the many thousand parishes of the land. This meant that in every church at least one of these "Great Bibles" should be placed on a stand, or attached to the pillars or wall of the church in such a way that any person who was so inclined could have free access to it at any time. Bishop Bonner had six of the Bibles set up in St. Paul's; and we are told that "many well disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible voice to read to them." And the



A CHAINED BIBLE

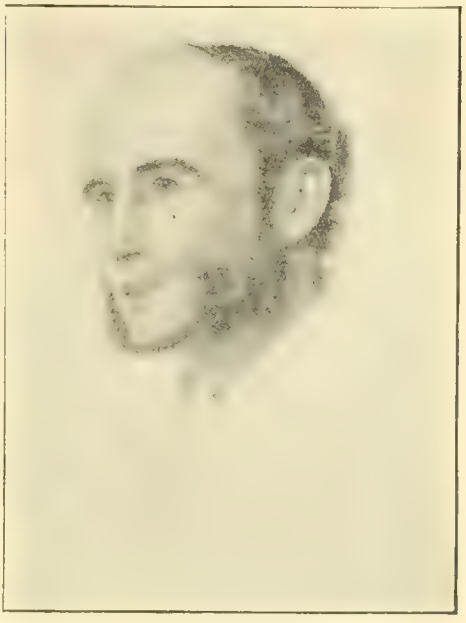
name of one young man, otherwise unknown to fame, John Porter, has become historic, because he was large of body and lusty of voice, "a fresh young man of big stature," who delighted many by his reading of the Word. As the old chronicle has it: "One John Porter used sometimes to be occupied in that goodly exercise, to the edifying of himself as well as others; and great multitudes would resort thither to hear him, because he could read well and had an audible voice." And the old annalist, Strype, in his life of Archbishop Cranmer, said: "It is wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learned sort, but generally, all England over, among all the vulgar and common people, and with what greediness God's word was read. Everybody that could bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them."

But what was this "Great Bible?" It has been variously described as a compilation from Matthew's and Coverdale's Bibles, and as a revision of Matthew's, Coverdale acting as editor, with reference to some other versions. But the interesting fact is that it is, like its predecessors, in reality only another version of Tyndale's great work; and that the noble martyr "though dead, yet speaketh." A second edition, in which parts of the Old Testament were revised, appeared in April, 1540, which was followed by two more editions that year, and three the next year, 1541. The edition of November, 1540, bore on its title page an authorization by Tunstall, Bishop of London, who thus gave official sanction to the work of Tyndale, which fourteen years before he had proscribed and burned at the cross of St. Paul's.

But a reaction now set in, which temporarily checked the continued publication of the Scriptures, though it did not quench the zeal of the people. Henry was no more pleased with the spirit to which the teachings of the Bible were giving life, than he had been with the overbearing claims of the Papacy; and after the execution of Cromwell he became distinctly hostile to the principles and practices of the Protestant leaders. In 1543 it was ordered that all translations of Scriptures bearing the name of Tyndale should be destroyed; that all notes and comments in other Bibles should be ob-

literated; and the common people were forbidden to read any part of the Bible either in public or private. In 1546 Coverdale's New Testament was joined in the same condemnation as Tyndale's, and a great destruction of the earlier Testaments took place. So that not only was the making of new translations suspended for several years, but the very existence of all that had been made was endangered. But the common people had already caught clear visions of a realm of light and freedom, and no royal command could quench their thirst for further knowledge. When the Great Bibles were set up in the churches to be read by all men, the gates had been opened, and no earthly power could close them again.

It is difficult for us of the twentieth century to appreciate what this change meant. Accustomed as the English speaking-peoples of to-day are to the issue of a score of thousand of new books every year, on every conceivable subject, and to the daily, weekly, and monthly ministrations of a like number of papers and periodicals of every character, we can with difficulty place ourselves in the position of our English ancestors of the early days of Elizabeth, when the Bible was practically the only literature with which they were familiar. As Green has said: "The whole moral effect which is produced now-a-days by the religious newspapers, the tract, the essay, the missionary report, the sermon, was then produced by the Bible alone; and its effect in this way, however dispassionately we examine it, was simply amazing. The whole nation became a church." The English people have, in a very true sense, been the people of one book; and to form any definite and proper estimate of the value of that book, which it is somewhat the purpose of this chapter to demonstrate, one must realize how it has entered into, given direction to, and affected the trend of all the literary, social, political, and religious thought and activities of that people from the days of the new birth, or Renaissance, down to what we are pleased to consider the full-orbed day of civil and religious liberty, and of general enlightenment, in which we live. That this has been so, is the result of conditions that attended the first presentation of the Bible to the people; and as it would be idle for another to try to im-



J. R. GREEN.

prove upon the account of those conditions which Green has so superbly and interestingly elaborated in his "History of the English People," we shall quote a few sentences from his account to illustrate our position. "All the prose literature of England," he says, "save the forgotten tracts of Wycliff, has grown up since the translation of the Scriptures by Tyndale and Coverdale. So far as the nation at large was concerned, no history, no romance, hardly any poetry, save the little-known verse of Chaucer, existed in the English tongue, when the Bible was ordered to be set up within the churches. Sunday after Sunday, day after day, the crowds that gathered round the Bibles in the nave of St. Paul's, or the family group that hung on its words in the doctrinal exercises at home, were leavened with a new literature. Legend and annal, war-song and psalm, State-roll and biography, the mighty voices of prophets, the par-

bles of Evangelists, stories of mission journeys, of perils by sea and among the heathen, philosophic arguments, apocalyptic visions, all were flung broadcast over minds unoccupied for the most part by any rival learning . . . The power of the book over the mass of Englishmen showed itself in a thousand superficial ways, and in none more conspicuously than in the influence it exerted on ordi-

HUGH LATIMER.

nary speech. It formed, we must repeat, the whole literature which was practically accessible to ordinary Englishmen; and when we recall the number of common phrases which we owe to great authors, the bits of Shakespeare, of Milton, of Dickens, of Thackeray, which unconsciously interweave themselves in our ordinary talk, we shall better understand the strange mosaic of biblical words and phrases which colored English talk three hundred years ago. The mass of picturesque allusion and illustration which we [illegible] were forced to borrow from one. When Spenser poured forth his warmest love-notes in the 'Epithalamion,' he adopted the very words of the Psalmist, as he bade the gates open for the [illegible] of his bride. When Cromwell saw the mists break over the hills of Dunbar, he hailed the sunburst with the cry of David, 'Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered. Like as the smoke vanisheth, so shalt thou drive them away.' Even to common minds this familiarity with grand poetic imagery in prophet and apocalypse gave a loftiness and ardor of expression that, with all its tendency to exaggeration and bombast, we may prefer to the slip-shod vulgarisms of to-day."

The brief freedom that was accorded the people in the use of the Bible by Edward VI., who succeeded Henry VIII. in 1547, was again restricted under Mary, who came to the throne in 1553. A bigoted Catholic, the wife of Philip of Spain, and of a generally sour and morose disposition, her accession boded ill for all reformers as well as for all use of the Scriptures. Although her reign lasted but five years, about three hundred Protestants were burned at the stake, including Cranmer and John Rogers, the real author, as we have seen, of Matthew's Bible, and the friend of Tyndale. Prominent among the other prelates who witnessed to their faith at the stake, were Ridley, Bishop of London, and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, celebrated alike for their great learning and virtue. Perishing in the same flames, they sustained each other's constancy by mutual exhortations, Latimer calling out, "Be of good cheer, brother Ridley; we shall this day kindle such a torch in England as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished."

But our immediate interest lies with the little band of fugitives from the Marian persecutions which found a safe refuge in Geneva, where Calvin had already become firmly established, and which was a stronghold of the whole reform movement. Besides Calvin and Knox there was then in Geneva Theodore Beza, recognized as the foremost biblical scholar of that day. A distinguished body of French scholars was also assembled there, engaged in making a translation of the Bible into their language for the use of French Protestants. Into this congenial atmosphere came several of the

Comparison of Texts from the Four Principal Bibles Preceding the Authorized Version

23d Psalm

COVERDALE'S, 1535.

The Lorde is my shepherde I can want nothing. He fedeth me in a greene pasture and ledeth me to a fresh water. He quickeneth my soule and bringeth me forth in the waye of righteousness for his names sake. Though I shulde walke now in the valley of the shadowe of death yet I feare no euell for thou art with me, thy staffe and thy shepehoke comforte me.

Thou preparest a table before agaynst mine enemies thou anoyntest my heade with oyle and fyllest my cuppe full. Oh let thy louing-kyndnes and mercy folowe me all the dayes off my lyfe that I maye dwell in the house off the Lord for euer.

GREAT BIBLE, 1539.

The Lorde is my shepherde therefore can I lacke nothing. He shal fede me in a grene pasture and leade me forth besyde ye watirs of coforte. He shal conuert my soule and bring me forth in ye pathes of righteousnes for his names sake. Yea though I walke thorowe ye valleye of ye shadowe of death I wyl fear no euell for thou art wt me: thy rod and thy staffe comfort me.

Thou shalt prepare a table before me agaynst them that trouble me: thou has anoynted my head wt oyle and my cup shal be ful. But louing kyndnes and mercy shal folowe me all the dayes of my lyfe and I wyll dwel in ye house of ye Lorde for euer.

GENEVAN BIBLE, 1560.

1. The Lord *is* my shepheard I shall not want.

2. Hee maketh mee to rest in greene pasture *and* leadeth mee by the still waters.

3. He restoreth my soule *and* leadeth me in the paths of righteousnesse for His Names sake.

4. Ye though I walk through the valley of the shadowe of death I will feare no euill for thou art with me: thy rodde and thy staffe they comfort me.

5. Thou doest prepare a table before me in the sight of mine adversaries; thou dost anoynt mine head with oyle *and* my cup runneth over.

6. Doubtlesse kindnesse and mercy shall follow mee all the dayes of my life and I shal remaine a long season in the house of the Lord.

BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1568.

1. God is my shepheardе therefore I can lacke nothyng: he wyll cause me to repose myselfe in pasture full of grasse and he wyll leade me vnto calme waters.

2. He will conuert my soule; he wyll bring me foorth into the pathes of righteousnesse for his names sake.

3. Yea though I walke through the valley of the shadowe of death I wyll fear no euyll; for thou art with me, thy rodde and thy staffe be the thyngs that do comfort me.

4. Thou wilt prepare a table before me in the presence of myne aduersaries; thou has anoynted my head with oyle and my cup shalbe brymme ful.

5. Truly felicitie and mercy shal folowe me all the dayes of my lyfe: and I wyll dwell in the house of God for a long tyme.

leading English Bible scholars who had fled across the channel, including Coverdale; and they immediately began to work upon a revision of the "Great Bible." A New Testament was first issued in 1557 by Whittingham, a fellow of All Saints College, Oxford, and a relative of Calvin by marriage. But this was very soon superseded by a more comprehensive and complete revision of the whole Bible, in which work Coverdale, Beza, and others took part in addition to Whittingham. The bases used for revision were the "Great Bible" for the Old Testament, and Tyndale's revision of 1534 of the New Testament. This "*Geneva Bible*" *as it has always been called, published in* 1560, *was notable in many respects. It was the first Bible printed in modern roman type instead of the old black letter which had always been used before. It was also the first Bible in which the modern division of chapters into verses occurs. In all previous translations only a division into chapters or paragraphs had been made, a form to which the Revisers of* 1880 *reverted.* In the making of versions of the Bible, or New Testament, the custom of writing comments in the margins had been universal from very early times. Beginning with Wyclif these became of a polemical character, not merely explanations or illustrations of the matter of the text; and Tyndale and others followed the steps of Wyclif, denouncing in their marginal notes the Pope, the Mass, the Confession, and all the leading doctrines of the Roman Church. The "Geneva Bible" was not only richly supplied with marginal notes of this character, but also added a large number proclaiming the Calvinistic and Protestant teaching against the divine right of kings and all forms of absolutism, —an innovation which, we shall see later, played an important part in determining the form of our Authorized Version.

The "Geneva" was for a long time familiarly known as the "Breeches" Bible, from its rendering of Gen. iii. 7, where Adam and Eve were said to have "sewed fig-tree leaves together, and made themselves breeches." Though it was never authorized for use in churches, its convenient form, a small quarto, its legible type, and its intelligent and sensible commentary immediately gained for it the popular approval, so that it became the Bible of the home and for all general reading; and during the half century that intervened between its publication and the completion of the King James version in 1611, more than one hundred and twenty distinct editions came from the press. Not the least interesting fact about this Geneva Bible, to American readers, is that it was the Bible used by our Puritan ancestors, and the one which the Pilgrims brought with them to Plymouth in 1620.

With the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, a brighter day dawned for the English Bible, as with the death of Mary had closed the final chapter in the history of the supremacy of the Catholic Church in England and Scotland. The public reading of the Bible in the churches was at once restored and the clergy were again required to have a copy of the "Great Bible" publicly displayed in the churches to which all should have free access. The publication of the Geneva Bible, however, at once weakened the position of its rival, even churchmen recognizing the great superiority of the former. But the partisan character of its notes made its acceptance for use in the public service of the churches out of the question. Consequently Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, conceived the idea of a revision of the Great Bible to be made by a number of scholars working separately. Portions of the Bible were assigned to each of the divines selected for the revision, and the whole work then passed through the hands of the archbishop as editor. This was known as the "Bishop's Bible," and was published in 1568. It at once superseded the "Great Bible" for use in the churches, no edition of the latter having been printed later than 1569. As a whole, however, the work was far from satisfactory, and the Geneva Bible still easily held its place in popular favor, the

Bishop's having practically no sale except for use in the churches. During the last third of the sixteenth century, therefore, there were three different Bibles in more or less common use; the "Geneva," in the homes and the familiar use of the people; the Bishop's, the translation supported by ecclesiastical authority; and the "Great Bible," which was still to be found chained to the walls or pillars of many churches throughout the kingdom.

Upon the death of Elizabeth the crown passed from the Tudors to the Stuarts, and James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England. One of the most peculiar and uninteresting kings that ever sat on any throne, it seems passing strange that we owe to one of his pronounced peculiarities,—his inordinate love of theological disputation,—the most admired of the English versions of the Bible. "His big head," says Green, "his slobbering tongue, his quilted clothes, his rickety legs, stood out in as grotesque a contrast with all that men recalled of Henry or Elizabeth as his gabble and rhodomontade, his want of personal dignity, his buffoonery, his coarseness of speech, his pedantry, his contemptible cowardice. Under this ridiculous exterior, however, lay a man of much natural ability, a ripe scholar, with a considerable fund of shrewdness, of mother wit, and ready repartee. His reading, especially in theology, was exhaustive; and he was a voluminous author on subjects which ranged from predestination to tobacco. But his shrewdness and learning only left him, in the phrase of Henry IV. of France, 'the wisest fool in Christendom.'"

Very early in his reign grievances from the Puritan wing of the church were pressed upon the King, and in 1604 he held a conference at Hampton Court to consider the subject of toleration, to which bishops and Puritan clergy were alike invited. In the course of a lengthy discussion of religious affairs, Dr. Reynolds, a Puritan, and the head of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, urged the need of a new revision of the Bible, which should be such as could be accepted by all, and so become a bond of union between rival religious communities. Coming from a Puritan the proposition seemed likely to fail of serious consideration, Bancroft, Bishop of London, remarking "if every man had his humor about new versions, there would be no end of translating." But the proposal appealed to James, and he quickly saw that such a work well done would confer great distinction on his reign, while having, in a sense, the supervision of it would afford him many opportunities for the display of his theological learning, of which he was inordinately proud. Moreover, he had had many and irritating controversies with the Calvinists of Scotland, Andrew Melvil, for instance, once having snapped his fingers in the King's face, and called him "God's silly vassal." He had,

JAMES I

therefore, conceived a violent hatred of the "Geneva Bible," whose whole atmosphere was hostile to the cardinal doctrine of the Stuarts,—"the divine right of kings." It is not surprising, therefore, that James shortly after suggested a scheme for the prosecution of the work, along the general lines that the revision should be executed mainly by the universities; that it should be approved by the

bishops and most learned men of the whole church, by the privy council, and by the King himself, so that the whole church should be concerned in it; and especially important, in view of the results, was the absolute prohibition of the usual marginal commentaries which might tend to make it a Bible of one party only,—marginal notes only to be used for the purpose of explaining, when deemed necessary, any Hebrew or Greek words.

The scheme of revision was drawn up in 1604, though the work was not formally begun until 1607. The body of revisers was a very able one, including the professors of Hebrew and Greek at both universities, with practically all the leading scholars of the day. Their number varied from forty-eight to fifty; and they were divided into six groups, of which two sat at Westminster, two at Oxford, and two at Cambridge. In the first instance each group worked separately on a special part of the Bible assigned to it, and when any group had finished the revision of its allotted portion, the matter was sent to all the others for their criticism or suggestions; while ultimate differences of opinion were to be settled at a general meeting of the chief members of each company. Two years and nine months of arduous labor were consumed in the work, the last nine months being devoted to the final revision; and in 1611 the results of their labors were published. *This has always been known as the "King James Version," or as the "Authorized Version," by which title it is most frequently designated and cited;* yet, strangely, apart from the appearance on the title page of the words "appointed to be read in the churches," *there is no record whatever of any decree of King, parliament, or convocation, ordaining its use.* As against the Bishop's Bible it quickly established its superiority; but the struggle between it and the Geneva Bible was long and somewhat heated, and for more than fifty years they existed side by side, just as the Authorized Version and the Revised have existed since 1885. But the recognized superior merit of the King James Version, and its freedom from any party or sectarian spirit, eventually won the day for it, so that by the middle of the seventeenth century it *had taken its unrisputed place as the Bible of the English nation.* All learned and serious-minded people realized that in its preparation the translation had passed out of the sphere of controversy; that it had been made a national undertaking in which no one had any interest at heart save that of producing the best possible version of the Scriptures. But another important element that contributed to the excellence of the translation was the constant improvement of literary expression and taste during the fifty years preceding the revision. We have already referred to the absolute lack of books and of literary culture when the "Great Bible" was published; but in the intervening period some of the most noted poets and prose writers of English literature,—Spenser, Sidney, Hooker, Marlowe, Shakespeare, to name only a few of the greatest,—had combined to establish and cultivate a literary style and to fix a high standard of literary taste. *And it was under such influences that the revisers wrought out the fine material left them by Tyndale and his successors into that grandest monument of Elizabethan prose, the version of 1611.* As one has well said: *"The English of the Authorized Version is the finest specimen of our prose literature at a time when English prose wore its stateliest and most majestic form."*

As the history of the Bible as used in the Roman Catholic churches, and the measure of its agreement with the one used in the Protestant churches is not generally understood, it seems desirable to describe the origin and development of the former, as we have already done of the latter. In 1903 Miss Helen Gould, having had some controversial correspondence with Father Early of Hastings-on-the-Hudson, offered through Dr. White, president of the Bible Teachers' Training School, prizes for the three best essays upon the accepted Catholic Bible and the

American revision of 1901. These prizes were respectively one thousand, five hundred, and two hundred and fifty dollars. Two hundred and sixty-five essays were submitted. A competent and scholarly board of seven judges unanimously agreed upon three of these as most completely and learnedly covering the ground specified. These have since been published in a volume entitled "Roman Catholic and Protestant Bibles Compared. The Gould Prize Essays." (Scribner's Sons). They give an amount of reliable information upon the subjects discussed—all buttressed by an array of references to and quotations from Catholic and Protestant Bible students, decrees of councils, and ecclesiastical authorities,—such as has never before been accessible to the general reader in a single volume in the English language. It is a work that every Bible student should be familiar with; and we gratefully acknowledge an indebtedness to it for many facts, and especially for the translations of church decrees, and similar documents.

The Bible in use in the Roman Catholic Church has for its basic version the Vulgate of St. Jerome. An account of his preparation of that version has already been given above. In 1545 the Council of Trent, after a prolonged debate, decreed: "The same old and Vulgate edition, which has been approved by long use for so many ages in the Church itself, is to be regarded as authentic in public readings, controversies, discourses, and expositions, and nobody may dare or presume to reject it on any pretense." And it was further declared to be unlawful "for anyone to print or cause to be printed any books whatsoever on sacred matters without the name of the author; nor to sell them in future, or even to keep them by them, unless they shall have been first examined and approved by the ordinary." But the chief source of confusion in the church arose from the fact that there were so many and variant editions of the Vulgate in existence, scores of them differing one from another so that there could not be said to be any commonly received text. This point, however, was not touched upon by the Council of Trent. The oldest extant manuscript of the Vulgate, known as the *Codex Amiatinus,* as it came from the convent of Monte Amiata, near Sienna, Italy, is now the most valued treasure of the Mediceo-Laurentian library at Florence. It was originally made in England by order of Ceolfrid, and by him presented to Pope Gregory II. about 715 A. D. Even when this was made the texts must have been very corrupt, as copies had been made constantly during three hundred years; and as we have before shown, early scribes rarely hesitated to take liberties with the texts they were copying, adding or omitting words or phrases if such additions or omissions seemed to them to improve the text. As Gigot, the learned Professor of Sacred Scriptures at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md., says in his "General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures:" "During the course of the two centuries which elapsed between the time of St. Jerome and the general reception of his work, corruptions of a very extensive character crept naturally into the text of the Latin Vulgate. Not only the ordinary mistakes of transcription . . . were made . . . but the peculiar relation in which our Vulgate stood to the old Latin Version . . . led to a strange mixture of texts. From sheer familiarity with the words of the older version the transcribers of the Vulgate wrote down its words instead of those of St. Jerome. Another fertile source of corruption . . . consisted in the lack of critical sense in most of the transcribers and owners of manuscripts during the Middle Ages; time and again they inserted in their copies of Holy Writ glosses drawn from other manuscripts, from parallel passages, from the sacred liturgy, from the writings of St. Jerome, or even of Josephus, and thought that they had thereby secured what they were pleased to call *pleniores codices* (more complete texts), while they had simply added to the corruptions already existing."

Even when the Council of Trent convened more than seventy different editions of the Vulgate had been published since the invention of printing; and generally the printer used the most available copy without regard to its authenticity or accuracy. In view of these facts an appeal was made to the Pope shortly after the close of the Council to determine upon a text that should be deemed and recognized as authoritative. It was some years, however, before the subject received serious consideration. But toward the end of the sixteenth century one of the noted scholars of the church became Pope, as Sixtus V. In 1587 he appointed a committee of six scholars to revise the Vulgate, reserving for himself the decisive voice in the revision. As Pope, he prefaced this revision with a Bull giving it the approval of his "apostolic authority transmitted from the Lord," and decreeing that it should be used "as true, legitimate, authentic, and undoubted in all public and private debates, readings, preachings, and explanations;" and anyone who ventured to change it without Papal authority would "incur the wrath of God Almighty and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul." Reserving a copyright for ten years, he ordered that all future editions must conform with it, and that all existing copies should be corrected by it and be officially certified by inquisitor or bishop. Sixtus dying in 1590 his revision was held for further scrutiny, as something like two thousand of his personal corrections of the committee's work had been proved erroneous. In 1592 a revision of the revision of Sixtus was issued under the authority of Clement VIII. This revision was also preceded by a Bull of Clement similar in terms to that of Sixtus. Corrected editions followed in 1592, 1593, and 1598, all of which are credited to Sixtus instead of Clement. This course seemed necessary in order to protect the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope. The Clementine Vulgate in the edition of 1598 became the authorized text of that version for use in the Roman Catholic Church, and is to-day the standard for all Catholic versions of the Scriptures, from which, according to the Bull of Clement, none may vary.

The many translations of the Bible into the English tongue during the sixteenth century had excited a popular enthusiasm which affected Catholics as well as Protestants; and the apprehended danger to Catholic readers from contact with the marginal notes of the Protestant Bibles forced the authorities of the Roman Church to yield an unwilling assent to a translation for their own people. The reign of Elizabeth was not a propitious one for the Catholic Church in England. Many of its priests and scholars, therefore, took refuge on the Continent; and among them was a distinguished and learned graduate of Oxford, William Allen. With the approval of the Pope he established, in 1568, a seminary at Douay, in France, for the training of English Catholics. Ten years later the school was removed to Rheims, where the translation of the Bible was begun. That it was not undertaken with good grace the preface to the work clearly shows. The translators there declare that they have not taken the step from an "erroneous opinion of necessity that the Holy Scriptures should always be in the mother tongue, or that they ought to be read indifferently by all. Not for these causes do we translate this sacred book." But they consider that some things are "medicineable now that otherwise in the peace of the church were neither much requisite, nor perchance wholly tolerable." Moreover Allen, in a letter, expressed his aversion to the work. "Perhaps indeed it would have been more desirable," he wrote, "that the Scriptures had never been translated into barbarous tongues; nevertheless at the present day, when either from heresy or other causes, the curiosity of men, even of those who are not bad, is so great, and there is often also such need of reading the Scriptures in order to confute our opponents, it is better that there should be a faithful and Catholic translation than that men should use a

corrupt version to their peril or destruction; the more so since the dangers which arise from reading certain more difficult passages may be obviated by suitable notes."

Associated with Allen in this undertaking were Gregory Martin, reputed to be one of the most learned Hebrew and Greek scholars of his time, Richard Bristow, and Dr. Worthington, all distinguished Oxford scholars. Martin translating, his co-laborers revised his work, with the result that in 1582 the New Testament, with notes by Allen and Bristow, was published at Rheims. As the standard Clementine Vulgate was published in 1598, a new edition of the Rheims New Testament was issued in 1600 at Antwerp. In 1609 the Old Testament, with notes by Worthington, was published at Douay, forming, with the New Testament described above, the Rheims and Douay Bible, or, as it is commonly called, the "Douay Bible." Though this has since been accepted as the authorized version of the Holy Scriptures to be used in the Catholic Church, it has never received Papal indorsement. As Cardinal Newman has said: "It has never had any episcopal imprimatur, much less has it received any formal approbation from the Holy See. It comes to us on the authority of certain divines of the Cathedral and College of Rheims and of the University of Douay, confirmed by the subsequent indirect recognition of English, Scotch, and Irish bishops and its general reception by the faithful."

In making their translation Allen and his associates worked upon what they considered the best texts of the Vulgate. "It must be said," declares Professor Gigot, "that, since the Douay version was made very closely from Latin manuscripts, or editions of the sixteenth century, anterior to the official texts published by the Popes Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., it may and does in several cases point to Latin readings no longer found in our editions of the Latin Vulgate." The translators also followed closely in many places the English translations of Wyclif, Tyndale, and Coverdale. In fact it is only when these early translations are more or less closely adhered to that the Douay version is generally intelligible to the average English reader. A literal translation of Latin

CARDINAL NEWMAN.

words produced a hard and often incomprehensible literary work. That this fact was recognized by the translators is made evident by their reference to it in their preface. "We have," they say, "kept ourselves as near as possible to our text and to the *very words and phrases made venerable . . . though to some profane or delicate ears they may seem more hard or barbarous.*" And it was this course, with the results it produced, which led the English revisers in publishing the King James version to suggest in their preface that the Douay translators had retained Latin words "of purpose to darken the sense, that since they must needs translate the Bible, yet by the language thereof it may be kept from being understood." This unintelligible character of much of the English of the Douay translation and the success of the King James version created a demand for a revision of the former, with the result that such works followed in frequent suc-

cession. The most noted of these was the translation of Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of London. In 1749 he brought out an edition of the Rheims New Testament and later of the Douay Bible, "newly revised and corrected according to the Clementine edition of the Scriptures." The changes from the language of the Douay version were so many that Challoner's was practically a new translation; and in this translation the King James Version was evidently his guide. So evident is this that Cardinal Newman wrote: "Looking at Dr. Challoner's labors on the Old Testament as a whole, we may pronounce that they issue in little short of a new translation. They can as little be said to be made on the basis of the Douay as on the basis of the Protestant Version. Of course, there must be a certain resemblance between any two Catholic Versions whatever; because they are both translations of the same Vulgate. But, this connection between the Douay and Challoner being allowed for, Challoner's version is even nearer to the Protestant than it is to the Douay; nearer, that is, not in grammatical structure, but in phraseology and diction." And further he says: "After all allowances for the accident of selection (of passages for comparison) it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that at this day the Douay Old Testament no longer exists as a received version of the Authorized Vulgate." Referring to the same author's revision of the New Testament, Newman says: "The second Challoner edition of 1750 differs from the first, according to the collations which Dr. Cotton has printed, in about one hundred and twenty-four passages; the third, 1752, in more than two thousand. These alterations, Dr. Cotton tells us, are all in the direction of the Protestant Version." And Cardinal Wiseman says: "To call it any longer the Douay or Rhemish version is an abuse of terms. It has been altered and modified till scarcely any verse remains as originally published."

In 1783 the Rev. Bernard McMahon, of Dublin, published another revision of the Douay Bible, which is commonly known as the Troy Bible, from the prelate who gave his approbation to the translation. Though this work claims descent from the Challoner version, it differs from it materially, there being more than five hundred variations in the New Testament. These two revisions, however,—Challoner's and Troy's—have become the accepted authorities in the Church, though many other translations have since been made.

In 1870 the Vatican Council restated the position of the Church in these words: "The complete books of the Old and New Testaments with all their parts, as they are received in the decrees of the same Council (of Trent) and contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition, must be received as sacred and canonical. The Church, moreover, holds these books as sacred and canonical not only because collected by man's industry, since they have been approved by its authority, nor for the reason only that they contain revelation without error, but because, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the collections have God as their author, and as such the churches have handed them down."

The authority for the use of this version in the United States comes from the decrees of the Second Council of Baltimore, held in 1866. After charging that the clergy should take care that their flocks do not "select the pure food of the word of God unless from approved versions and editions," the Council declares its position as follows: "We order, therefore, that the Douay Version, which is received in all churches where the faithful speak English, and which has been justly set forth for the use of the faithful by our predecessors, be altogether retained. Moreover the bishops will take care that the most approved copy should be designated by them, and all editions, both of the Old and New Testaments of the Douay Version be most perfectly made, with such notes as might be selected from the holy Fathers of the Church, or from learned Catholics."

It is evident, therefore, that no translation of the Bible into English has ever received the official approval of the Holy See. While the translation in general use is known as the Douay Bible, it is, nevertheless, Challoner's or Troy's revision of that text, which, as has been shown, amounted to practically new translations. Any of the many revisions that have been made may be used by members of the Catholic Church provided it has received the approval of a bishop or higher prelate. But the only version that has received ecumenical or papal authorization is the Vulgate itself. The position generally maintained by the clergy and laity of the Church was undoubtedly clearly expressed by Father Early in his letter to Miss Gould. "The Catholic Church," he wrote, "has never prohibited any of her members reading the Scriptures or Bible. In every family whose means will permit the buying of a copy, there you will find the authentic version of God's words as authorized by the Church, and which has come down to us, unchanged, from the time of Christ himself. But the Catholic Church does object to the reading of the Protestant Version, which goes back only to the days of Henry VIII. of England, and was then gotten up for obvious reasons."

How truly this Bible has "come down to us *unchanged* from the time of Christ," and how exact is the Father's declaration as to the age and purpose of the Protestant Bible, one may be able to judge somewhat intelligently, it is hoped, from the unbiased account that has been given of the different versions and revisions of the same early texts by the great ecclesiastical divisions of the Universal Church in the western world.

Ever since the invention of printing the vagaries of compositors have bowed low the heads of publishers and excited the most profane sentiments of authors. That frequent errors should have been made in the earliest days of printing, and that they should have passed inspection and survived to enliven the printed page is hardly to be wondered at. Composition and proof-reading were not then the specialized arts they have since become. Holy writ and secular literature have alike suffered from the lapses of type-setters, many of which have produced a racy humor beyond the conscious wit of man to devise. Collectors of rare and curious books have long since fixed a great value upon certain editions of the Bible which, upon publication, were found to contain gems of the compositor's fancy. These have all been given distinctive titles, suggestive of the character of the blunder they have perpetuated. The *Breeches Bible* and the *Treacle Bible* have already been mentioned; and a brief description of the most valued of the others may not be without interest.

The *Printer's Bible* is so called because where in Psalm cxix. 161, the Psalmist declares that "Princes have persecuted me without a cause," he is made by the type-setter to say that, even at that early day, "printers," not princes, were the source of his troubles.

The *Vinegar Bible* takes its name from an edition of the Authorized Version published in 1717, in which the head-line over Luke xx. calls attention to the "Parable of the Vinegar," instead of the Vineyard.

The sixteenth verse of Jude reads: "There are murmurers, complainers," etc. But the luckless compositor thought "murderers" better expressed the author's meaning, and so became responsible for the *Murderer's Bible.*

It would almost seem that the days of Elizabeth were more akin to the twentieth century than we are apt to appreciate; and that political bosses were then the sources of patronage as now. The one who set up the type for the Sermon on the Mount in the Geneva Bible of 1562 was unquestionably an office-seeker, and so naturally declared "Blessed are the Place-makers" instead of Peacemaker's; thus giving birth to the *Place Maker's Bible.*

The evil-minded who would annul the Ten Commandments belong to all ages. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a

compositor of the time of Charles I. immortalizing himself by producing the *Wicked Bible*, for which it was only necessary to omit the "not" from the seventh commandment. All pure-minded people, however, will sympathize with the righteous indignation of Arch-bishop Laud, who promptly fined the offender in the sum of £300 sterling for his indiscretion.

If St. Paul was conscious of events of the sixteenth century he must have felt that he had just occasion for the application of his injunction, "Be ye angry and sin not." For while he had sedulously labored to confirm the Corinthian Christians in righteousness, in I. Cor. vi. 9, urging "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the Kingdom of God?" another absent-minded compositor overlooked the negative, and thus knocked out one of the corner-stones of the great Apostle's theology by declaring that the unrighteous should inherit the Kingdom. And so we have the *Unrighteous Bible*.

The *Bug Bible* is of particular interest because of the different use of words at different periods rather than from a printer's error. This edition of Coverdale's Bible made Psalm xci. 5, read: "Thou shalt not nede to be affrayed for eny *bugges* by night." To the modern ear this has an unpleasant sound. But all disagreeable suggestions vanish when one remembers that the word "bogy," which we still use, was in the sixteenth century the common term for anything frightful or fearful, either in its present form, or as "bug." The latter is used in the same sense in Purvey's and Matthew's Bibles, though not there in the Psalm quoted. Shakespeare, also, in III. Henry VI. has: "Warwicke was a *bugge* that fear'd (affrighted) us all;" and in another place: "The *bug* which you would fright me with, I seek." Coverdale's translation thus becomes more natural, though none the less amusing to modern readers.

Others, though less interesting and sought after, are the *Goose Bible*, the *Leda Bible*, the *He and She Bibles*, the *Standing Fast* Bible, etc. Of course but few copies of these Bibles got into circulation, as the errors were quickly noted by some reader. The further issue was then delayed until the objectionable passages had been corrected.

For more than two hundred and fifty years the grand old version of 1611 has been the word of God for all English-speaking Protestant peoples, in all parts of the world. And when, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, urgent calls for a revision of it were made by scholars, the great mass of Christian people protested, and the question naturally was asked on all sides, "Why do we need a revision?" It has often been said that when Luther, protesting against an infallible Pope, inaugurated the reformation movement, he set up in the place of the unseated autocrat an infallible book; and there are few who were children of Christian families of a half a century ago who were not taught that every individual word of the Bible they used was directly inspired by God,—a teaching that has worked more harm in the world, and made more skeptics, than all heretical teachings combined. The whole beauty and purpose of God's wonderful revelations of Himself, and His purposes, were missed and instead of seeking above all things to learn the will of the Father and then to develop a life in harmony with that will, all the energy of the great majority of Christians has been expended in well-nigh fruitless endeavors to minutely observe the mere letter of the law, while its spirit was too often entirely missed. A spirit of idolatry was almost omnipresent, the form of the revelation getting the reverence due to its content alone; the setting of the stone being more highly prized than the precious jewel which it encased. We have endeavored to show that our English Bible has been evolved, and that the form in which we know and love it is the result of a long series of revisions. Every devout Christian believes that God spake to Holy men of old, and the essential thing for His followers to know is just what He said, regardless of the form in which the mes-

sage comes to us. For the New Testament we know that the message was written out some eighteen centuries ago in the form of original manuscripts in the Greek language; and for the Old Testament very ancient documents existed which were the written form of traditions that had been accumulating for centuries,—traditions handed down from generation to generation with an exactness of form that could not be made more perfect by the modern form of the printed book. But as we have shown, owing to the persecution of the early church and Christians everyone of such manuscripts had been lost before the fourth century; and for fifteen hundred years the only available form in which their message existed was the Latin Vulgate, itself Jerome's revision of the early Latin versions which in turn were translated from the original Greek Scriptures of the first and second centuries. From about 400 A. D. to 1500 A. D. the only standard to which all translations could be referred was the Vulgate; and as, during that long period, thousands of copies of it had been made, and its original was early lost, it hardly needs any argument to prove that many and perhaps important changes and corruptions must have crept in, and errors and omissions, or additions, have been made to the original text. Consequently ever since the awakening of the Christian consciousness in the fourteenth century, the supreme desire of devout scholars has been to find that plumb line of Divine Truth, and to straighten their warped and ill-shaped forms of it by that standard. For the New Testament the imperative need was a reliable Greek text, one that could be relied upon as an esentially correct reproduction of the original form of the Gospels, Epistles, and other books. But it was not until 1516, when Erasmus published his Greek Testament, that any approximately accurate guide was obtained; and the material upon which he had to build was of doubtful authority, and unquestionably imperfect; yet it was upon such uncertain foundations that the revisers of 1611 had to build. But during the last century the situation has entirely changed. Not only have three very ancient texts of nearly the whole Bible been discovered (the codices described above), but thousands of other manuscripts, versions, and documents have come to light, which were entirely unknown to the makers of the Authorized Version. Moreover during the last century a large body of the world's most learned men have devoted their entire study to the comparison and collating of all this material, that is, to textual criticism, with the result that forty or fifty years ago these scholars became assured that they were in a position to determine with great exactness just what the original texts of the Scriptures were; and men like Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott, and Hort, were able to practically agree upon a Greek Text for the New Testament which has proved acceptable to all men learned in textual criticism. Their researches had proved beyond question that many readings of our King James Version were erroneous; and the question became a dominant one whether as Christians we should have and teach the word as Christ and the Apostles spoke and wrote it, or whether we should still be content with a superb and grand literary production irrespective of the relation of its contents to the exact truth. Happily the desire to know the truth prevailed; with the result that on the 10th of February, 1870, Bishop Wilberforce proposed in the upper house of the Southern Convocation "that a committee of both houses be appointed to confer with any committee that may be appointed by the convocation of the northern province, to report on the desirableness of a revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament, whether by marginal notes or otherwise, *in all those passages where plain and clear errors, whether in the Greek text adopted by the translators, or in the translations made from the same, shall on due investigation be found to exist.*"

In our classification of the material

upon which revision must be based, we spoke of manuscripts, ancient versions, and the writings of the early fathers. As was then said, the early fathers were voluminous writers and pronounced controversialists, and nearly one half of their works are made up of quotations from the Scriptures as they existed in their time, only a century or two after the Apostolic days. Hence these very profuse quotations become of supreme value in textual criticism, corroborating the texts of the manuscripts or versions that were before the revisers of 1880, who were the first scholars engaged in any such work, practically, to whom this great mass of material was available.

Another consideration that made revision seem desirable was the natural growth of the English language since the days of Elizabeth, and the consequent change in the meaning and use of many words. Many an earnest Christian has stumbled over Christ's injunction "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on," not knowing that when the Authorized Version was made the word "thought" was used in the sense of worry, anxious thought, fret,—a sense which it has now entirely lost. So what the Master really said was, "Do not worry, or fret yourself about such matters," gently assuring his followers that their Heavenly Father knew that they had need of all these things. In the same sense an early chronicler used the word when he wrote that "*Soto died of thought in Florida;*" and Chaucer wrote, "Which cause is of my death for *sorrowe and thought*." Another illustration is in the use of the verb "to let," which in earlier times had the meaning "to hinder" and "prevent." The Authorized Version makes Paul write to the Thessalonians (II. Th. xi. 7), "Only he who now *letteth will let*, until he be taken out of the way," which is evidently the opposite of his meaning. Shakespeare used this word in the same sense, when he made Hamlet, who would follow his father's ghost, say, "By Heaven! I'll make a ghost of him that *lets* me;" and in Tennyson's Lancelot and Elaine we read:

> "Sir King, mine ancient wound
> is hardly whole
> And *lets* me from the saddle."

The work of revision was undertaken by a carefully selected committee of fifty-four members, who were divided into two companies of twenty-seven members each, one company to undertake the revision of the Old and one the revision of the New Testament. These committees were made up of the most noted biblical scholars of Great Britain, the leading professors of the Hebrew and Greek languages in the great universities, with many special students of textual criticism. Sectarian lines were ignored in making up the committees, the leading men of the Church of England, and the noted scholars of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist Churches sitting side by side in the prosecution of their great work. The first meeting of the revisers was held in June, 1870, in the renowned Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey. The work of revising the New Testament occupied the attention of its company for ten years, during which time the average number of meetings was forty each year; and in May, 1881, the Revised Version of the New Testament was published, which was followed by the Old Testament in July, 1884, and a complete Revised Version of the entire Bible was published in May, 1885. As a very complete account is given in the preface to the Revised Version of all the conditions attending its preparation, we shall not recite the details here. Christian people all over the world had followed the reports of the work of the committees with deep interest and the result was anxiously looked for. More than three million copies of the Revised New Testament were sold within one year after its issue, and the complete Bible received a cordial welcome when it appeared later. Shortly after the beginning of their work the English revisers solicited the co-operation of American Bible scholars, and

two companies were organized in the United States similar to the companies in England, who worked together harmoniously during the remainder of the revision period. Some of the suggestions of the American committees that were not accepted by the English revisers were added to the completed Bible as an appendix. By the mutual agreement under which the work of the two national committees was prosecuted, the American revisers had bound themselves not to publish any American revision for fourteen years. During this period, however, they had kept up their organization and a great deal of critical study had been devoted to the English version of 1885. And at the expiration of the fourteen years' period the American revision committee decided to publish a standard Revised Version for the United States, which came from the press of Thomas Nelson & Sons in 1901. This embodies all the suggestions of the American revisers which were not accepted by the English companies, and in other ways materially differs from the English Revised Version. This American revision has become the standard in this country and is unquestionably as near a true rendering of the Holy Scriptures as can be made.

As we have seen, loud protests have been made by those to whom old versions have become familiar and dear, whenever revisions have been proposed. When Jerome made the Vulgate, which superseded the Old Latin Bible; when the King James Version came into competition with the home Bible of the people, the "Geneva;" and recently again, when the Revised Version was offered in preference to the Authorized Version, the same cry has in every instance been raised, "They are taking away our Bible." But just as the "Geneva" and "King James" Versions existed side by side for more than half a century, so the later revision is living harmoniously with the beloved Authorized Version; and after twenty-five years of such friendly rivalry Christian people have come to realize that in the work of revision nothing rightly tending to subvert the faith of any believer has been set up. Many readings and expressions which had become as familiar to us as household words in the Authorized Version, have been changed in the revised, and we cannot help feeling that something has been lost. But the essential fact is that after from ten to fifteen years of the most critical study and deliberation of the foremost biblical scholars of England and America, during which time thousands of manuscripts, versions, and translations covering a period of more than fifteen hundred years, have been studied and compared, it has not been found necessary to change or materially restate any essential truth as set forth in the King James Version. So that we have not lost our Bible; but we have gained the priceless assurance that we have, essentially correct, the Scriptures as they were known to the Christians of the first and second centuries. The letter it has been deemed wise and helpful to change in many cases; but the great truths of the Divine revelation, as we have been familiar with their statement in the Authorized Version, remain unchanged and inviolate.

Some time after the appearance of the Revised Version, a well-known clergyman published a book entitled, "What is left of the Bible?" Much better might it be asked, "What has been lost from our Bible?" and a truthful answer would be "Nothing." Not one of the grand truths that have placed these sacred books so far above all other books of religious or philosophical thought has been assailed; and for nearly all, the same exalted statement remains. The old Bible, dear to millions of people both for its simple expression of the thoughts of every human heart and for the beauty and majesty of its literary form, holds a more exalted position to-day than ever before. The esteem in which any great work has been held by the most learned, serious-minded, and eminently experienced men of the past naturally interests their readers of following generations. We cannot, there-

fore, better bring this story of the evolution of our English Bible to a close than by quoting the opinions regarding it of many of the distinguished statesmen, prose-writers and poets of the recent and more remote past. Rev. R. Heber Newton, in his book, "The Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible," and Professor T. H. Pattison in his "History of the English Bible," in particular, have brought together a great number of these testimonies from a wide range of sources; and we gladly acknowledge our indebtedness to them for several of the sentiments which follow.

Emerson wrote: "Europe has always owed to Oriental genius its divine impulses. What these holy bards said, all sane men found agreeable and true. And the unique impression of Jesus upon mankind, *whose name is not so much written as ploughed into the history of the world*, is proof of the subtle virtue of this infusion." And in the same manner that the name of Jesus has been "ploughed" into history, the noble and soul-satisfying teachings of the Bible have been "ploughed" into the human consciousness of English-speaking peoples. What a blank would most of our best literature be, could the Bible and its influences be withdrawn from it! Poets, orators, statesmen, novelists have, one and all, drawn from its pages their highest inspiration and a large proportion of their most impressive thought, as well as the standard of form for its expression. "The English Bible" says Macaulay; "a book which if everything else in our language should perish, would alone suffice to show the full extent of its beauty and power." Along the same line John Stuart Mill wrote: "The Bible and Shakespeare have done more than any other books for the English language, introducing into the soul of it such grand ideas expressed with such sublime simplicity." But "Shakespeare," says Emerson, "the first literary genius of the world, the highest in whom the moral is not the predominating element, *leans on the Bible; his poetry presupposes it.*" And Bishop Wordsworth has cited five hundred and forty passages from Shakespeare, where the poet uses the exact words of the Bible, or uses its image or thought with a slightly varied form of expression.

"As a mere literary monument," wrote J. R. Green, "the English Bible remains the noblest example of the English tongue, while its perpetual use made it from the instant of its appearance, the standard of our language." "People imagine," says Emerson, "that the place which the Bible holds in the world, it owes to miracles; it owes it simply to the fact that it came out of a profounder depth of thought than any other book." Milton and Dante lived, moved, and had their intellectual being in the atmosphere of the Bible; while Tennyson, Browning, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Pope, Dryden, Addison, drank at the same fountain of exalted wisdom and sublime expression, and gladly witnessed to their obligation. "There can be no songs comparable to the songs of Zion," wrote Milton; "no orations equal to those of the prophets; and no politics like those the Scriptures teach." It is said to have been Edmund Burke's habit to read a chapter in Isaiah before going to speak in the House of Commons. "Isaiah," said he, "possessed both the blaze of eloquence and the light of truth;" and Washington Irving declared: "I think I have waked a good many sleeping fancies by the reading of a chapter in Isaiah." Matthew Arnold, easily the most distinguished literary critic of his time, edited Isaiah as a text book for the culture of the imagination in English schools; and in his preface to that work exclaims with enthusiasm: "What a source of eloquence and poetry is the Bible in our schools!" In another place the same writer says: "Of conduct, which is more than three-fourths of life, the Bible, whatever people may think or say, is the great inspirer." In his conversation with Eckermann, Goethe said: "Let mental culture go on advancing, let the natural sciences go on gaining in depth and breadth and the human mind expand as it may, it will never go beyond the ele-

vation and moral culture of Christianity, as it glistens and shines in the Gospel." And Thomas Jefferson wrote: "Of all the systems of morality, ancient and modern, which have come under my observation, none appear to me so pure as that of Jesus." Daniel Webster was an habitual reader of the Bible and attributed his wonderful vocabulary of the simplest yet most forceful language to the influence of the Scriptures, while he held its moral standards as far superior to those of any other religion. In one of his remarkable orations he says: "If we abide by the principles taught in the Bible, our country will go on prospering and to prosper; but if we and our posterity neglect its instruction and authority, no man can tell how sudden a catastrophe may overwhelm us, and bury all our glory in profound obscurity." One of his most admired passages was the reference to the besetting force of "duty," which closed his argument in the famous White murder case. "A sense of duty," he said, "pursues us ever. It is omnipresent like the Deity. If we take to ourselves the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, duty performed or duty violated, is still with us for our happiness or our misery. If we say surely the darkness shall cover us, in the darkness as in the light our obligations are yet with us. We cannot escape their power, nor fly from their presence,"—all of which is merely the most literal paraphrase of the Psalmist's sense of the omnipresence of God, as expressed in the 139th Psalm. In his "History of the Jewish Church," Dean Stanley recalls reminiscences of the great historian of Israel, Ewald, saying: "It is impossible to forget the noble enthusiasm with which this dangerous heretic, as he was regarded in England, grasped the small Greek Testament which he had in his hand as we entered, and said '*In this little book is contained all the wisdom of the world.*'" Carlyle read his Bible continually, insisting that it was the greatest work in the world; and the book of Job, which was his closest friend, he considered "one of the grandest things ever written with pen." Indeed, it is related of him that once visiting at a country house he was asked to conduct the family worship; and starting to read that immortal poem he forgot his surroundings, and did not stop until he had read all of its forty-two chapters. Ruskin and Cardinal Newman have generally been considered as masters of the purest and choicest English; yet both attributed their skill in its use to the fact that they were led to commit large portions of the Bible to memory, when young. From his earlist boyhood, Scott was a devout admirer and constant student of the Bible; and his greatest romances are filled with Scriptural references, and many direct quotations occur. In describing the great man's last illness, his son-in-law and biographer, Lockhart, says: "Here he expressed a wish that I should read to him, and when asked from what book, he said, '*Need you ask? There is but one.*'"

In reply to a critic Dickens once wrote: "I have always striven to express veneration for the life and lessons of our Saviour, because I feel it." But had he left no written testimony of his reverence for the Gospel, one would not read far in his works without realizing the atmosphere of Christ's teachings; and no one can read that superb, crowning scene in the "Tale of Two Cities," without realizing that its author had dwelt long on the meaning of Calvary. Professor Pattison has said: "The Castaway Sydney Carton, by his voluntary death, better than any other character in English fiction, illustrates the Master's words 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.'" Already the guillotine is in view and in turn the victims take their places in line. Just in front of Carton is a poor seamstress, like himself innocent, and until then a stranger to him. At this supreme moment she remembers a cousin of hers in the sweet far-away country, ignorant of the dreadful doom by which she is now to perish; and in her simplicity she turns to Sydney for light

on the question that perplexes her. "'Do you think,' and the uncomplaining eyes in which there is so much endurance fill with tears, and the lips part a little more and tremble, 'that it will seem long to me while I wait for her in the better land, where I trust both you and I will be mercifully sheltered?'

"'It cannot be, my child; there is no Time and no trouble there.'

"'You comfort me so much! I am so ignorant. Am I to kiss you now? Is the moment come?'

"'Yes.'

"She kisses his lips; he kisses hers; they solemnly bless each other. The spare hand does not tremble as he releases it; nothing worse than a sweet constancy is in the patient face. She goes next before him—is gone.

"'I am the Resurrection and the Life,' saith the Lord; 'he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.'"

Nor was Thackeray less indebted to the Bible, and no writer treats its sacred themes more reverently. Many illustrations might be given, but the author's whole spirit is so manifest in his description of the last moments of the noblest character in the whole range of English fiction,—Colonel Newcome,—that we shall quote it alone. "At the usual evening hour the chapel bell began to toll, and Thomas Newcome's hands outside the bed beat time. And just as the last bell struck, a peculiar sweet smile shone over his face, and he lifted up his head a little and quickly said, *'Adsum,'* and fell back. It was the word we used at school when names were called; and lo! he whose heart was as that of a little child, had answered to his name and stood in the presence of the Master."

Truly we may say of the Bible, as the Psalmist declared of the Glory of the Lord, "there is no speech nor language where its voice is not heard."

In an address to young journalists, delivered at Union College in 1893, the late Charles A. Dana, one of the most distinguished editors this country has produced, said: "There are some books that are absolutely indispensable to the kind of education that we are considering; and of these the most indispensable, the most useful, the one whose language is most effective, is the Bible. There is no book from which more valuable lessons can be learned. I am considering it now, not as a religious book, but as a manual of utility, of professional preparation and professional use for a journalist. There is, perhaps, no book whose style is more suggestive and more instructive, from which you learn more directly that sublime simplicity which never exaggerates, which recounts the greatest event with solemnity, of course, but without sentimentality or affectation,—none which you can open with such confidence, and lay down with such reverence; *there is no book like the Bible.*"

No! This glorious Bible—the book of books—has lost none of its glory in revision. We may, individually or as a people, lose it through neglect; but to-day, as of old, no inquirer can come to it with open mind without finding in its pages all the wisdom, the beauty, the sublimity that have endeared it to untold millions.

"We search the world for Truth; we cull
The good, the pure, the beautiful
From graven stone and written scroll,
From all old flower-fields of the Soul;
And, weary seekers of the best,
We come back laden from our quest
To find that all the Sages said
Is in the Book our mothers read."

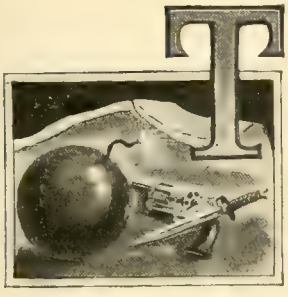
Whittier—(Miriam.)

XLIII.

THE HAYMARKET RIOT — ANARCHY — 1886.

Political and Social Conditions at Close of Eighteenth Century.— Effect of Advances Along Commercial and Industrial Lines.— Difficulty of Realizing Economical and Social Burdens of Eighteenth Century Workingmen.—Accounts of Travelers and Historians and Novelists. — The Origin of Socialism and Anarchy.— St. Simon, Fourier, Proudhon.— Proudhon's "What is Property?" "Property is Theft."—Accounts of the Two Great Anarchist Leaders, Bakunin and Kropotkin.— Rise of Russian Anarchists.— Repressive Laws Following Murder of Alexander II.— The Leaders Driven From Europe to United States.—Connection Between Assassination of Czar and Haymarket Riot a Close One.— Condition in Chicago.— Great Strike at McCormick Harvester Works.— Interference and Incendiary Utterances of Anarchist Agitators.— Calls to Arms.— The Riot at McCormick's Works, May 3.— Call for Haymarket Meeting.—"Workingmen, Arm Yourselves, and Appear in Full Force."— The Throwing of the Bomb.— Whole Company of Police Prostrated.— Eight Mortally Wounded. — Intense Excitement All Over Country.— Trial of Accused Anarchists.— Seven Sentenced to Death, One Imprisonment for Life.—Sensational Suicide of Lingg.— Sentences of Fielden and Schwab Commuted to Life Imprisonment.— Spies, Parsons, Fisher, and Engel, Hung November 11, 1887.— Change in Public Opinion.—Action of Governor Altgeld.— Judge Gary's Position.

"As man seeks justice in equality, so society seeks order in anarchy."— PROUDHON.



THE last half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries was pre-eminently a revolutionary era. In every line of activity, as well as in all trends of thought,—political, social, philosophical—the tendency was to break away from established forms. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, emancipation from absolutism of every kind was the goal sought; and the "rights of man" set over against the "divine rights" of kings and institutions, and the equally despotic rule of caste and wealth, became the battle cry of the people throughout Europe and the United States. The French Revolution was but the breaking forth in one locality of the pent-up forces that were working in all localities; but the evidence that the leaven, whose working was first manifested in the Reformation of the sixteenth century, had already leavened the whole lump, and that the old national, social, and religious orders were doomed, and must give place to newer orders whose purpose and result should be the enlightenment and uplifting of all mankind. Contemporaneous with this forward movement, and very largely as a result of it, came also the unprecedented development along commercial and industrial lines,—the wonderful inventions in manufacturing machinery, the discovery and application of the uses of steam, the vastly increased knowledge and utilization of the forces of nature, which, before the last quarter of the nineteenth century had banded

all nations and peoples of the earth more closely together physically than the people of any single State had been at the beginning of the century,—all these changes combined to broaden men's views, to widen their whole outlook upon the phenomenal and social world, and to burn in upon the minds of thoughtful men the deep truth announced eighteen hundred years before, but now for the first time in any sense comprehended, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men," and that the necessary corollary of the Church's divinest tenet, "the Fatherhood of God," was the "brotherhood of man." It could not fail that thought, suddenly emancipated after so many centuries of repression, should for a time run riot; that theories containing germs of the most sacred truth should be distorted, perverted, and misapplied; but through it all we may now discern a purpose which was by mistake, by failure, by brutal extremes at times, perhaps, ushering in the dawn of better days. At different periods marked by the excesses of men drunk with the new wine, it seemed as if the "return to nature" meant the return to the state of bestiality and savagery that characterized the primitive man. But through all the sporadic excesses and all the ill-advised and sometimes criminal acts we can see that new conditions were being evolved that have uplifted mankind, morally, socially, economically, and physically; and though we are yet suffering the pains of the new birth, and ideal conditions of political and social life are still far before us, yet we cannot thoughtfully review the advances of the last century without sharing the faith so confidently expressed by Tennyson, seventy years ago, when he wrote:

"Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

It is an easy matter to sit quietly in our comfortable and luxurious homes in this twentieth century, enjoying social conditions that have been made possible, in a large degree, by the sufferings of those who "counted not life dear unto themselves," and criticise the harsh and brutal acts of those who have blazed the way for reform. But it was quite a different thing for the poor wretches who were the sufferers from the oppression of the greedy and heartless masters of the period we are considering. No just estimate can ever be made of any man or any people, at any time, unless one can, in some degree, at least, put one's self in the place of such actors. And to judge righteous judgment of many of the labor and social agitators of the last century one must endeavor to live with them under conditions which have been described by many historians and novelists. From such accounts as may be found in Taine's "Ancien Régime," Arthur Young's "Travels," and Dickens' "Tale of Two Cities," one can learn of the horrible oppression of the many by the few which made the French Revolution inevitable; and in Kingsley, Dickens, Besant, Green, and poems like Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children," the seminal causes of the origin as well as of the excesses of the labor organizations may be learned; while if we familiarize ourselves with the social and political conditions described by Turgeneff, Tolstoi, and Sienkiewicz, we shall, perhaps, if we have much love for justice, cease to wonder at and anathematize the men who have from time to time, impatient of the slow grinding of God's mills, struck at the personifications of the systems that were oppressing them,—the official authorities who enforced the laws of those systems.

Murder, bomb-throwing, secret assassinations are, indeed, horrible things and can neither be condoned nor tolerated by any people. But every page of history is eloquent of the truth that the inhuman and degrading conditions which so-called civilized and Christian peoples have created are the soil which must of necessity produce anarchistic acts. All down through the ages the dominant powers in Church and State have stood behind the

mental and physical enslavement of all but an insignificant proportion of the people; and it has only been the dearly bought rights and privileges, secured by revolutions of various kinds during the last one hundred and fifty years, that have made the lives of the great majority much better than those of the brute creation. So late as 1771, Blackstone in his Commentaries on the Laws of England enumerated two hundred offenses punishable by death, nearly all of which bore directly upon the poor and in protection of unimportant privileges of the rich; while it was not until 1830 that the common people became possessed of any large degree of civil rights even in England, which in all matters pertaining to the welfare of its people, was, generally speaking, far in advance of the other countries of Europe, excepting Switzerland. In this country it has been difficult for us to realize such conditions, because we started as a people on a political and social basis considerably in advance of that of any people of Europe down to 1850. But of those whose unpardonable acts have cast such opprobrium on the term "Anarchy" practically all were brought up subject to conditions which existed in central Europe and Russia and have themselves suffered in dungeons, under the lash, and been deprived of every privilege of advancing their own and the interests of those dear to them, or protecting the same.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that as the smoke of the battle of the French Revolution cleared away theories of every kind looking toward the amelioration of the condition of the people should find expression. Early in the nineteenth century three different philosophers announced more or less well-defined systems for social betterment. From the principles expounded by those teachers—St. Simon, Fourier, and Proudhon,—have developed the various schools of socialistic thought which have prevailed down to the present time, though on the foundations they laid men like Owen, Lassalle, Marx, Bakunin, and others have built differing superstructures. Strictly speaking Socialism and Anarchism have little in common; are, in fact, the very antitheses of each other. Socialism looks toward community of interests, while Anarchy is the extreme of individualism. But as all the systems would reach their ultimate ends through the subversion of the existing forms and laws governing the production and distribution of wealth, they have quite naturally been grouped together in the uninformed public mind.

Proudhon, the founder of Anarchism, was born at Besançon, in France, in 1809, of poor parents, and was himself, as a young man, a cattle herder. At sixteen he was able to enter college, but was so poor that he had to borrow the books from other students and copy out the lessons at night while the others slept; and it is reported that he returned home laden with prizes only to find that there was nothing in the house to eat. When nineteen he became a proof reader, and while so occupied became conversant with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In 1838 he obtained a scholarship from the Academy of Besançon, which insured him three hundred dollars a year for three years, and soon after he set out for Paris to continue his studies. Here he lived an ascetic and studious life, and became deeply interested in the social movements which were then agitating central Europe. In 1840 he published his first and decisive work, entitled "What is Property?" to which he gave the answer that "Property is Theft." The greater part of the remainder of his life was passed in Paris, and he became a deputy from the Seine; though as a result of one of the many changes in government in France, he was forced to flee to Belgium, and remained in exile three years. He died at Passy in 1865. Personally he has been described as one of the most remarkable figures of modern France. His life was marked by the severest simplicity and even puritanism; he was affectionate in his domestic relations, a most loyal friend, and strictly upright in conduct. He strongly opposed the prevailing French Socialism of his times because of its utopianism and im-

morality; and bitterly denounced the teaching that the ideas common to both could be realized otherwise than through a long and laborious process of social transformation. That society could be changed off-hand, by a ready-made and complete scheme of reform, he characterized as "the most accursed lie that could be offered to mankind." It is evident, therefore, that true anarchism, or scientific anarchism, as it has been called, counseled neither the bomb nor the dagger; but looked for the realization of its ideals through the slower processes of social evolution. As his doctrine is summarized in Kirkup's "History of Socialism," Proudhon "contemplated a condition of human enlightenment and self-control in which the individual shall be a law unto himself, and in which all external authority shall be abolished as a despotic interference with personal freedom. It is an ideal to which the highest religion and philosophy look forward as the goal of man, not as one, however, which can be forthwith reached through the wholesale destruction of the present framework of society, but through a long process of ethical and social improvement. The error of the anarchists consists in their impatient insistence on this principle of absolute freedom in the present debased condition of the great mass of people in every class. They insist upon taking the last step in social development before they have quite taken the first." As Proudhon himself says in "What is Property": "In a given society the authority of man over man is inversely proportional to the stage of intellectual development which that society has reached. Property and royalty have been crumbling to pieces ever since the world began. *As man seeks justice in equality, so society seeks order in anarchy,*" that is, in the *entire absence of law,* because of the ideal condition which society has reached when law is no longer necessary. This theory of freedom is a very ancient one, and, as has been said, "has no necessary connection with a revolutionary programme, and we should not misunderstand it because of the strange company in which we here find it." It has been a high and long-cherished ideal of the best and greatest minds. St. Paul had the same conception in mind when he declared "Ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free." The good and just man in the social life of to-day does his duty not from fear of the police or the law, but because it is his duty; and we rightly regard it as the highest evidence of his goodness that the right is so wrought into the very fibre of his conscience and intelligence that the doing of it becomes as natural as breathing or walking.

But, unfortunately, two of his disciples became more actively influential than Proudhon himself; and as both had been witnesses of the worst crimes of Russian despotism, and had themselves endured the tortures of Russian prisons and suffered the hardships of exile in Siberia, they seized upon the phase of the master's teachings which emphasized the abolition of all government and determined that, so far as they could affect it, it should be accomplished now, rather than naturally as a result of social development, as Proudhon taught. The most earnest of these men was Michael Bakunin, who became the great apostle of destructive anarchism. He belonged to the highest Russian aristocracy, and was born in 1814. In due time he entered the most select branch of the army, the artillery. While serving in Poland, however, he was so oppressed by the barbarities perpetrated under Russian rule that he resigned from the artillery, and began a life of study. In 1847 he visited Paris and there met Proudhon, who gave the decisive influence and direction to his opinions. Engaging in the Revolution of 1848 and being especially active in the unsuccessful uprising in Dresden in 1849, he fell into the hands of the police, with the result that, as he has told us, he was confined for eight years in various fortresses in Saxony, Austria, and Russia, and was then exiled to Siberia for life. Fortunately for him, however, Muravieff, the

Governor of Siberia, was a relative, and allowed him some measure of liberty; and after four years of exile he escaped, reaching California after a series of almost unprecedented hardships, from whence he went to London. This most interesting man is thus described by his intimate friend and fellow anarchist, Elisée Reclus, the distinguished geographer: "Friends and enemies know that the man was great by his thinking power, his force of will, and his persistent energy; they know also what lofty disdain he felt for fortune, rank, glory, and all the miserable prizes which the majority of men are base enough to covet. A Russian gentleman belonging to the highest nobility of the Empire, he was one of the first to enter in that proud association of revolt, who know to detach themselves from the traditions, the prejudices, the interests of race and class,—to contemn their own happiness. With them he fought the hard battle of life, aggravated by prison, by exile, by all the dangers and all the bitterness which devoted men have to undergo in their troubled existence. The originality of his ideas, his picturesque and fiery eloquence, his untiring zeal in propaganda, supported by the natural majesty of his appearance and by his strong vitality, gained an entrance for him in all groups of revolutionary socialists, and his activity left deep traces even among those who, after having welcomed it, rejected it because of differences in aim or method."

His principal published work was entitled "God and the State," and in it he most frankly and unhesitatingly unfolds his destructive theories. Rejecting every ideal system, of whatever name or shape, from the idea of God downwards, and every form of external authority, whether emanating from the will of a sovereign, or from universal suffrage, he says: "The liberty of man consists solely in this, that he obey the laws of nature because he has himself recognized them as such, and not because they have been imposed upon him externally by any foreign will whatever, human or divine, collective or individual. In a word, we object to all legislation, all authority, and all influence, privileged, patented, official, and legal, even when it has proceeded from universal suffrage, convinced that it must always turn to the profit of a dominating and exploiting minority against the interests of the immense majority of the enslaved."

The other most interesting figure in the recent revolutionary history of Europe is Prince Kropotkin. Like Bakunin he belonged to one of the noblest families of Russia, it being frequently claimed that his family had a better right to the throne than the present dynasty. A man of the widest scientific attainments, a member of nearly all the foremost and most distinguished societies of learning in Europe and the United States, of the most kindly and refined nature and courteous bearing, it is difficult to conceive of him as an avowed champion and active supporter of the most destructive creed of anarchism. In his defense at the famous trial of anarchists at Lyons, France, in 1883, he stated the leading facts of his life, in substance as follows: His father was an owner of serfs and from childhood he had witnessed scenes made familiar to American readers by "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The cruelties suffered by the oppressed classes taught him to love them. At sixteen, he entered the school of Pages at the Imperial Court, and learned at court to detest the great as much as he had learned at home to love the poor. In the army and the administration he saw the hopelessness of expecting reforms from the reactionary Russian government. For some time afterward he devoted himself to scientific study and work. When the Russian social movement began, Kropotkin joined it. The demands made by the new party for more liberty met with a simple response from the government; they were thrown into prison, where they were subjected to the most horrible treatment. In the prison where the Prince was confined nine lost their reason, and eleven committed suicide. Falling seriously ill he was sent to the hospital, from which he

later escaped, and found refuge in Switzerland. Here he witnessed the sufferings of the people caused by the crisis in watch manufactures,—everywhere the like miseries, due to the like social and political evils. The record of the great trial alluded to (at Lyons in 1883) is a historical document of the greatest importance; and, as one has said, "Everyone who wishes to understand the causes, motives, and aims of the anarchist movement should study it carefully." At the trial a declaration of opinion was signed by all the accused, from which we can quote only the statement as to capital and distribution. "As no freedom is possible in a society where capital is monopolized by a diminishing minority, we believe that capital, the common inheritance of humanity, since it is the fruit of the co-operation of past and present generations, ought to be at the disposal of all, so that no man be excluded from it, and no man seize part of it to the detriment of the rest. In a word, we wish equality, equality of fact, as corollary, or rather as primordial condition of freedom. *From each one according to his faculties; to each one according to his needs.*"

There have been three distinct stages in the reform movement in Russia. The first took the form of *Nihilism*, with whose principles and workings all readers of Turgeneff are familiar. The second stage was one of socialistic teaching and propaganda,—a campaign of education. In the early "seventies" hundreds of young men and young women from the best families of Russia were studying at universities and leading schools of Western Europe,—a large proportion of them at Zurich. As they were here exposed to all the dangers of socialistic teaching, they were all called home by an Imperial Ukase, in 1873,—but not until they had imbibed the new spirit of freedom, and had consecrated their lives to the holy purpose of securing its blessings for their fellow countrymen and women. Upon their return, the plan of "going among the people" was adopted as a systematic principle. The young women went to be midwives, or helpers, in the villages; the young men learned simple trades of the humblest characters, so as to identify themselves with the people; others toiled fifteen hours a day in the factories, that they might quietly talk with fellow laborers. By the most heroic self-denial they labored to arouse the minds of the peasantry. But they had no organization, and paid little attention to secrecy, with the result that they were quickly apprehended by the government, and before 1876 more than two thousand of them had been transported to Siberia. One can hardly wonder, therefore, that the third stage of the revolution became one of persistent and determined attack upon officials regardless of consequences to themselves. A strong and secret organization was formed, and the bomb, the revolver, and the dagger were adopted by the revolutionists as their arguments, the more peaceful ones having proved wholly futile. The first notable act of this period was the assassination of General Trepoff, Prefect of Police, by Vera Sassoulitch, at St. Petersburg, in 1878. The occasion of the deed was the brutal flogging of a political prisoner, wholly unknown to the murderer, by command of Trepoff. At her trial she was acquitted by the jury to the great surprise of the Imperial Court; and an attempt of the police to rearrest her as she left the court was frustrated by the mob, through whose aid she escaped to Switzerland. Then followed in rapid succession several assassinations of leading officials of the government, followed, on March 13, 1881, by that of the Czar Alexander II. The determined purpose of the revolutionists was well illustrated in the latter case, as three desperate attempts on Alexander's life had failed, owing to his change of plans, before the fourth and successful attempt was made. This assassination sent a thrill of horror throughout Europe, and the most repressive measures were at once instituted in all countries against men suspected of secret association with anarchistic bodies. As a quite natural result of these measures hundreds of Russian, German, Scandinavian, and

Slav anarchists were forced to flee across the Atlantic, their hatred of governments inflamed to a white heat by their further sufferings at the hands of European officers. And it was under these conditions that New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and Milwaukee became centres of destructive socialistic and anarchistic teachings and propaganda. The forced exodus of the disciples of Bakunin as a result of the Russian revolution was the almost direct cause of the rise of anarchism in the United States; and the connection of the murder of Alexander II. with the Haymarket riot in Chicago and the slaughter of the police was a close one.

As the rise of labor organizations in the United States has been fully detailed in another chapter of this book, it is only necessary here to note that the third quarter of the last century was the fruitful period in the development of such organizations, and was also the period of their great strikes to secure the redress of real or imaginary grievances or a recognition of their principles. Similar bodies in Europe had not been less active; but, as has been shown above, there the acquisition of the simplest political privileges, which the American laborer had not to contend for, to a large degree overshadowed the labor questions. Consequently, extreme or destructive Socialism and Anarchism were not much considered by the great labor bodies of this country. Immediately upon their arrival here, however, the exiled anarchists began their efforts to proselyte among the laboring men, and as ten years of more or less incessant and open warfare between capital and labor had then been waged, the aroused animosities of the members of the labor unions presented a soil especially fitted for the reception of teachings which emphasized the antagonism between employers and employees, and openly advocated the use of force to accomplish ends which had been secured only in a limited degree by the strike and the boycott.

For months previous to the fateful May 4, 1886, rabid New York and Chicago anarchists had been uttering through their class papers the most impassioned calls to laboring men to join them in their crusade against the common enemy, —the capitalistic class. The sentiment among the laboring men in Chicago was very bitter, and it is doubtless true that some of the more hot-headed among them were influenced by the anarchistic appeals and threats. That there was any widespread acceptance of their teachings, however, there is no evidence. For nearly a year strikes had been maintained at various places in the endeavor to enforce the adoption of the eight-hour law. In the spring of 1885 such a strike had occurred at the great McCormick Harvester works in Chicago; and though work was resumed later in the season, the company had taken the opportunity to install new forms of labor-saving machinery, so that the help of many men previously em-

ALEXANDER II. OF RUSSIA.

ployed was not needed. In February of 1886, the employees of the works waited upon the company's officials and asked for a uniformity of wages; the re-employment, as occasion demanded, of all old hands, many of whom had been out of

work since the strike of the previous April; and the discharge of five non-union men employed in the foundry. To the first two requests Mr. McCormick yielded, but the last he refused to consider on the usual ground that the request was an interference with the company's right to employ whomsoever it pleased. As the employees persisted in their demand and threatened to strike unless it was complied with, the company anticipated their action by ordering the works closed on February 16th, to remain closed until the strikers saw fit to return to work. By this lock-out the employees were deprived of three thousand dollars a day in wages, that being the amount of the daily pay-roll. The situation was a very serious one, and the strikers were in a bad mood; and, as is usual in such cases, all the disaffected men of every character in the city began to hang around the harvester works, inciting men to violence and destruction of property. It was a golden opportunity for the anarchists and they did not fail to improve it. Their two papers were daily filled with the most exaggerated statements as to real conditions in the labor world, and with the most impassioned appeals to the men to arm themselves and demand their "rights." It seems incredible that a civilized community should have allowed men to publish for more than a year, day after day, such wild calls upon maddened men to kill and to burn; to arm themselves with revolvers, but more particularly with dynamite and bombs, and to use them. Freedom of speech and of the press have never been held to mean open and undisguised incitements to murder, and the preaching of sedition and revolution in a community; and in all fairness and reason a city that knowingly permits such incendiary appeals ought to be held jointly responsible for any evil that may result.

Within thirty days the McCormick Company had so arranged their affairs as to open the works, and run them without the aid of the strikers, and did so on March 1st. This, of course, added fuel to the flames, and through the two following months conflicts with the non-union men and police on one side, and the strikers on the other, were of almost daily occurrence. At the close of work on May 3, however, an unusually large force of the men had assembled about the works, the anarchistic papers having endeavored to stir up a "blood and riot" sentiment for that occasion. All through the day the members of their orders labored with the workmen, urging them to arm themselves and teach the capitalists the needed lessons at that time. As is usual in such cases, the matter was a fizzle, only a few hoodlums and anarchists committing any overt acts, and the whole crowd was quickly dispersed by a charge of the police. In the excitement four or five of the mob were shot by the police, though so far as could be learned, no deaths ensued. The anarchists' papers, however, immediately came out with great headlines announcing that six of the workmen had been "murdered by the bloodhounds of the capitalists," and called upon the workmen to avenge their slain brethren. Thousands of circulars were distributed among the unemployed, headed in large letters "REVENGE! WORKINGMEN TO ARMS!" These were printed in both German and English. The German, which was somewhat more inflammatory than the English, ended with this appeal: "Laboring men, Hercules, you have arrived at the cross-way. Which way will you decide? For slavery and hunger, or for freedom and bread? If you decide for the latter, then do not delay a moment; then, people, to arms! Annihilation to the beasts in human form who call themselves rulers! Uncompromising annihilation to them! This must be your motto. Think of the heroes whose blood has fertilized the road to progress, liberty, and humanity, and strive to become worthy of them." Private meetings of the anarchists, and of as many of the workmen as they could influence,—mostly ignorant Slavs, unable to understand or to speak English,—were held at different places that evening, and a call was issued for a grand mass meeting at the "Haymarket"

for the next evening to denounce the outrage, *and to act*. The call for the meeting read as follows:

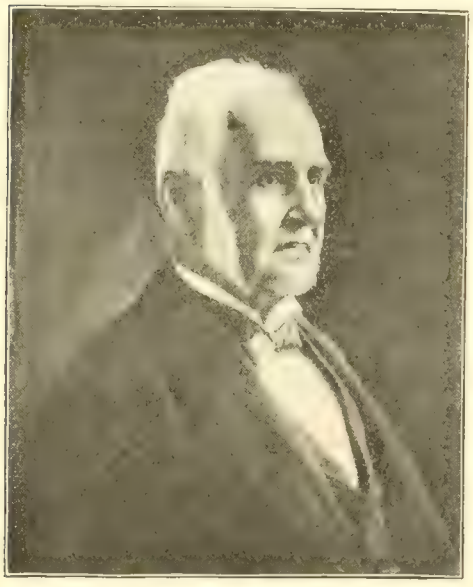
ATTENTION WORKINGMEN!
GREAT
MASS MEETING
TO-NIGHT AT 7:30
at the
HAYMARKET, RANDOLPH ST., between DESPLAINES AND HALSTED.

Good speakers will be present to denounce the latest atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our fellow workmen yesterday afternoon.

WORKINGMEN, ARM YOURSELVES, AND APPEAR IN FULL FORCE.
The Executive Committee."

During the afternoon the word *Rühe* (German for Peace) appeared without comment on the pages of the evening anarchist paper. The police afterward laid great stress upon this, assuming that it was the signal to be uttered when the bomb should be thrown. The "Haymarket," which was designated as the place of meeting, is simply a widening of Randolph street, between Desplaines and Halsted streets, a short distance from the Chicago river, on the west side. In years past it had been used by farmers as a place for the sale of hay and produce, from which fact it took its name. For certain reasons, however, the meeting was held on Desplaines street, about one hundred feet north of Randolph. This locality was surrounded by a low class of beer saloons, and the meeting places of the different anarchistic bodies were near by. The meeting was not opened promptly and, as estimated by the police, at eight o'clock three thousand people had assembled who were getting into bad humor. About 8:40 the anarchist Spies delivered a very harmless speech in English, and following him Parsons spoke in a similar strain. Mayor Carter Harrison (the elder) was among the crowd, and after hearing these two speeches, dropped in at the Desplaines street station and advised dismissing all the reserves, as the meeting was orderly and would call for no interference. After the mayor had gone, however, Fielden began a most impassioned address, and was arousing the crowd to a high pitch of excitement when detectives reported at the station house that the crowd was getting turbulent, and that it was time to interfere. Inspector Bonfield, who was in charge, doubting the seriousness of the situation, sent the detective back to investigate further; but the latter quickly returned, reporting greater excitement, and more incendiary utterances from Fielden. In order to meet any emergency that might arise a reserve force of five companies of police had been assembled in the Desplaines street station, which was about four hundred feet from the truck which served as a speaker's stand at the meeting. The Inspector immediately ordered all these reserves out, and they were at once placed in available positions to cover the mob. Captain Ward then advanced to within six feet of the truck and said: "I command you, in the name of the people of the State of Illinois, to immediately and peacefully disperse." And turning to the crowd he continued, "I command you, and you, and you to assist." Fielden had, meanwhile, jumped from the truck, and as he reached the sidewalk, declared in loud voice "We are peaceable." This reply, the State claimed on the trial, was the signal for the firing of the bomb; but no proof of it was ever advanced, except that "we are peaceable" suggested "Rühe," which had appeared in the evening *Arbeiter Zeitung*. But, be that as it may, the order to disperse had hardly been given, before a spark flashed through the air, "looking like the remnant of a cigar, but hissing like a miniature sky rocket." A terrific explosion followed, creating frightful havoc and dismay. The police were for the moment stunned and terror stricken. All the members of the center column, near which the bomb exploded, were thrown to the ground. But the Inspector immediately rallied the uninjured men, and ordered a running fire of revolvers, as a result of which the street was quickly cleared. The wounded offi-

cers and men of the crowd were at once hurried to the station house, which was quickly transformed into a hospital, and medical aid was called for from every direction. It was then found that eight of the officers were dangerously wounded, all of whom died as the result of their



JOSEPH E. GARY.

wounds, while sixty-eight others were more or less seriously injured. Officer Mathias J. Degan was almost instantaneously killed, and his murder was the charge on which the anarchists were subsequently tried.

The frightful results of this wicked riot filled the people of the whole country with a most righteous indignation, and the cry for vengeance was instant and emphatic. As there was no reliable knowledge as to who threw the bomb, the leading anarchists, including the publishers and editors of their papers, were one after another arrested, and all were soon brought to trial. All their rooms, offices, and meeting places were searched, and most incriminating evidence was found, including bombs, dynamite, guns, etc. After three weeks of the most thorough investigation of every movement and act of these men, the Grand Jury, on the 28th of May, returned indictments, and on June 21st the trial of the case of the State of Illinois vs. August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg, and Oscar W. Neebe, charged with the murder of Mathias J. Degan on the fourth day of May, 1886, in Chicago, was begun before the Hon. Joseph E. Gary, as judge. Twenty-one days were consumed in selecting the jury, and 981 men were sworn and examined before the jury was secured. The taking of testimony began July 14th and continued until August 10th, and the case was given to the jury at four o'clock on the afternoon of August 19th. As Judge Gary had ordered that the jury should not leave their room until they had reached a verdict, when they marched out of the court house at 7.30 the same evening to go to their hotel, the public knew that a verdict had been agreed upon, though it could not be announced until the next morning. Of course the most intense excitement prevailed, and the night passed slowly and wearily for many a heavy heart. For one thing had been established beyond dispute during the trial, and that was the irreproachable private character of the leading defendants, several of whom had large families to whom it had been shown they were tenderly devoted,—all of whose members must wait in anxious suspense until the verdict should be announced. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the Court convened, and soon after the verdict was called for. Under the Statutes of Illinois the measure of punishment on a verdict of guilty of murder, whether it shall be death, or imprisonment in the penitentiary for life, or for some time not less than fourteen years, is fixed by the jury. In his closing argument the State's attorney had acknowledged that he did not think Neebe ought to die; would like leniency be shown to the others? Addressing the jury, Judge Gary asked if they had agreed upon a verdict? "We have," replied the foreman, at the same time handing two papers to the clerk, from which he read: "We, the Jury, find

the defendants August Spies, Michael Schwab, Louis Lingg, Samuel Fielden, Albert Parsons, Adolph Fischer, and George Engel, guilty of murder in manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at death. We find the defendant Oscar W. Neebe guilty of murder in manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at imprisonment in the penitentiary for fifteen years."

On a Writ of Error the case was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, which sustained the State Court in its findings; and, as the date first set for the execution of the prisoners had passed before the United States Court had passed upon the case, November 11, 1887, was finally set down as the date for the execution. But soon after the conclusion of the trial, public opinion began to change. When the heat of passion had subsided, thinking men and women began to realize that the only thing that had been established against the condemned men was their teachings; and it was not long before petitions for executive clemency began to pour in upon the Governor, and even public meetings were held with the same end in view. As a result, the sentences of Fielden and Schwab were commuted to imprisonment for life; and on the very day of the execution, Governor Oglesby was seriously considering the commutation of all the sentences. But for reasons known only to himself he failed to act; and on November 11th, Spies, Parsons, Fischer, and Engel were hung. Lingg was one of the most determined men of the entire group and was an expert in the handling and preparation of dynamite and bombs. On the 6th of November, five days before the date set for the execution, his cell was carefully searched. In it was an old box that had been passed to him as empty, and which appeared to have only a few personal effects in it. It was, however, by accident forcibly overturned, when a false bottom was knocked out, and four suicide bombs were disclosed. He was then again most carefuly searched, and put in a new cell where he would be under the eye of a keeper all the time. At nine o'clock on the 10th of November, a fearful explosion was heard in the direction of his cell. The officer who had him in charge had only left him for a moment to attend to another prisoner. Upon entering the cell Lingg was discovered lying on his side, with face toward the wall, and his arm over his head. When he was turned, it was found that a bomb which he had placed in his mouth and exploded had torn nearly the whole front of his head out, presenting a most horrible sight. He was, however, breathing regularly, and was at once placed in the hands of the surgeons. For more than two hours they worked over him, he calmly watching their every move, and bearing all the pain of their operations without a quiver. About three in the afternoon, however, he passed away, having cheated the gallows of a victim.

Few cases have ever been tried in this country that aroused such widespread interest. The cry for vengeance was so loud before and during the trial that the public hardly considered the legal rights of the accused men at all; nor did they receive much more consideration from the Court. It was "Anarchy" that was really being tried; and it hardly admits of question to-day, nor is it often disputed by the best lawyers, that the four men who were executed on November 11th, were *illegally* put to death. *Anarchy condemned and punished anarchists.* So strong was this sentiment for a few years, that several of the foremost lawyers of the country reviewed the trial in the legal journals and magazines, practically all arriving at conclusions adverse to those of the Court. It is unquestionably true that under the Common Law, and our State laws, one must be held responsible for the result of his speech or writings, *if by them another is led to commit a criminal act;* and if the State could have proved that the one who threw the bomb was incited to do so by the harangues and inflammatory words of the accused anarchists, then the case

would have been clear, and the Court's rulings and instructions would have been beyond question. But to this day it is not known who threw the bomb, and so it cannot possibly be shown that he was influenced by the teachings of the men who were declared guilty of the murder of Degan. The important case against Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, the officials of the Western Federation of Miners, tried at Boise, Idaho, in the spring of 1907, turned upon this very point. And Judge Wood of the United States Court held in all the cases,—the defendants, or rather two of them, being tried separately,—that the Government had not made out its case because it had failed to show any connection between the incendiary talk of the defendants and the act of the murderer of ex-Governor Steunenberg (also killed by bomb), the infamous Harry Orchard.

In 1893 interest in the case was revived by the absolute pardon of the three anarchists, Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe, by the Governor of the State of Illinois; and in a small volume entitled, "Why I pardoned the Anarchists," Governor Altgeld has reviewed the case fully, and shown the illegal character of the proceedings of 1886. Moreover the criticism of his course had been so wide and strenuous that Judge Gary felt called upon to retry the case in the forum of public opinion, and to make what reduced itself to a personal defense of his course, in the Century Magazine for April, 1903; and we think a careful reading of his statement will tend to convince an unbiased mind that the judge would have done well to have remained silent; for "Common Sense" is not now, nor has it ever been, law in this country; nor does "*Vengeance*" have any place in a State's prosecution of a criminal. "*Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.*"

XLIV.

THE GREAT BLIZZARD — 1888.

Supreme Satisfaction of People of New York.— Its Assumed Safety from Dangers from Storm or Flood.— Apparent Purpose of the Infinite Power to Show How Insignificant We Really Are.— Beginning of Great Storm, Sunday Evening, March 11, 1888.— Origin and Progress of Storm From West to Coast.— Conditions Early Monday Morning.— All Systems of Transportation Tied Up.— People Rescued From Elevated Trains by Ladders.— Before Ten O'Clock Broadway a Succession of Hills, Valleys, and Ravines.— Drifts Across Street Six to Ten Feet Deep.— Side Streets Filled With Abandoned Teams About Which Snow Piled up Fifteen to Twenty Feet.— Cabmen Charge Fifty Dollars for Fare Madison Square to Wall Street.— Trade Conditions.— Many "Spring Openings" Advertised for This Monday Morning.—At Altman's Through Forenoon One Woman Bought Two Spools of Thread.— All Business Suspended at Noon.— No Steam Trains Able to Enter or Leave City.— Horrors of Monday Night.— Storm Increasing, Wind Rising, Mercury Falling.— Total Darkness and Blinding Storm Obliterated all Landmarks.— Sufferings of Lady Stenographer; Seven Hours Getting Home, a distance of Two Miles.— Terrible Experience of Roscoe Conkling.— Lost in Union Square.— Snow Storm Ceases Tuesday Morning, But Not the Wind.— 12,500,000 Loads of Snow to Be Removed.— Over Six Hundred Funerals Wednesday.— City Close to Starvation.—Humorous Messages of Sympathy from Dakota.—"Keep Off the Grass."— Extent of Storm.— Worst Recorded in History of Country.— Twenty Lives Lost and $15,000,000 to $20,000,000 of Property Destroyed in Manhattan Alone.

"So all night long the storm roared on;
The morning broke without a sun.
And when the second morning shone
We looked upon a world unknown,
No cloud above, no earth below,—
A universe of sky and snow."
— WHITTIER.

THE last fifty years have been characterized by more wonderful achievements in the domain of physical science than have marked any other period of the world's history,— perhaps more wonderful, even, than those of all preceding centuries combined. We of the twentieth century consider with not a little pride the conquests that have been made of so many of the forces of nature; and from heights already attained, anticipate with confidence the not distant day when all the secrets of the earth, sea, and air shall be as clear to us as the page of a printed book, and we shall, in very fact, be "Lords of all we survey." So accurately have the laws of the material universe been fathomed that we bid all its forces serve us, and with such uniformly certain results that it is hardly surprising that we are prone to forget that we are not their masters, and come to look upon ourselves as the creators of the energies we are merely given the intelligence to direct for the pur-

pose of our own physical and spiritual advancement. But to-day, as of old, it would seem to be the purpose of the Infinite Power at times to impress upon us, His creatures, how insignificant we really are, and by some great and startling manifestation of power, rather than by voice, to proclaim "I am the Lord; that is my name; and my glory will I not give to another."

Probably nowhere else in the world were the evidences of man's dominion over nature so varied and pronounced as in New York city. They were to be seen on every hand,—in her great business blocks and in her palatial homes; in her rail and steamship connections with every part of the globe; in her free adoption of all devices, of every nature, which the most highly developed inventive genius could suggest as likely to minister to the comfort or convenience of her people; in her vast commerce; in her widely diversified activities, whose influence was felt throughout the world; in her apparently perfect and complete system of electrical communication, which made the business happenings or the political and social movements of the most remote places the immediate subjects for action on her exchanges, or for gossip at her dinner tables and clubs; and in the profusion of the rarest products of the factories, the fields, the forests, and the seas of every part of the globe, which daily appealed to the appetite and wants of this cosmopolitan people. So that not without reason might they paraphrase the boast of Babylon's great king and say, "Is not this great New York that we have built by the might of our power, and for the honor of our majesty?"

Yet, as the sequel shows, nature had but to frown for a night and a day, when, lo! all this vaunted dominance is paralyzed, and the people of this great modern Babylon become as impotent as a babe in its mother's arms.

The terrible storm of wind, sleet, and snow which prostrated all industries, destroyed all means of communication, and held ninety-five per cent of the population of New York city in as close confinement as if they had been behind prison bars, covered the period from Sunday evening, March 11th to Wednesday, March 14, 1888, and has come to hold rank as the most fearful storm ever known on the coast, and has acquired the distinctive title of "*The* Blizzard." The official report of it made by an officer of the Weather Bureau said: "The great storm off the Atlantic Coast of the United States of March 11-14th, will probably go down into history as the most severe experienced since this country has been inhabited by Europeans. Not only was it remarkable for its force and duration, but also for the unexpected manner of its appearance and development, and from the track it followed from the time it was first observed to that of its final disappearance." It originated in the far West and traveled leisurely across the Continent, an apparently inoffensive and somewhat obscure disturbance; and it was not until it reached the coast, and there found a great anti-cyclonic wave of high barometer overlying the ocean from Nova Scotia to Hatteras, that it met with any opposition. But for this meeting of hostile atmospheric forces, each claiming the right of way, and trying to pass on the same track, the original storm would have passed quietly off to sea, and the city would have suffered only the trifling inconvenience of the rain of Sunday evening. But when two such powerful forces cross each other's paths, or meet face to face, the results may be exceedingly unpleasant; and such proved to be the case in New York city, when these two storm areas met,—the city apparently being in the very storm center.

The latter part of the previous week had suggested an early spring. The weather was mild,—even warm; the sun bright and genial, foretelling the near approach of the days when all nature breaks into renewed life and beauty. On Sunday, however, the scene changed, and dull clouds hung over the city, which became darker and heavier as the day advanced. Early in the evening a light rain began

to fall, the thermometer indicating about thirty-five degrees above zero. The force of the storm steadily increased until before midnight it had driven all pedestrians within doors, the driving, pelting rain making umbrellas of little use. Shortly after midnight there came a sudden change, the wind rising rapidly to the force of a hurricane, and the mercury beginning to fall steadily. Very quickly the rain became a wet, heavy snow, which fell with almost unparalleled thickness, the average accumulation for the hours preceding daybreak being from three to four inches. During the early morning the fury of the gale was constantly increasing; and the wind soon acquired a velocity of sixty to sixty-four miles an hour. Very early, long before daylight, the street cars had become stalled, and on nearly all lines the effort to run cars had been abandoned. The small army of working men and women who start out between four and seven were able to get to their destination with only moderate difficulty and without serious suffering. But the main army of workers, who crowd every means of conveyance and throng the streets between seven and nine in the morning, faced another problem. The peculiar physical formation of the city,—a long narrow island with nearly all of its offices and wholesale business down at its extreme southern end, while the hundreds of thousands who must get to that business district live from two to fifteen miles farther north, at the center and toward the northern end,—greatly aggravated the difficulties piled up by the storm. By eight o'clock the street cars had all been taken off, excepting those—and there were many of them—which were stuck in the snow along the various lines. But the elevated roads had always, heretofore, made some connection with the downtown districts possible; and it was considered that anything like a complete "tie-up" of the transportation system of the city was impossible, as the skeleton-like structures of these roads seemed to make any such accumulation of snow as should impede the movement of trains practically out of the question. But this storm had no respect for theories; and before ten o'clock it was evident that even these roads had met their master. The switches became clogged, the tracks icy, and the force of the wind was such that the cars swayed to and fro until the passengers expected every moment to be hurled to the streets below, while at times it defied the best efforts of the engines to make any headway against it. As a result, this service early became totally demoralized and by eleven o'clock there was a continuous blockade on the Sixth avenue lines from Fourth to Twenty-eighth streets. The sufferings of the imprisoned passengers was intense, quite as much from fear as from the inclemency of the weather. After a long and weary wait a young man on the platform of a car over Twenty-second street saw through the blinding snow a burly negro plowing his way down that street.

"Sa-a-ay," he shrieked, and the man looked up.

"If you'll get a ladder and let me down into the street I'll give you a dollar." There was a look of doubt on the man's face, but the idea was too good and the opportunity too promising, to allow it to miscarry. So another man shouted, "I'll give you five, if you get a ladder and get me down."

"A' right, boss," responded the man, and away he started to find a ladder; and a shout went up as he was seen shortly after coming down Sixth avenue with one. But upon placing it against the iron pillars it was found it would not reach the rail beams. Off the negro went again, soon returning with two large and strong dry goods boxes and placing the butt of the ladder on these, the top rung just reached the rail beam. Then the man yelled that all the passengers who would pay twenty-five cents might use the ladder,—an offer which was quickly accepted. While that train was being emptied, passengers from those in front and behind were crawling along the icy rail beams, getting around the engines by

holding to their greasy wheels, and in turn they descended to the street. As a result of his work the colored man took in over one hundred dollars in an hour. But neither his scheme nor his apparatus was patented. He soon had a dozen competitors; and before the train service was actually discontinued in the afternoon there was a colored man with a ladder on about every block along the avenue. Later a train was blocked at Sixth avenue and Ninth street, where the track is higher and more exposed. For over four hours the passengers were in the greatest danger and suffered intensely, until at length thirteen policeman forced their way through the drifts, bearing a ladder that had been hastily constructed at a neighboring carpenter's shop; and by means of it all the passengers were brought safely to the street. The Ninth avenue line suffered even more than the Sixth, as it is in many places higher, and along its whole route is much more exposed to the terrible winds that sweep down the North river. During the middle of the day the best time made by a train between Fourteenth and Fiftieth streets, where there are some bad grades, was four hours, though the schedule time was only thirteen minutes. But the whole elevated system was tied up before night, as the engineers refused to try to make the trip again when they had once reached the yards.

But what were the people on the streets doing all this time? A very large proportion of the stores, realizing the seriousness of the situation, had either not been opened at all, or had been closed at an early hour of the forenoon. But there were, of course, many thousands who felt that they *must* get down town, and so made the journey on foot. Before ten o'clock Broadway had, for its entire length, become a succession of hills, valleys, and ravines. Enormous drifts, reaching entirely across the street and from six to ten feet deep, were common. The wind was continually adding to these and piling up others, while the air was so thick with snow that one could hardly see fifty feet. Driven by the fierce gale the sleet cut faces and hands until the blood came, while the force of the wind was so great that many were driven bodily into snow banks, and others against heavy iron railings or the sides of stone walls, breaking arms, legs, and in two or three cases fracturing skulls. The entire police force was on the alert watching for the injured, and helping women and children out of the drifts in which they were buried and must soon have perished. But all through the forenoon a great army in single file marched wearily over the snow hills in their effort to reach their offices. They presented a grotesque and motley appearance, and the greatest good nature prevailed. All were brothers then, and mutual help and encouragement was everywhere manifested. Every conceivable kind of a dress was to be seen, and the procession would have been a mirth-provoking one had the situation been less tragic. The side streets had become practically impassable. Long before noon abandoned meat wagons, piled high with provisions; milk trucks, loaded beer wagons, grocers' teams, and every kind of a vehicle were to be seen,—many of them overturned—and in the middle of the streets deserted cars, all of which formed natural barricades about which the fierce winds piled the snow from ten to twenty-five feet high. During the earlier part of the day, and to a limited extent all through it, the cabmen forced their poor horses through the storm and drifts, making more from a single trip than was usually made in a week. With their thorough knowledge of all side streets and by-ways the drivers were able to get from the uptown hotels to the downtown office district in some way, and at some time. A broker at the Hoffman House had a very important deal which was to be closed that day, which meant a small fortune to him. Meeting a "cabby," a dialogue something like the following is reported to have taken place:

"I must get down," pleaded the broker.

"Oi, very loikely," responded the cabman.

"What will you take for your whole establishment?"

"It arn't moine."

"I'll buy the horse and cart, and I'll buy you too, if you're for sale; come, what's your price?"

"The 'orse arn't moine, I tell ye."

"Your rig's worth $150. Come, I'll give you $500."

"No, but I'll take you down for $50."

The broker quickly paid it, and the start was made. Every fare was paid in advance that day.

Before noon a large proportion of the cabmen had made a week's, some of them a month's wages, and the saloons then became more attractive than other "fares." And one of the sad sights of the day was the poor old cab horses, from Harlem to the battery, tied to lamp posts near saloons, while the drivers caroused within. The suffering of the poor animals during the pelting storm of cold sleet and snow was terrible; and by a sad irony of fate their best friend, Henry Bergh, passed away that very morning, when his myriad of friends, the dumb animals, most needed him.

So balmy had been the weather the preceding week that many of the leading retail stores had made elaborate preparations for their "Spring Openings" on this Monday morning, and pages of the Sunday papers announced their attractions. Among them was Macy's great store, but a reporter who called during the forenoon found the snow banked six to eight feet high against the great show windows while the porters could scarcely keep the entrances clear. At Altman's through the forenoon one woman ventured in, who bought two spools of thread. In view of these conditions, and the fact that the fury of the storm was steadily increasing, by noon all the great department stores closed, and the thousands of clerks and salesmen and women began the battle of their lives with the elements to reach their homes. The great stores on the lower East Side were better situated than those farther up town, as the Second avenue elevated was the last to yield to the storm; so that the thousands of their employees stood a better chance of reaching their homes. The Grand and Allen street stations became the most lively centres in the city for a few hours,—streets, stairways, and station platforms becoming one solid mass of anxious but good-natured men and women struggling to reach the trains as they slowly crawled along.

The day was not half spent before every kind of business, except the hotels and saloons, and every means of transportation had become completely paralyzed. All railroads leading into the city were blocked, and not a train moved in any direction; while on all roads were stalled trains, whose passengers were destined to suffer from cold and hunger from thirty-six to sixty hours, before they should get relief. But the storm had only begun. All through the afternoon the atmosphere became thicker and darker, and the force of the gale increased. Streets and localities became unrecognizable, and people lost their way, wandering aimlessly about as one might in a dense wilderness. Even so early in the storm's career a hand thrust through the snow revealed to a policeman or chance traveler the location of some unfortunate who had been overcome, and already was well-nigh buried. As the hurricane gained force men and women were bodily hurled into drifts, or thrown against buildings. Hundreds of pedestrians were cut and bruised, and but for the timely arrival of a policeman would have perished in the snow. And with all the other horrors of the situation, the steadily falling temperature made conditions even more intolerable; for before night set in the mercury was rapidly approaching the zero mark,—an extreme for New York city. All telegraphic and telephonic connections had been destroyed very early in the day, the Atlantic cable being the only means of communication with the outside world.

One pitiable sight was the great number of dead sparrows, the only bird that

remains with us through all kinds of weather. Driven with tremendous force against the windows and buildings they were killed by hundreds. Flocks of them were driven into the hotels around Madison square, where they were fed, being so tame as to take food from the hands of the guests. One is reported to have flown into the barroom of the Gilsey House, where he remained on the bar for over an hour, an interested spectator, and a centre of attraction.

But no words can express the horror of the general situation as night came on. In homes throughout the city and its suburbs there reigned the most painful suspense as to the whereabouts of some member of the family. All were equally helpless; no inquiries could be instituted, no search made; all must simply wait in dumb suspense. Many cases were later reported where people were stricken with dangerous diseases, but neither a doctor nor medicines could be procured. While the storm was raging furiously, Monday afternoon, Manager Eckert of the Western Union Telegraph Company found two girls, aged thirteen and fifteen, lying in the snow in the doorway of the Coal and Iron Exchange building, at the corner of Liberty and Church streets. They were clasped in each other's arms, and both already unconscious. With great difficulty he succeeded in partially arousing them, and in carrying them through the storm and the drifted snow to the Astor House. During the afternoon the driver of a baker's wagon, who had undertaken to make his calls in spite of the storm and the cold, was found sitting on the seat of his wagon, still holding the reins and with wide open eyes,—but, frozen to death. And so the sad tales began to come in, as they were learned by the indefatigable reporters for the papers, who performed the most herculean feats and were the means of saving many lives.

As the day wore towards night the question of how they were to get to their homes became an intensely serious one for those who had gone down town in the morning. Knowing the keen anxiety that would be felt in their homes, and having no means of communicating with their families, many took the trip uptown notwithstanding their experience of the morning, and unmindful of the vastly worse conditions that must exist as a result of the furious storm through the day. Every inch of available space in all the downtown hotels was early bargained for; cots were laid in all the parlors, corridors, and even bathrooms, and all were quickly taken. Billiard tables and floor spaces were eagerly sought. All the downtown clubs threw open their doors; and even the Bowery lodging houses were overrun with a class of patrons never seen within their doors before. Of course all the police stations were crowded to the doors with refugees and the great railroad stations were packed with people, many of whom gladly sought rest on the hard floors after the exhausting experiences of the day. All the sleeping cars in the station yards were placed at the disposal of travelers who could not get into the hotels. Many and heart-rending were the stories told by those who undertook to walk uptown. This was a much harder task than getting down, as they now had to face the gale and the driving snow which had beat upon their backs in the morning. One case, which illustrates the hardships endured by many, was that of a young lady, a public stenographer in the Stewart building, at the corner of Broadway and Chambers street. Having faithfully promised to complete some work for a lawyer that day, she had gone down early in the morning on a train that got through. In the afternoon she started to walk to her home at 315 West Nineteenth street. Though the distance is hardly more than two miles, she buffeted with the storm and the drifts for *seven hours*, and was nearly dead when she reached her door. She had to be carried into the house, when she immediately fainted. Her clothes were frozen to her body. There were scores, perhaps hundreds of these cases, and not a few were overcome and perished in the snow. One of the number who barely escaped with his life, and who

died only about a month later as a result of the terrible strain and exposure, was the well-known ex-United States senator from New York State, Roscoe Conkling. A man noted throughout the country for his superb physique, his tremendous will power, and great physical strength, which he had always cultivated by constant and regular exercise, he felt little hesitation in facing the storm and starting on his walk downtown. From his office in Wall street to his destination, the New York Club, the distance is about two and a half miles, which Mr. Conkling would ordinarily have walked in forty minutes. As he has left an account of his experience it will fitly close this imperfect suggestion of the frightful conditions that obtained in New York on that first day of the storm. He says: "There wasn't a cab or carriage of any kind to be had. Once during the day I had declined an offer to ride uptown in a carriage because the man wanted fifty dollars; and I started up Broadway on my pins. It was dark, and it was useless to try to pick out a path, so I went magnificently along, shouldering through drifts, and headed for the north. I was pretty well exhausted when I got to Union square, and wiping the snow from my eyes tried to make out the triangles there. But it was impossible. There was no light and I plunged right through on as straight a line as I could determine upon. Sometimes I have run across passages in novels descriptive of great adventures in snow storms,—for example in stories of Russian life, where there would be a vivid description of a man's struggle on a snow-swept and windy plain, but I have always considered the presentation an exaggerated one. I shall never say so again; for after what I encountered in last night's blizzard, I can believe that the strongest description would fail to approximate the truth. I had got to the middle of the Park (Square) and was up to my arms in a drift. I pulled the ice and snow from my eyes and held my hands up there till everything was melted off so I could see,—but it was too dark and the snow too blinding. For nearly twenty minutes I was stuck there and I came as near giving up, and sinking down there to die, as a man can do it, and not do it. When I reached the New York Club on Twenty-fifth street I was covered all over with ice and packed snow and they would scarcely believe I had walked from Wall street. *It took three hours to make the journey.*"

All through the night the storm continued to rage with unabated fury. But with the dawn of Tuesday the fall of the snow ceased, though the high wind continued through the day, filling the air with driven snow and piling many of the

ROSCOE CONKLING.

drifts still higher. Immediately all the energies of men, women, and children were turned toward freeing themselves from their snowbound condition. Thousands of men were set to work clearing paths, other thousands, under the direction of the street department, to opening up the drifts along the principal avenues and streets, while still other thousands were set to work by the street railway companies in an effort to clear their main tracks. All through the day everyone worked with a will; but with all their united effort little business could be transacted. Toward night the elevated roads got into fair condition, and began

running trains, but no attempt was made to run the surface cars. As it is expected that the city will have all the leading streets cleared of snow very soon after it ceases to fall, and as a rule, it does,—very few merchants or storekeepers, or even liverymen, have sleighs or sleds. Consequently, in this emergency, every kind of a box was put on runners; and carpenters worked day and night to fit out any kind of a rough sled for the grocers, butchers, bakers, and tradesmen. Some very patriarchal old coaches on runners—relics of days gone by—were unearthed and put in service between the hotels and the downtown district. After a careful study of the situation, the street commissioners estimated that the amount of snow below Forty-second street that must be carried away would reach to at least 25,000,000 cubic yards; which at the usual rate of two cubic yards to a load meant 12,500,000 loads that must be shoveled, carted to the wharves, and dumped in the rivers. While everything was being done to open up the buried city, the steam railroads were no less active in their efforts to release the passengers from the stalled trains, and to lift the embargo on travel. Seventy-two loaded passenger trains were reported snowbound almost within sight of the city. But it was Wednesday morning before the New York Central railroad got its local tracks clear; and by noon it had brought into the Forty-second street station all trains that had been stalled south of White Plains. Fortunately there were but two or three alarms of fire during the blizzard's reign. In responding to the alarms, scouts were sent ahead on horseback to mark the way for the engines and hose carriages which followed, each drawn by six or eight powerful horses, the drivers mounted on one of the rear teams and lashing the leaders,—having every appearance of a battery going into battle.

All through Tuesday most distressing tales of suffering were reported from all quarters. One well-known merchant was found dead on Seventh avenue, having evidently fallen from exhaustion and then been frozen to death. Another was found dead in the snow on the edge of Central Park, whither he had apparently wandered after losing his way. A woman was found dead from exposure in an area way off Broadway. About three o'clock in the morning two Herald reporters were forging their way uptown on snow shoes, when at the corner of Broadway and Twenty-third street they espied a dark object about six feet from the walk, and partially covered with snow. Uncovering it and turning it over, they discovered that it was a policeman who, worn out with the excitement and exertions of the night, had fallen in the drift and was too weak to rise. Though unconscious, he was taken into the Herald's uptown office near by and revived. The hospitals were crowded to the doors with men, women, and children,—some seriously cut, or with limbs broken as a result of the hurricane's rough work; others suffering from frozen ears, faces, hands, and feet. That Monday night was one that no one who was in any way exposed to its horrors will ever forget. A peculiar feature of such a calamity as had befallen New York is the great number of serious situations that arise of which even a very observing and inquisitive person would hardly ever learn. This is forcibly illustrated by the fact that no interments of the dead had been possible since Sunday; and Wednesday more than six hundred bodies were awaiting burial. This number was not materially affected by the storm, as, so far as known, but twenty lives were lost as the direct result of the blizzard. As this number represented the deaths in the old city only, and was exclusive of Brooklyn and the other suburbs where similar conditions existed, one is forcibly impressed as to the death rate of a great city.

On Wednesday the wheels of industry began to move again; and although all conditions were abnormal in the extreme, still all pulled together, and with a will, for the common good, everyone manifesting the best of nature and infinite patience. It has been said that great

cities like London and New York are never more than one week removed from want, and already New York had begun to realize the truth of the saying. Provisions and poultry were already very scarce and prices rose Wednesday from ten to thirty per cent. No milk had come into the city since Sunday, which caused serious inconvenience and even suffering in families where there were very young children and invalids. Coal had also become scarce,—and conditions were such as to make it very clear that, had the embargo on communication with the outside world continued for a week, tremendous suffering and want must have ensued.

To aid the sun in its beneficent work of melting the snow, bonfires were built in and under the drifts all over the city. One statistical reporter estimated that there were over twenty thousand such fires on Wednesday, below Forty-second street, and some streets presented all the appearances of a great conflagration. All over the city large placards began to appear on top of the huge drifts. One announced a "reward of five thousand dollars for a diamond ring lost under this drift;" another, "Man buried under this drift; hurry up and dig him out;" and still another gave greeting to the home of blizzards with these words, "Dakota, thanks awfully;" while planted high on snow peaks all over the city could be seen the familiar injunction, "Please keep off the grass."

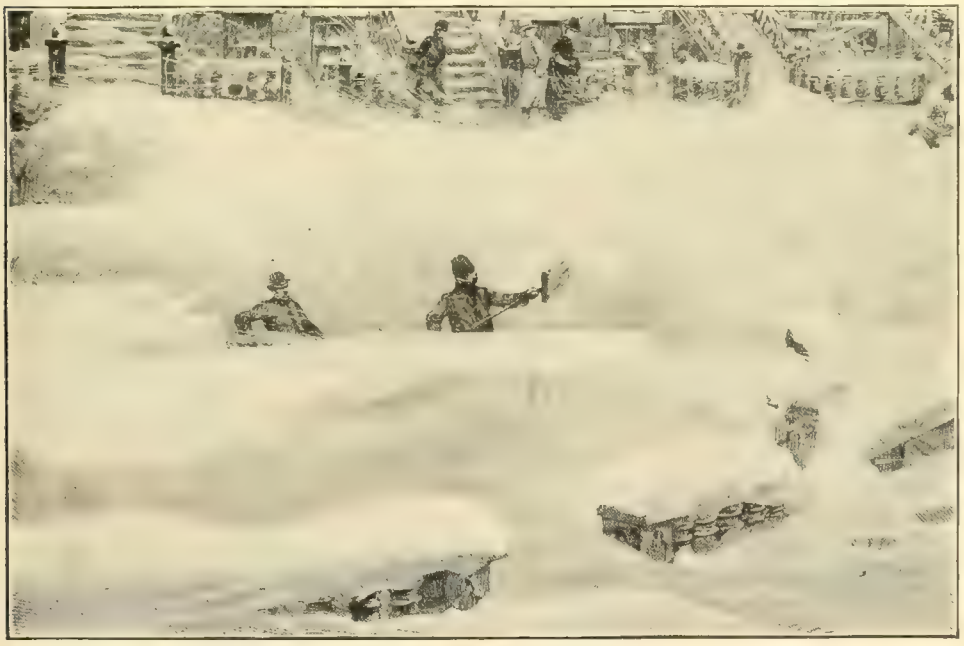
But it's an "ill wind that blows none to good:" and New York's dire extremity was Dakota's golden opportunity. The feelings of the average New Yorker had been hurt in many ways during the days of the blizzard's force; but to have the first open wires bring messages like the following seemed like adding insult to injury:

BISMARCK, N. D., *March* 14.

MAYOR HEWITT, *New York:*

Subscription paper reported passed through Dakota for aid of storm sufferers in New York, and surrounding country. Citizens of territory express deep sympathy for your people, and are responding liberally—would you prefer clothes, or food, or both?

J. M. QUINN,
Bismarck Tribune.



SNOW DRIFTS ON SIDE STREET.

HURON, D. T., *March* 14.

MAYOR HEWITT, *New York:*

Huron, Dakota, under a mild spring sun, sends her sympathy to blizzard-stricken New York. If needed, you may draw on us for $50 to relieve the storm sufferers.

And the following message was sent to Senator Conkling, congratulating him upon his escape from death in the storm.

FARGO, N. D., *March* 14.

HON. ROSCOE CONKLING, *New York.*

The Dakota robins, sitting on orange trees in bloom, join in thanks for your safe delivery from New York's snow drifts. Here in the Tribune office all join me in congratulations to you, and say: *Come to the banana belt,* where every man is your well wisher.

A. W. EDWARDS,
Editor, Fargo Tribune.

Many days, of course, passed before the city assumed a normal condition, and the effects of the blizzard were obliterated. For weeks it was the common topic for conversation and discussion; and many were the terrible experiences that were recounted. In summing up the direct results, so far as the city alone was concerned, it was found that twenty people had perished in the snow drifts or were frozen to death, though many others, like Senator Conkling, doubtless succumbed later to the effects of the storm. The property loss was variously estimated at from fifteen to twenty million dollars. It should be remembered that all these statistics apply to the old city of New York alone, the present borough of Manhattan, —as Brooklyn and the outlying districts had not then been annexed. And it must also be remembered that this description of conditions which existed in New York applies with equal truth and force to the surrounding country. The story of the blizzard's career and effects in the city alone has been told here, because it was the storm centre, and the locality where its fury was most severely felt and where the havoc wrought would naturally be the greatest. Other coast cities suffered only in a lesser degree,—Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston, all receiving a liberal share of the storm's attention. It did not, however, extend further west than Buffalo, and even there it was not marked by unusual severity. But as the most interested students of its phenomena could find no other storm recorded in the history of the country with which to compare it, so it may be hoped that it may long retain its rightful claim to the title of "*The* Blizzard," and that neither New York nor any other city may again have to go through a like experience.

XLV.

THE NEW NAVY — 1883–1909.

Conditions Preceding Spanish War.— President Cleveland's Attitude Regarding Cuban Affairs. President McKinley's.— Republican Platform of 1896.— Senator Proctor's Description of Conditions in Cuba.— Destruction of the *Maine*.—Resolutions of Congress Declaring War.— History of American Navy.— Sentiment of Colonial Leaders.— John Paul Jones.— Total Strength of Revolutionary Navy.— First Secretary of Navy.— Character of Vessels Built After War.— First Application of Steam and of the Propeller.— *The Demologos*.— The *Monitor* and *Merrimac*.— Condition of Navy After Civil War.— Birth of New Navy.— The White Squadron.— The Battleship Era.— The *Oregon*.— The Battle of Manila.— Departure of Admiral Sampson's Fleet to Blockade Cuba.—Cervera's Squadron and the Santiago Blockade.— The Blowing Up of the *Merrimac*.— Destruction of Cervera's Fleet.— Fall of Santiago and Close of War.— Schley and the Famous Loop.— Improvement in Navy Following Close of Spanish War.— Comparison of Navy of 1893 and 1908.— Naval Appropriations of Leading World Powers.— Cruise of the Battleships.— Itinerary of Trip.— Reception of Fleet and Review in Hampton Roads, February 22, 1909.

"Why prate of peace? When, warriors all,
We clank in harness into hall
And ever bare upon the board
Lies the necessary sword"

— Robert Louis Stevenson.

THE year 1898 marks an epoch in the history of the United States. For one hundred years the young nation had been expanding from the Atlantic to the Pacific; had been increasing at an unprecedented rate in population; had been steadily advancing from a position of weakness and even contempt to one of the most exalted moral and material influence among the nations of the world; had, by the inventive genius, shrewd common sense, and aggressive intelligence of its people reached a very high degree of attainment in every branch of practical science, in manufactures, in commerce, in the liberal arts and in education; had, from a low and disordered financial condition advanced to a state of enormous wealth and unparalleled abundance of material resources; and had, by the severest test of the Republican form of government in two wars, and in repeated trying emergencies in home affairs, established beyond question the practicability and inherent virtue of popular institutions. After a vigorous and honorable youth the country had achieved a position of respect and influence among the nations of the world that was unique. A well established tradition of noninterference with the affairs of other peoples, based upon the "teachings of the fathers" and formulated in the Monroe Doctrine, had secured immunity from foreign entanglements, and the peace necessary for a phenomenal internal development; while the moral influence of the nation had become second to that of none of the great powers of the world. This fact had very recently been demonstrated when, in 1895, without an army of any consequence and practically no available navy, the principles of the Monroe Doctrine

as asserted by President Cleveland had been accepted by the most powerful of the nations of the world, which had ceased its aggressive encroachments upon the rights of a weaker power, and had submitted its cause to arbitration. While there was much in the conduct of domestic affairs and in the administration of municipal governments that was with reason deplored, still the people could look back upon the period of the nation's youth with just pride, and felt warranted in facing the twentieth century with assurance and confidence in the maturity of their powers and in the beneficence of the established customs and institutions. As Prof. Coolidge, in his "United States as a World Power," has said: "They believed their country to be the best, the finest, the richest, the happiest in the world, and they gave due recognition to their own merits which had made it so. With a fine self-confidence, public opinion, when forced to admit the charges against anything American, consoled itself with the belief that things would soon be better. There was a comfortable conviction that if the Americans had failed in any respect, it was only because they had been too busy elsewhere to turn their attention in that particular direction; that, when once they had established their material conditions on a thoroughly firm foundation, they could attend to such matters as tinkering the weak places in the machine of government or developing the æsthetic capabilities of the race."

But unconsciously the youthful nation was already face-to-face with new conditions that were to test its moral and material strength. When Mr. McKinley was inaugurated as president, on March 4, 1897, the Country was at peace with all the world, and the people were looking forward with eager confidence to an era of commercial prosperity after four years of financial and business depression. No one saw any cloud on the political horizon that portended war, nor any threatened complications that would swerve the country from its purpose to maintain the existing peace with all nations, and to devote all its energies to the task of advancement of home industry and the further development of its vast material resources. President McKinley's inaugural address was devoted almost entirely to economic questions, including the tariff. It is true that public opinion in the United States had been aroused and shocked by the deplorable state of affairs in Cuba, where the insurgents had not been able to overthrow the Spanish government, nor had the latter been able to maintain any stable authority outside two or three of the large cities. In his message to Congress on December 7, 1896, President Cleveland analyzed the situation, and referred, in no uncertain terms, to the imperative need of making an end, in some way, to the state of anarchy that existed on the island. "The spectacle," he said, "of the utter ruin of an adjoining country, by nature one of the most fertile and charming on the globe, would engage the serious attention of the government and people of the United States in any circumstances. In point of fact, they have a concern with it which is by no means of a wholly sentimental or philanthropic character. It lies so near to us as to be hardly separated from our territory. Our actual pecuniary interest in it is second only to that of the people and government of Spain. It is reasonably estimated that at least from $30,000,000 to $50,000,000 of American capital are invested in plantations and in railroad, mining, and other business enterprises on the island. The volume of trade between the United States and Cuba, which in 1889 amounted to about $64,000,000, rose in 1893 to about $103,000,000 and in 1894, the year before the present insurrection broke out, amounted to nearly $96,000,000. Besides this large pecuniary stake in the fortunes of Cuba, the United States finds itself inextricably involved in the present contest in other ways both vexatious and costly . . . It would seem that if Spain should offer to Cuba genuine autonomy—a measure of home rule which, while preserving the sovereignty of Spain, would

satisfy all rational requirements of her Spanish subjects—there should be no just reason why the pacification of the island might not be effected on that basis. Such a result would appear to be in the interest of all concerned . . . It should be added that it cannot be reasonably assured that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States will be indefinitely maintained. While we are anxious to accord all due respect to the sovereignty of Spain, we cannot view the pending conflict in all its features and properly apprehend our inevitably close relations to it, without considering that by the course of events we may be drawn into such an unusual and unprecedented condition, as will fix a limit to our patient waiting for Spain to end the contest, either alone and in her own way, or with our friendly co-operation."

By its platform for the presidential campaign of 1896, the Republican party placed itself on record as favoring interference in Cuban affairs, to the end that hostilities in the island should be terminated. "From the hour of achieving their own independence," read one paragraph of that declaration of party principles, "the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination . . . The government of Spain having lost control of Cuba and being unable to protect the lives or property of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace, and give independence to the islands." When President McKinley succeeded President Cleveland, March 4, 1897, he made no change in the policy which the latter had pursued, but continued the insistent pressure by which it was sought to persuade the Spanish government to give a satisfying measure of free government to its great dependency. In conformity with that policy and the expressed attitude of his party he early addressed himself to the Cuban question, the new administration's position being first communicated to Spain by a note from Secretary of State Sherman, dated June 27, 1897, to the effect that the

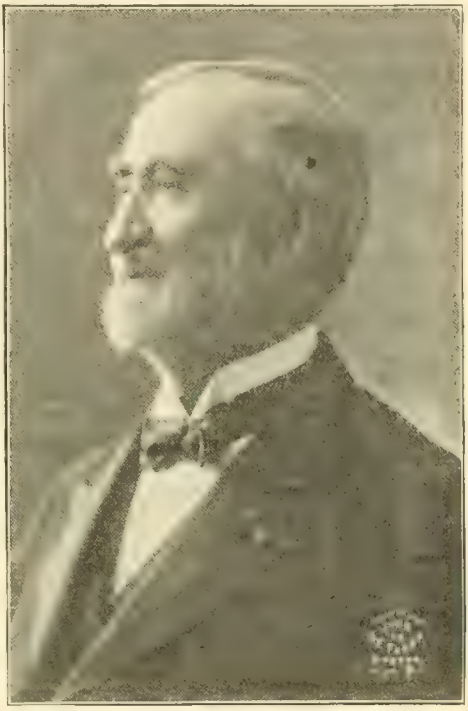


Photo. Copyrighted by J. E. Purdy, Boston.
REDFIELD PROCTOR.

United States, in the name of humanity and in its own interests, protested against the decrees and acts of General Weyler, especially his reconcentration order. On August 4th the Spanish government replied that the situation on the island was not as bad as reported; that General Weyler's orders were not unusual, and were no more severe than measures adopted by Hunter and Sheridan in the Virginia Valley, or by Sherman in Georgia. And in conclusion the attention of the American government was directed to the activity of the Cuban Junta in New York, and to the aid the Cubans were constantly receiving from the United States.

General Woodford having succeeded Hannis Taylor as Minister from the United States to Spain in September, 1897, a further communication was presented to the Spanish government setting

forth in detail the views of the administration, and once more tendering the good offices of this government for the adjustment of Cuban affairs. Very shortly after this the Spanish ministry resigned, and, on October 14, a liberal ministry assumed control of that nation's interests. Three days later General Blanco was appointed to succeed General Weyler as governor and captain-general of the island; and on the 23d the new ministry replied to General Woodford's last note, promising to grant autonomy to Cuba, and again requested the United States to enforce with more vigor its neutrality laws. The decree of autonomy was made public in Madrid November 27, and a summary of its contents was immediately cabled to Washington so that it might be considered by the President before sending his message to the Congress about to convene. In that message President McKinley fully reviewed the Cuban situation, but advised that it was only fair to Spain to give the new ministry time to test its policy of autonomy. He also referred to the recall of General Weyler, the mitigation of the

FITZHUGH LEE.

evils of reconcentration, and stated that, so far as this government knew, not a single American citizen was then under arrest or in confinement in Cuba.

But it immediately became manifest that autonomy had come too late, and that it was greeted with scant favor by either party. On January 13, 1898, serious riots occurred in Havana, which were intended as a popular demonstration against the entire scheme. About this time Senator Proctor, of Vermont, visited Cuba, and on March 17, 1898, he delivered a speech in the Senate, relating the results of his observations, which inflamed public opinion to a white heat. "It is not peace, nor is it war," he said: "it is desolation and distress, misery and starvation . . . I saw no house or hut in the four hundred miles of railroad ride from Pinar del Rio province in the west across the full width of Habana and Matanzas provinces, and to Sagua la Grande on the north shore and to Cienfuegos on the south shore of Santa Clara, except within the Spanish trochas . . . The dividing lines between the parties are the most straight and clear-cut that have ever come to my knowledge. The division in our war was by no means so clearly defined. It is Cuban against Spaniard. It is practically the entire Cuban population on one side, and the Spanish army and Spanish citizens on the other . . . There is no doubt that General Blanco is acting in entire good faith; that he desires to give the Cubans a fair measure of autonomy. He has, of course, a few personal followers; but the army and the Spanish citizens do not want genuine autonomy, for that means government by the Cuban people. And it is not strange that the Cubans say it comes too late." In the course of this speech, Senator Proctor described in detail the horrible sufferings of the people as a result of the concentration system; the wretched misery of the country people huddled together like animals within the military stations, where they were dying by hundreds every day from disease and starvation. The effect of his speech was electrical, and the people throughout the United States declared with one voice that such barbarity must cease. From that day it was a foregone conclusion

that the Spaniards must get out of Cuba, however long diplomatic formalities might postpone the event. But an unforeseen disaster was close at hand which was to precipitate the crisis. Upon the occasion of the riots in Havana in January, General Fitzhugh Lee, who was then Consul-General of the United States at Havana, advised the government that the presence of war-ships would probably be desirable later on for the protection of American citizens, but not then. The government, however, decided to send a

Photo Copyrighted by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

THE MAINE.

war vessel to Havana; but to avoid as far as possible any suggestion of an aggressive or unfriendly act General Lee was officially informed, on January 24, that it was "the purpose of this government to resume friendly naval visits at Cuban ports. In that view the *Maine* will call at the port of Havana in a day or two. Please arrange for a friendly interchange of calls with authorities." General Lee at once urged the postponement of the visit for a few days until the excitement occasioned by the riots should be further allayed. But the *Maine*, under the command of Captain Sigsbee, had already sailed for Havana, where she arrived January 25th, without any demonstration on the part of the people. There she remained for three weeks, no appreciable excitement attending her stay. On the contrary a feeling of relief and confidence seemed to follow the long-interrupted friendly intercourse. So noticeable was this that General Lee strongly urged that the presence of our ships in Cuban waters should be continued by retaining the *Maine* at Havana, or, in the event of her recall, by sending another vessel there to take her place. But at forty minutes after nine, on the evening of February 15, the *Maine* was destroyed by an explosion, by which the entire forward part of the ship was utterly wrecked. In this horrible catastrophe two officers and two hundred and sixty-four of her crew perished, those who were not killed outright by the explosion being penned between decks and drowned by the immediate sinking of the hull. Prompt assistance was rendered by all the

vessels in the harbor, the Spanish Cruiser *Alfonso XII.* being especially active in this regard. The wounded were tenderly cared for by the authorities, the hospitals being freely opened to them, while the earliest recovered dead were interred by

CAPTAIN CHARLES D. SIGSBEE.

the municipality. Tributes of grief and sympathy were also offered from all official quarters of the island.

A naval Court of Inquiry was at once appointed, made up of officers of rank and experience. The Spanish authorities requested permission to take part in the investigation, but their request was refused. After twenty-three days of arduous labor their report was completed March 21, and submitted to the President. The testimony showed that there were two explosions, the first like a report of a gun, the second more open, prolonged, and of greater volume. The conclusions of the Court, as officially reported, were: "That the loss of the *Maine* was not in any respect due to the fault or negligence on the part of any of the officers or members of her crew; that the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines; and that no evidence has been obtainable fixing the responsibility for the destruction of the *Maine* upon any person or persons."

Not being allowed to join in the investigation made by the American officials, the Spanish authorities made one on their own account, examining many witnesses, and concluded that the destruction of the *Maine* was due to an explosion in her forward magazine. The real cause of this most lamentable catastrophe has never been definitely established. If the submarine mine theory is accepted, still no thoughtful person, reviewing all the conditions and evidence, has ever believed that the Spanish government either planned the destruction of the vessel, or had any knowledge of such a purpose. No act, as they well knew, could have been perpetrated that would more surely spur the American people on to war: and Spain did not then want war. The insurgents were the only ones who were working to incite the United States to active hostilities, and the most logical supposition is that, if the *Maine* was blown up by a torpedo or mine, the placing and exploding of it were the rash acts of hot-headed Cuban insurgents.

Pending the report of the Court appointed to investigate the affair, the people manifested a remarkable degree of patience and sanity, as public opinion had been aroused to a point only equaled by the frenzy that followed the attack on Fort Sumter in 1861. But as soon as the findings of the Court were made public the pent up anger burst forth. "Remember the *Maine*" became the watchword, and an immediate declaration of war was demanded. Just at this juncture several of the European powers united in an appeal to the President to maintain peace; and the Pope directed Archbishop Ireland to proceed to Washington as his representative to work for the same end. But convinced that further negotiations with Spain would be useless, and being

hotly pressed by an impatient Congress now thoroughly dominated by the popular sentiment, the President, on April 11, 1898, sent a message to Congress in which he reviewed the situation, concluding that forcible intervention alone could solve the existing difficulties; this, he asserted, was justified on the grounds of humanity, as well as on those of furnishing the necessary protection of the lives and property of American citizens in Cuba, and of ending a conflict that was a constant menace to the peace of the United States, while it entailed a great expense on our government. After several days of heated discussion, on April 19, Congress adopted the following resolutions, which were recognized as equivalent to a declaration of war:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress Assembled,

"First: That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

"Second: That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuban waters.

"Third: That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

"Fourth: That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

As soon as the President approved the Resolutions, which he did on the following day, the Spanish Minister left Washington, and on the next day General Woodford severed his relations with the Spanish government, leaving Madrid for Paris; and a state of war between the United States and Spain became an established fact.

In the light of subsequent events it should be noted that, while putting these Resolutions into effect would unquestionably involve the country in a war with Spain, it is, at the same time, most explicitly declared that the purpose of such war is not to conquer Spain as a nation, nor to attack her in the possession of any of the other of her dependencies. Apart from the effect of the disturbed conditions in Cuba upon the United States, the country had no cause for war with Spain, and with the surrender of that island, the whole object for which the war was declared was accomplished. The acquisition of Porto Rico, and the subsequent demand for the cession of the Philippines, are hardly consistent with the disinterested, and highly moral purpose avowed in the fourth resolution. Moreover, it would seem that if the fourth resolution expressed the purpose and intent of the Administration, there could hardly have been complete harmony in its counsels; for on February 25, only five days less than two months before the Resolutions were approved by the President, the following despatch was sent by the Navy Department to Commodore Dewey, commanding the Asiatic Squadron: "Order Squadron, except *Monocacy,* to Hong Kong. Keep full of coal. In event of declaration of war with Spain, your duty will be to see that the Spanish Squadron does not leave the Asiatic Coast, *and then offensive operations in Philippine islands.*"

The history of the Spanish war is almost entirely a record of the valorous action and achievements of the Navy. As President Roosevelt said: "The most impressive thing in the prosecution of this war was the preparedness of the Navy and the unpreparedness of the Army." Not only for this reason, but also because there is always a romantic sentiment associated

with the naval life and its activities, we shall devote a large part of this chapter to the history of the so-called "New Navy," which did such valiant and heroic work during the war, and has continued to excite the pride and patriotism of every American, as the cruise of its fleet of battleships around the world has elicited the enthusiastic admiration of the people of every country whose ports it has visited.

The continued employment of large military forces (standing armies) or of great fleets has always been regarded as inconsistent with Republican principles. From the earliest days of their national life down to the last decade the American people have watched with jealous eyes any propositions that looked toward the maintenance of more than a police force, either on land or sea, in times of peace. During the entire life of the nation no measure introduced in Congress to increase the size of the Army or Navy, unless war was immediately imminent, has ever escaped the keenest scrutiny, or, perhaps, the strenuous opposition, of the popular party. When, at the close of the eighteenth century, it was urged in Congress that a new and more powerful navy was a necessity, one of the Senators from Pennsylvania, in the course of a long and powerful speech in opposition to the bill, said: "It is the design of the Court party (referring to those who were charged with a purpose to make the new government conform as nearly as possible to the monarchical ideas of the old world) to have a fleet and an army. This is but the entering wedge of a new monarchy in America, after all the bloodshed and suffering of a seven years' war to establish a republic. The Indian War is forced forward to justify our having a standing army, and eleven unfortunate men now in slavery in Algiers is the pretext for fitting out a fleet. . . . This thing of a fleet has been working among our members all the Session. I have heard it break out often. *It is another menace to our republican institutions!*" Obedient to this sentiment the large forces in both arms of the service that would be assembled during the prosecution of a war have always been dissipated as soon as peace was assured. And few things illustrate more clearly the changed character of American political thought and theory as a result of the Spanish war than do the establishment of an army of close to one hundred thousand men on a peace footing, and the building and maintaining of one of the most powerful navies of the world, while the country is at peace with all nations.

On the 14th of June, 1775, just three days before the battle of Bunker Hill, the Continental Congress appointed a Committee to "consider, inquire, and report with respect to the organization of a naval force." Ten days later the Chairman of this Committee was authorized to "invite John Paul Jones, Esq., Gent., of Virginia, Master Mariner," to come to Philadelphia and favor the Committee with his advice. As a result of this conference, Jones, Nicholas Biddle, and three other captains of merchant ships were directed to examine the vessels lying at Philadelphia and to recommend such as seemed suitable for service as war vessels. Acting upon their advice the Congress purchased two ships and two brigs. The larger of the ships had been in the East India trade, and when purchased was named the *Alfred,* after Alfred the Great. Although she was of only four hundred and forty tons burden, after being strengthened she was armed with eight 12-pounders, twelve 9-pounders, and eight 6-pounders, and carried a crew of two hundred and twenty officers and men. *This was the origin of, and these were the vessels that constituted, the first Navy of the United States.* On December 13, 1775, Congress voted to build thirteen cruisers. A successful attempt was made to produce vessels that should be a little, at least, in advance of vessels of their class in any other navy,—a policy that has been the ideal of the Navy Department down to the present day. Of the thirteen cruisers the *Hancock, Randolph, Raleigh, Trumbull,* and *Providence,* only, got to sea, and all ren-

dered good accounts of themselves; and, later in the war, the *Alliance* and *Confederacy* were built, which even surpassed their predecessors as the best specimens of naval architecture. As fighting machines these vessels contrast strangely with the war vessels of to-day, marking no less emphatically than the other transformations recorded in this volume the marvelous development of the inventive genius of the nineteenth century. The *Alfred,* for example, in which John Paul Jones first sailed in the service of the United States as Lieutenant, firing all of her twenty-eight guns at once, could discharge only three hundred and eighty pounds of balls, or one hundred ninety at a broadside. At the test of the new 13-inch gun, now in place on our latest battleships, made at Indian Head, in 1894, an eleven hundred pound shell was used, which was driven through seventeen inches of steel plate.

The total "salt-water" Navy in service during the Revolutionary war included forty-seven vessels of all classes,—ships, brigs, schooners, and sloops. The two most formidable vessels of the period were never of service to the nation, as policy dictated their presentation to the King of France. These were the *Indien,* built at Amsterdam, which it was intended to place under the command of John Paul Jones, whose guns could throw a total of twelve hundred and six pounds of shot, or a broadside of over six hundred pounds; and the *America,* launched late in the progress of the war, which was a ship of the line, carrying seventy-four guns. These were as formidable as any ships of war afloat at that time. Those were the romantic days of our naval history, the tales of which have fired all youthful hearts for a century. There was no long-range fighting, but broadsides were exchanged at such close quarters that a spar shot away on one vessel was liable to fall upon the deck of an antagonist; and as batteries were disabled, eager preparations were made for boarding and hand-to-hand fighting on the deck of one or the other of the ships. The other vessels that achieved the most notoriety were the *Bon Homme Richard,* the *Randolph,* and the *Ranger.* The English navy truly ruled the seas at this time, and the sentiment of the Continental, and even later National, Congresses was, that our vessels should be kept at home for harbor defense, as it was not believed, vessel for vessel, that they could stand any chance of victory over the British war-ships. It was not only their love of adventure and a fight that led the early naval officers to take great risks; they also wished to demonstrate to the weak and timid home government and people that, under any approach to fair conditions, the vessels and the crews of the United States Navy were the equals of those of any navy in the world; and this they abundantly proved in a series of most brilliant and thrilling engagements extending over all the troubled years until the end of the war of 1812. It is related that Jones and Captain Biddle of the *Randolph* had often talked this matter over, and had agreed upon the wonderful results that would accrue to their country if "by exceedingly desperate fighting one of our ships should conquer one of the English of markedly superior force;" and each of these gallant officers watched anxiously for the opportunity, and hoped to be the first to demonstrate the superiority of yankee ships, yankee gunnery, and yankee grit and pluck. The lot fell first to Biddle who, in command of the *Randolph,* in March, 1778, was cruising near Barbardos. His ship mounted only thirty guns. One afternoon the British ship *Yarmouth,* mounting sixty-four guns, and, because of their greater size, of more than four times the force of the *Randolph's* batteries, bore down on Biddle's ship, and the little convoy of merchant sloops accompanying him. He at once waited for the *Yarmouth* to come up, and when she had come within range the Stars and Stripes were flung to the breeze, and a broadside was sent crashing against the enemy's hull, to which the *Yarmouth* immediately replied. After the exchange of two or three rounds it was clear that the *Randolph* could fire

about three broadsides to the *Yarmouth's* one; but the heavier guns of the latter were too much for the former to withstand. Biddle had been shot down early in the fight; but, seated in a chair, he cheered his men on. Seeing that he could not win by direct firing against the enemy's more powerful batteries, he ordered a movement that would bring him alongside the *Yarmouth,* intending to grapple and board her, and then fight it out on her deck. Just as he was coming close to the enemy, however, fire reached the *Randolph's* magazine directly under Biddle's feet, and she was blown clean out of water. Only four of her crew were saved. Though all was lost the superb bravery of officers and crew cheered the despondent hearts of the American people and stiffened the Congressional backbone. The great victory Biddle and Jones had talked of was reserved for the latter when, in the *Bon Homme Richard,* he captured the *Serapis* in 1778, and established the standard of seamanship and unflinching courage which it has since been the highest purpose of the officers and men of the American navy to maintain. In the meantime, however, an honor of a different character fell to the lot of Jones. On the 14th of June, 1777, Congress enacted that "the flag of the thirteen United States shall be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." On the first of November following Jones sailed from Portsmouth, N. H., in the sloop *Ranger,* just completed, flying the new American flag, which he displayed for the first time in European waters; and on December 15 he sailed through the French fleet at Quiberon bay, near Nantes, whither he convoyed a fleet of American merchantmen, with the Stars and Stripes at his mast-head, which was there for the first time saluted by a foreign flag-ship, and an Admiral's fleet.

On April 30, 1798, a separate Navy Department was created, and Benjamin Stoddert was appointed the first Secretary. Previous to that date the naval affairs had been conducted as a branch of the war department. By an act of Congress, July 11, 1798, a permanent Marine Corps was also established, having eight hundred and eighty-one officers and men, all under the command of a Major. Before the end of the century the cruisers which had achieved such brilliant records during the war had all been dismantled or sold. But war with France becoming imminent, and the depredations and insults of the Barbary Corsairs passing endurance, Congress was, by a small majority, led to authorize the building of another fleet. A group of frigates, ten in number, were launched between 1797-99, which were a marked advance upon the cruisers of the Revolution. The most noted of these were the *United States, Constellation, Chesapeake* and the *Constitution,* which was later to immortalize herself in the famous fight with the *Guerriere.* Vessels of this class were so successful that an occasional one was added to the fleet down to 1847. As a part, also, of a plan to gradually strengthen the Navy the government built, between 1814-18, several vessels of a new class,—seventy-four gun ships of the line. Among these were the *Franklin, Ohio, North Carolina,* and *Vermont.* These vessels were easily the finest battleships afloat; and the appearance of the *North Carolina* in Mediterranean ports, in 1825, with her one hundred and two guns in three tiers, awakened the deepest interest, European naval officers pronouncing her the most formidable war vessel in the world. In his most valuable History of the United States Navy, Mr. Maclay has brought together some of the expressions by foreign naval experts of their appreciation of America's success in naval construction and administration which would seem to warrant the pride in their Navy which the people of this country are sometimes thought too ready to manifest. In 1820, he says, the British government sent a naval officer to inspect our Navy. He reported that "the organization of the American Naval Department, either for administrative duties or

for practical work, is the best system extant. Their ships are the best built and their timber is unsurpassed. Their frigates are competent to cope with ships of the line, and their ships of the line with three deckers; and the whole administration of the Navy is conducted with comparatively little expense." Maclay further states that in the introduction to a new edition of James's "History of the British Navy," the editor says: "It is but justice, in regard to America, to mention that England has benefited by her (America's) example, and that the large class of frigates now (1826) employed in the British service is modeled after that of the United States."

But a new factor in the history of all ship-building was now forcing itself upon the attention of all constructors. Fulton had already established the practicability of steam as a motive power for sea-going vessels, and early urged upon Congress the construction of a steam war ship. The result of his efforts was the building of the *Demologos,* as Fulton called her, or *Fulton Number One* as she is known in the Navy lists. This unique vessel is thus described in the "Life of Fulton:" "The *Demologos,* or *Fulton,* measured one hundred and forty feet over all, fifty-five feet beam, and drew only eight feet of water. The superstructure was built on two hulls, separated from end to end by a channel fifteen feet wide and sixty-six feet long. One hull contained the boiler, which was made of copper, for generating steam. The machinery occupied the other boat. The water-wheel revolved in the space between them. The main, or gun deck, supported the armament, and was protected by a parapet five feet thick, of solid timber, pierced by embrasures. Her upper, or spar deck, upon which many hundred men might parade, was encompassed with a bulwark for safety. She was rigged with two stout masts, each of which supported a large lateen yard and sails. She had two bowsprits and jibs, and four rudders, one at each end of each boat, so that she might be steered with either end foremost." In addition to these features this remarkable vessel had a battery of twenty long 32-pounders, which was supplemented by a submarine gun designed to throw a hundred-pound shot. She was also equipped with an engine for the purpose of forcing an immense column of water through an enemy's port-hole with a view to sinking the vessel, and had a furnace for hot shot. After the war of 1812 the *Demologos* was stationed at the Brooklyn Navy Yard as a receiving ship until 1829, when she was blown up, with a terrible loss of life. *Fulton the Second,* designed as a defense vessel for New York harbor, was built in 1837. She had sloping bulwarks of the best live oak five feet thick, a model that undoubtedly suggested the sloping sides of the *Merrimac* and the other iron-clads of her class that were fitted out by the Confederate government during the Civil War. The Navy Department, however, was slow to adopt steam, even as an auxiliary motive power. By 1838 both England and France were building steam war vessels; but it was not until 1841 that the prejudices of the United States officials were overcome. In that year the two side-wheel steamers *Mississippi* and *Missouri* were constructed, and in 1847 two more of the same class, the *Susquehanna* and the *Powhatan.* The *Missouri* was burned at Gibraltar, in 1843; but her sister-ship, the *Mississippi,* had a long and notable career. She was the flagship of the naval forces in the Gulf during the war with Mexico; also Capt. Perry's flagship when he visited Japan, and negotiated the treaty with that country; and was at last destroyed by fire when, under Farragut, she was trying to pass the Confederate batteries at Port Hudson during the Civil War.

But the inventive mind was still active and the time had arrived for the adoption of a new propelling force for vessels. A submerged screw had been experimented with in France as early as 1823; but, though satisfactory results were achieved in trials, the idea was generally regarded as impracticable by all naval authorities. In 1830, however, the *Robert Field Stockton* crossed the Atlantic, using a propeller

instead of side wheels. Captain Stockton had borrowed his ideas largely from John Ericsson, who was then in London; and after the successful trip of the *Stockton,* he urged his plans upon Congress, with the result that the first steam propeller was launched and built in 1844, and, in honor of Captain Stockton was named the *Princeton,* after his home city. So great was the success of this venture that, between 1856-9, the government was led to build the splendid fleet of screw war vessels that were at once recognized everywhere as superior to all existing war ships. Among these were the *Niagara, Merrimac* (later the Confederate ironclad), *Wabash, Minnesota, Brooklyn, Lancaster,* etc. They were all ship-rigged, and very efficient whether under sail or steam.

Yet formidable and perfect as these latest vessels appeared, their practically

THE ERICSSON STATUE, NEW YORK CITY.

utter uselessness was soon to be demonstrated. It is doubtful whether any battle ever fought on the water was so momentous in its results as the duel between the *Monitor* and *Merrimac.* The ease with which the *Merrimac,* the day before, had shelled and rammed and sunk our best vessels at Hampton Roads, readily demonstrated that the day of the wooden war ship was over. This was recognized by foreign nations as well as our own. A distinguished member of Parliament, speaking on the subject the day after the receipt of the news of the battle declared, "Our whole Navy is useless: we must begin anew." More than this, the fight between the two ironclads determined the type of vessel that would be the battle ship of the future. As Maclay says: "Ericsson in his *Monitor* gave the cue to naval designers all over the world, the essential feature of his invention, the turret, being introduced in all first-class war ships to-day. In fact, strictly speaking, our heavy war vessels of 1900 are nothing more than highly developed Monitors. The two turrets, one forward and one aft, and, in ships of the *Oregon* class, the auxiliary turrets containing 8-inch guns, classify them unmistakably with the improved Monitor, the only essential difference being the greater freeboard designed to secure better accommodation for the officers and crew. This freeboard, however, is in no way estimated in the main defensive scheme of our battleships. The heavy armor belt is carried not much higher above the water line than in the originial *Monitor,* while the heavily armored protected deck of the *Oregon* is in much the same position as that on Ericsson's invention. Stripped down to her real offensive and defensive conception the *Oregon* would bear a remarkable proportional resemblance to the *Monitor,* the superstructure built above the real protective deck and belt being designed so that it could be riddled with shot without it any way affecting the vitality of the ship." And a prominent English Naval expert, speaking of the *Goliath* (1898) as the latest and most powerful battleship constructed in Great Britain, is quoted as saying: "It is of historic interest that the modern ironclad with its turrets and massive plates had its root idea in the famous monitors designed for

the United States government by Ericsson, who sought to combine invulnerability with very heavy ordnance."

The years following the Civil War were years of stagnation in naval affairs. For a brief period the powerful monitors that were built during the later years of the war, with their 15-inch Dahlgren guns, were the most formidable fighting machines afloat. But European nations soon had battleships of far greater size than our monitors, armed with improved breech-loading rifles. The sentiment of the American government was to patch up our old wooden ships, and to let Europe "make experiments for us." The natural result was that the Navy, by 1880, had become one of the most inefficient in the world. The year 1881, however, marked the beginning of the "new order," and was the natal year of the "New Navy." On June 29th a Board was appointed by the Secretary of the Navy to consider its state, and report what action ought to be taken by Congress. After mature deliberation the Board recommended the building of twenty-one battleships and seventy cruisers, besides torpedo-boats and rams. The immediate result was the construction of one "worthless ram." But the matter was now before Congress and the people, and constant agitation of the question by the press and by naval writers was destined to secure early results. Speaking of this period Lieutenant Spear, a historian of the Navy, says: "For seventeen years we had allowed foreign countries 'to do the experimenting for us.' In that time England had learned how to build an *Inflexible* with armor from eighteen to twenty-four inches thick, and carrying four built-up rifles of 16-inch calibre, firing a projectile weighing seventeen hundred pounds, that was able to pierce twenty-seven inches of wrought iron armor at a range of five hundred yards. Our best naval ship was a monitor carrying smooth-bore guns that fired a shell as little able to penetrate the armor of the day as a flint-lock musket would have been. But we had a complete book knowledge of the best of the British ships, and now we were to begin using the advantages we had gained by allowing other nations 'to do the experimenting for us.'" Even after the Secretary of the Navy had determined to commence building the ships authorized by Congress, it was found that there was not a ship-yard in the country adapted to the construction of a five-thousand-ton cruiser, not to speak of an armorclad vessel. Nor was there a mill in the country that could make the steel plates and frames required, nor the armor. The Department was, therefore, forced to begin by building a despatch boat and two small 3000-ton cruisers, the *Dolphin*, the *Boston*, and the *Atlanta*. The contract for the construction of these vessels was made with John Roach, July 23, 1883, by which the mills for the making of such steel plates as were needed were guaranteed. By a later contract of June 1, 1887, with the Bethlehem Iron Company, facilities for making the best of steel armor and forgings for the largest of steel guns were provided. The *Dolphin* was launched in 1884, and the *Atlanta* and *Boston* in 1885. The two latter had armaments of two 8-inch and six 6-inch guns, besides a secondary battery, which, with a speed of fifteen knots, made them very creditable war vessels for the time. Having fairly entered upon the new work, each succeeding Secretary of the Navy earnestly labored to improve upon the work of his predecessor; and new and larger vessels of improved types and greater fighting power and speed followed each other in rapid succession. The first armored ship worthy of particular mention in the New Navy, or the "White Squadron" as the vessels were familiarly classed, was the *Maine*, destined to meet such a tragic fate in Havana harbor eight years later. She was launched November 18, 1890, had side armor twelve inches thick, and carried 10-inch guns in each turret. But the first vessel whose trial-trip banished all pessimism from the minds of naval authorities and gave distinct promise that the United States Navy was fairly in line once more for the first rank among the great navies of the

world, was the *New York*. She was launched December 2, 1891; was 380.5 feet long, 65 feet wide, and had a displacement of 8200 tons. Under the terms of the contract with her builders she was to have a guaranteed speed of twenty knots an hour, and a premium was offered for any excess of speed. An enthusiastic naval officer thus speaks of her trial trip: "On May 22, 1892, she was at sea for her official trial, and if we consider the effect of that trial upon the Navy and the nation we shall find few other days to compare with it. For because of the pessimistic habit of thought cultivated during the dark ages of the Navy even the officers who were to test her had not full confidence that she would make good the record for which she was designed. But when with eager eyes they watched the swift beating of connecting rods and the smooth whirr of shafts, and in the midst of the perspiring heat of the air they found the bearings cool, while the indicator cards showed such power as they had never seen before, their fears faded away. For four hours they kept their eyes on engine-room and taffrail log and clock; and then, when the time was done, the whole crew burst into cheers while a sailor climbed aloft, and lashed a broom to the mast-head. She had covered twenty-one knots an hour. No such ship as that had ever floated the 'gridiron flag;' no such ship of the class floated any flag. The shame that had for twenty-five years rested on our Navy was wiped out. The *New York* was the *Constitution* of the New Navy we affectionately called the 'White Squadron.'"

But the battleship era was now on. By the Act of June 30, 1890, Congress provided for the construction of three "coast defense" battleships. Benjamin F. Tracy was then Secretary of the Navy, and he is reported to have said to the head of the Construction Bureau: "Now, sir, what you're to do is to design a ship that can lick anything afloat." And the *Oregon* was the result. She was equipped with two 13-inch guns, the most powerful then made, in each of two main turrets placed over the keel at bow and stern. Two other turrets were located over each rail, in each of which were mounted two 8-inch guns; and along the side armor walls were placed four 6-inch guns. Her armor varied from fifteen to eighteen inches in thickness, her displacement was 10,300 tons, and her speed was fifteen and a half knots. It was generally conceded that the naval constructor had faithfully executed the orders of Secretary Tracy, and the *Oregon* at once took her place as the Queen of the New Navy. The *Massachusetts* and the *Indiana*, of the same class as the *Oregon*, quickly followed. These vessels were classed as "coast line battleships," and while powerful and effective within their range, they were defective in their coal capacity, and so could not be relied upon for long-distance service. As will be seen a later class, ordered and built after the Spanish war, like the *Louisiana*, were constructed of more than double the displacement of the "coast-line" ships, capable of taking in coal enough to go half way round the world and arrive at any point ready for action without delay for coaling. The "New Navy" consists of four types of ships; the battleships, cruisers, torpedo-boats, and auxiliaries. There are, too, subdivisions of each of these classes,—as the battleships into "coast-line" and sea-going vessels; the cruisers, into armored cruisers, protected cruisers, gunboats, and scouts; the torpedo boats, into torpedo boat destroyers, submarines, etc. In 1894 the *Columbia* and *Minneapolis* were added to the fleet, each with a speed of twenty-three knots an hour, which were readily recognized as the most efficient armored cruisers designed as commerce destroyers afloat; while in 1895 the *Brooklyn*, an advance on the *New York* both in speed and strength of armament, took her place at the head of the armored-cruiser class. By constant addition to all classes of the fleet, our Navy had become a formidable one by the time our affairs with Spain took a serious turn, and naval officers were anxious to test its efficiency in actual war. When the Spanish war be-

came an undoubted fact, however, it was deemed necessary to add to the fleet a large number of vessels from the merchant marine. The great and swift ocean-liners *New York*, *Paris* (renamed respectively the *Harvard* and *Yale*), *St. Louis*, and *St. Paul* were chartered at an enormous rental, to act as despatch boats, scouts, etc.; while a large number of smaller craft,—tugs, big steam-yachts, and similar vessels,—were bought. In this manner the total number of vessels, of all classes, that were engaged in actual service during the war, was brought up to one hundred and fifty-five.

Although it is generally stated by writers upon the subject, as it was by the leaders of public opinion at the time, that the Spanish war was in reality unexpected,—especially that part of it which was conducted in the Orient; yet it seems to have been understood in the Navy Department, at least, for some weeks before the destruction of the *Maine*, that matters would assume the course they did, and that not only the destruction of the Spanish fleet in Asiatic waters was contemplated, but the acquisition of the Philippines as well. At the opening of the year 1898 there were forty-eight war ships of the various classes in commission or available for active service. Of these fourteen were on the North Atlantic Station, seven were on the Pacific ocean, three were in the South Atlantic, two were in European waters, and six were on the Asiatic station. As early as January 11, the Department began sending messages to the Commanders of the different squadrons to retain men whose terms of enlistment were about to expire, and to keep their vessels full of coal, and be ready for immediate and important orders. The work of the Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long, at this time demands the highest praise. By adroit maneuvering he brought all the important vessels of the European and South Atlantic squadrons into Cuban waters without arousing suspicion, or assembling such a force at one point as would take on the appearance of an act of war. On January 3 Commodore Dewey succeeded to the command of the Asiatic squadron, and on the 27th, he was reached by a cable message at Yokohama, which led him to repair at once to Hong Kong, where he was shortly after instructed

Photo. Copyrighted by J. E. Purdy, Boston.
JOHN D. LONG.

to assemble all his squadron except the *Monocacy*. On February 26 the *Baltimore*, then at Honolulu, was ordered to join Dewey's squadron with all possible despatch, as was the revenue cutter, *Hugh McCulloch*, then in the South Pacific. As a result of these prompt measures there were soon assembled at Hong Kong, ready for any emergency, the *Olympia*, *Baltimore*, *Boston*, *Raleigh*, *Concord*, *Petrel*, and *Hugh McCulloch*. On February 25 Assistant Secretary Roosevelt cabled Dewey at Hong Kong: "Secret and confidential. Order the squadron, except *Monocacy*, to Hong Kong. Keep full of coal. In the event of declaration of war with Spain your duty will be to see that the Spanish squadron does not leave the Asiatic Coast, *and then offensive operations in the Philippines.*"

One of the vessels of the Pacific Squadron was the *Oregon* then at the Bremerton Navy Yard, on Puget Sound, opposite Seattle. Under date of March 7 the Secretary of the Navy telegraphed to her Commander: "The situation is getting worse. You should go to San Francisco as soon as possible and get ammunition." Three days later the *Oregon* passed through the Golden Gate into San Francisco bay. As the cruise of the *Oregon*, of which Captain Charles E. Clark assumed command at this time, was one of the most notable in all naval history and the most spectacular event of the war, the Captain's orders are of interest. On March 12, Secretary Long telegraphed: "When in all respects ready for sea, proceed with the vessel under your command to Callao, Peru, and await further orders. In view of the present critical condition of affairs the *Oregon* should leave San Francisco at the earliest possible date and arrive at Callao as soon as practicable. The crew is to be constantly drilled, the passage of the ship not to be delayed thereby." Our space does not admit of any extended account of this most remarkable run for a war ship of this class, eventful and interesting as it was. Leaving San Francisco on March 19 she arrived at Key West on the morning of May 26, having covered the run of fourteen thousand miles in sixty-eight days, and in such perfect condition that she was ready for battle the hour of her arrival. Stops had been made at Callao, Valparaiso, Sandy Point (Straits of Magellan), and Rio de Janiero for coal. From Rio on the cruise was made the more exciting for officers and men by the reported presence of torpedo boats in the vicinity of the Brazilian capital, and by the news conveyed to Captain Clark by the Department that he might possibly come in contact with Cervera's fleet, which was then supposed to be somewhere among the Windward islands. In view of this emergency the government had given Captain Clark a free

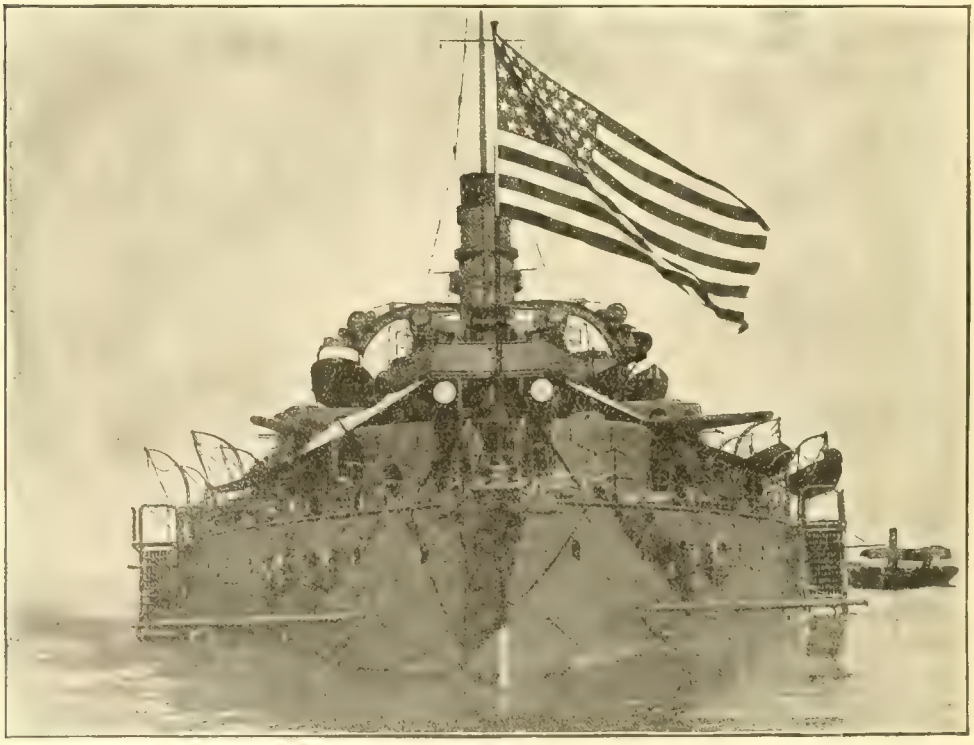


Photo. Copyrighted by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

THE OREGON.

hand, trusting absolutely to his discretion as to whether he should fight or try to elude the enemy. There was, however, but one sentiment on board the *Oregon,* from the Captain to the powder boy, and that was if Cervera appeared on the scene he must fight. One is almost tempted to wish that the *Oregon* might have had added to the glory of her unique cruise the supreme achievement of annihilating Cervera's squadron single-handed, which it is generally believed she could have done, following the plan of battle which Captain Clark had decided upon. It is probable that the course of no other single vessel in all the world's history has been followed with such intense interest and tense anxiety as was that of the *Oregon* on this unparalleled voyage; and when the news of her safe arrival at Key West was telegraphed over the country, a great sigh of relief, and the voice of thanksgiving, was heard in every town and village of the land.

It was six o'clock on the evening of April 21st when Rear-Admiral Sampson, recently raised from a captain to the rank of Rear-Admiral and given chief command of all vessels in the Atlantic waters, received a message from the Secretary of the Navy directing him to "Blockade coast of Cuba immediately from Cardenas to Bahia Honda. Blockade Cienfuegos if it is considered advisable;" and the war with Spain was on. With the early dawn of the next day the vessels of the squadron got under way, with their bows pointed toward Havana. But before even an effective blockade had been established about Cuban ports, the people of the country were electrified by the news of Dewey's victory at Manila, which naturally, therefore, claims our first attention.

As has been said, Dewey had assembled the vessels of the Asiatic squadron at Hong Kong and was there through March anxiously awaiting developments. On April 7 he received orders to land all woodwork and stores not necessary for operations, and on the 21st was informed that the fleet had left Key West to establish the blockade about Cuba. He at once had all his ships painted a slate color; and as, on the 24th Great Britain issued a proclamation of neutrality, Dewey at

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY.

once withdrew the squadron from Hong Kong to Mirs Bay, about thirty miles to the north, to await his final orders. On the same day these were forwarded from the Naval Department in the following terms: "War has commenced between the United States and Spain. Proceed at once to Philippine islands. Commence operations at once, particularly against Spanish fleet. You must capture vessels or destroy. Use utmost endeavors." In accordance with these instructions the squadron left Mirs bay on the 27th of April and sighted the island of Luzon on the 30th. As it had been reported that Admiral Montojo had withdrawn his fleet from Manila bay to Subig bay, a few miles to the north, Commodore Dewey first went there to meet him only to find that the Spanish fleet had returned to Manila bay, where he soon located it lying under the protection of the guns at Cavité.

Dewey at once assembled his officers on board the flagship, and announced his intention of entering Manila bay that night and attacking the enemy with the first dawn of day. There was to be no

Photo. Copyrighted by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

MANILA BAY.

time wasted in reconnoitering or studying the situation. The most distinctive feature of the battle on that May-day morning was not the mere victory over the enemy's fleet; that was a foregone conclusion, if the two squadrons came together, as the Spaniards were entirely outclassed in every respect. But the promptness, decision, and cleanness which characterized the whole proceeding is almost without parallel. Dewey's orders at Hong Kong were to capture or destroy Montojo's fleet; and when he turned the prows of his ships toward Manila he never faltered one moment until the enemy's fleet was before him and he was ready to commence an action. Silently through the early hours of May 1 the American vessels felt their way over the unfamiliar waters of Manila bay, which were said to be filled with mines. With all lights extinguished except one stern signal to guide the ships in the rear, the *Olympia* led the way, until as day broke they found themselves to the north of Cavité and abreast the city. With their field glasses the officers could see the people crowding every point of vantage to watch the destruction of the hated American fleet. Turning to the east and south the flagship soon came within range of the guns of the Cavité forts; and lying off the point was the object of Dewey's search,—the fleet of Admiral Montojo. Continuing his course until within a range of about five thousand yards, Dewey, at forty minutes after five, leaned over the rail and in a quiet voice uttered the words that have now become famous in history, "When you are ready you may fire, Gridley." Every man on all the ships had been anxiously waiting for this word, and the suspense had become well-nigh intolerable; so that it is said that the response to Dewey's command came from the Olympia's heavy 8-inch battery just one second after the Commodore ceased speaking. The plan adopted for the fight was one that was used with marked success in some of the naval engagements of the civil war, which involved keeping

the vessels in motion so as to deprive the enemy of the advantage of a stationary target. In harmony with this plan Dewey led his ship three times to the westward and twice to the eastward in front of the Spanish fleet and batteries, each time running a little closer in and delivering more effective fire, the range getting as low as two thousand yards. The fire from the Spanish fleet and forts was vigorous, but proved absolutely ineffective. As the American fleet was making its second passage past the enemy the Spanish flagship was seen to leave her consorts and advance, as if to give battle to the *Olympia* at close range. But she had hardly proceeded three ship's lengths befor the concentrated fire from Dewey's squadron turned her back, torn and smoking, with her steering gear apparently shot away. As her stern was exposed to the fleet the most beautiful shot of the day was made. One of the American gunners carefully aimed an 8-inch gun at her and fired, sending a two hundred and fifty pound projectile at the rate of two thousand feet per second, which struck the Spanish flagship squarely on the stern, and went crashing through all bulkheads and partitions in the engine-room, exploding one of the boilers and ripping up the protective deck above. The ship gave a terrible lurch forward, and her career was ended. After two hours of continuous fighting it was evident that the Spanish fleet was effectually disabled, and Dewey humanely drew his fleet off and gave orders to cease firing, so that the crews, who had fought on a cup of coffee served at four A. M., might have their breakfast and some rest. An hour later Commodore Dewey signaled to the several Commanders to come aboard the flagship, as he wished to learn just the condition on each vessel. The sum total of these official reports was that not a man had been killed or seriously hurt, not a gun was out of working order, not a ship had been disabled in any way. All were ready and anxious to renew the battle and finish the work assigned to the fleet. At 11.15 A. M. the squadron returned to the attack with renewed energy, and it was but a short time before the balance of the Spanish fleet was in flames, and the shore batteries quiet. At 12.40 the American fleet had so effectually completed the work assigned to it that the squadron withdrew from the scene of battle and anchored off Manila, the gunboat *Petrel* being left to destroy two or three small gunboats that were lying behind the point of Cavité. Thus ended the memorable battle of Manila, the American fleet being practically uninjured, with only seven men slightly wounded, while it had destroyed ten ships, —the entire naval force of Spain in Asiatic waters,—had silenced three batteries, and three hundred and eighty Spaniards were killed, and many more wounded. The *McCulloch* was at once despatched at top-speed to Hong Kong to cable the news to Washington, where it was received early in the morning of May 6. The public had been taken into the government's confidence very little so far as the movements of the Asiatic squadron were concerned, so that the report of Dewey's brilliant victory aroused unbounded enthusiasm. All eyes were turned toward the Orient; and people who, when the battle and its results were made public did not, as a satirical writer said, "Know whether the Philippines were islands or canned goods," began at once to talk of strategical positions in the far East, spheres of influence, world power, etc. The recognition of Dewey's fine and effective work was immediately proclaimed by the government, President McKinley at once making him a Rear-Admiral, also recommending that the grade of Admiral be revived for his special honor, and that he should receive the thanks of Congress. All these honors were subsequently bestowed upon him.

The destruction of Montojo's fleet relieved the government of any anxiety as to trouble from that quarter, and so allowed it to concentrate its entire attention and resources upon the movements and conditions near home. It was known that Admiral Cervera with a Spanish squadron had left the Cape Verde islands

April 29, destination unknown, though it was naturally and rightly believed to be the West Indian islands. A panic of fear possessed the people of the Northern Atlantic coast cities, however, which seems supremely ludicrous as one looks back upon the situation. The government endeavored to quiet this sentiment, knowing well that vessels of the capacity of Cervera's could not carry coal enough to cross the Atlantic and engage in offensive operations upon our coast without coaling. There was no place outside

ADMIRAL WILLIAM T. SAMPSON.

the West Indies where they could procure more coal. It was, therefore, evident that as soon as they entered any port, the government would at once know of their location, and use its strong fleet in those waters accordingly. But the nervousness of the people was not to be allayed by any such reasoning. The Navy Department was, therefore, practically forced to establish a northern Patrol squadron to cruise north of the Delaware Capes. This fleet was under the command of Commodore Howell, whose flagship was the *San Francisco,* which was supported by the auxiliary cruisers *Yankee, Dixie, Prairie,* and *Yosemite;* and in May this squadron was greatly strengthened by the addition of the fastest cruisers of the Navy,—the *Columbia* and *Minneapolis.* A "Flying Squadron" was also established, with its base of operations at Hampton Roads, which was placed under the command of Commodore W. S. Schley, to which was attached the *Brooklyn* as a flagship, the battleships *Massachusetts* and *Texas,* and the ram *Katahdin.* For the first three weeks of the war the great question that agitated the people and interested the government was, "Where is Cervera's fleet?" Having established a more or less effective blockade at Havana and Cienfuegos, on May 5 Admiral Sampson in his flagship *New York,* supported by the *Iowa* and *Indiana* and several smaller vessels, began a cruise toward the Windward Passage (between Cuba and Haiti), so as to be in a position to intercept Cervera's fleet in case that officer should decide to make a dash for the American coast from Porto Rico. Sampson continued his course as far east as San Juan, Porto Rico; and satisfying himself that the Spanish fleet was not there, on May 12 he steamed away to the northeast and, when out of sight of land, turning to the west, returned to Havana. The swift American liners *St. Louis* and *Harvard* had been sent out April 30 to cruise along a north and south line eighty miles eastward of Guadeloupe and Martinique. By their orders they were to meet at the middle of the course once each day, communicate, and then go back in opposite directions. If by May 10 they had seen nothing of the Spanish fleet, the *Harvard* was to touch at Martinique, and the *St. Louis* at Guadeloupe, cable the department and Sampson, and then, unless ordered to the contrary, proceed at once to Hampton Roads. From the log of the *Cristobal Colon* it was afterwards learned that at noon of May 10, the day the cruisers abandoned this patrol, Cervera's fleet had reached a point one hundred and thirty miles east of Martinique, showing

that if the *Harvard* had continued her patrol one day longer she would have undoubtedly sighted the Spanish squadron, and the whole course of the war would have been changed. On May 12 the Navy Department learned that Cervera had been off the coast of Martinique the day before. On the 15th the department got into communication again with Sampson and was able to advise him that Cervera had been at Curaçao the day before, that Schley with the "Flying Squadron" had been ordered to Key West, whither he (Sampson) should proceed at once to receive further orders. It had been reported that Cervera's squadron had munitions of war destined for Havana, and that his orders were to reach that port or Cienfuegos, whence his supplies could be sent to Havana by rail. Sampson reached Key West on May 18, and on the 19th Schley was ordered to Cienfuegos, having under his command the *Brooklyn, Massachusetts,* and *Texas;* and he was joined later by the *Iowa* and some cruisers. On the very day that Schley left for Cienfuegos, and Sampson began to watch the coast adjacent to Havana, Cervera with his squadron quietly slipped into Santiago. Though spies in Havana reported to the Department by cable the arrival of Cervera, and the Secretary strongly advised Sampson to send Schley to Santiago at once, the latter was doubtful about the truth of the report, still believing Cienfuegos would be Cervera's objective point. On May 23, however, Sampson ordered Schley to proceed to Santiago, if satisfied that the enemy's squadron was not in Cienfuegos. At 5.30 P. M., May 26, Schley reached a point about twenty miles south of Santiago, when he was joined by several of the cruisers on scouting duty. The officers of these vessels informed him that they knew nothing positively as to the whereabouts of the Spanish squadron, whereupon at 7.45 P. M., two hours after his arrival, Schley signaled to his vessels: "Destination, Key West, via South side of Cuba and Yucatan Channel, as soon as collier is ready; speed nine knots." Thus, without any effort on his own part to determine whether Cervera's fleet was within Santiago harbor, Schley began the famous retrograde movement, which no one has ever been able to understand or explain, and which was one of the chief subjects of the investigation which Schley demanded some years later. For two days he with the squadron drifted aimlessly about along the southern coast of Cuba. He then reversed his previous orders and returned to Santiago May 28, where he at once established a blockade. On June 1 Admiral Sampson arrived off the port with his squadron, and assumed direct command of the entire fleet.

ADMIRAL PASCUAL CERVERA.

The vessels composing Admiral Cervera's fleet, which had without molestation run into Santiago harbor on May 19, were the cruisers *Maria Teresa* (the flagship), *Vizcaya,* and *Oquendo,* each of seven thousand tons, carrying two 11-inch and ten 5.5 inch guns, and credited with a speed of twenty knots; and a fourth cruiser, the *Colon,* of sixty-eight hundred tons, carrying ten 6-inch and six 4.7 inch guns, though her main battery was not on board. There were also the torpedo boats *Pluton* and *Furor.* As the entrance to

Santiago harbor was but three hundred feet wide, with a winding channel, it was deemed impossible to run the American fleet in and attack the enemy in the harbor. Consequently Admiral Sampson established a very close watch over the entrance and awaited developments. The ships of his squadron were assigned positions in a semicircle, with a radius of six miles from Morro, the fort which stood on the bluff overhanging the entrance to the bay. On the left, at a point about two miles from the shore was the *Vixen*, then the *Marblehead*, the *Brooklyn*, the *Texas*, the *Massachusetts*, the *Iowa*, the latter being the centre of the semicircle, and directly opposite the Morro. Then came the *Oregon*, *New York*, *Porter*, *New Orleans* and *Mayflower*, which was two miles from the shore at the right of the line. These were the day stations. At night the whole line was drawn in to a radius of about two miles from Morro, while two battleships drew still nearer in, one of which kept her powerful searchlights playing on the entrance all through the night while the other, her own lights all extinguished, lay in the shadow ready to open fire with her heavy guns, should there be any attempt on the part of Cervera's fleet to escape. Working inside this circle, too, were the smaller craft,— the *Gloucester* (which was formerly J. Pierpont Morgan's pleasure yacht, *Corsair*), the *Scorpion*, the *Suwanee*, and some steam launches. These ran close in shore and kept eager watch under the searchlights of the battleship. This blockade was maintained, in form and manner, until Cervera's squadron made its famous dash for liberty on July 3.

As has been stated, the entrance to the harbor of Santiago is only about three hundred feet wide; and even before leaving Key West for that port Sampson had been consulting with his officers as to some means of obstructing this channel, so that some of the blockading vessels might be withdrawn for other service. The result of their deliberations was the determination to run the collier *Merrimac* into the channel, and sink her in the narrowest part by means of torpedoes attached to her hull. Naval constructor Richard P. Hobson had taken part in these conferences, and before Sampson's fleet arrived off Santiago on June 1, Hobson had perfected a scheme which met the approval of the Commander-in-chief. As Admiral Sampson said: "I was greatly impressed with the faith and absolute fearlessness which Mr. Hobson displayed. Not in the least particular did he show a particle of doubt of success. He had developed the whole plan to such a degree that no one else had, or probably could have, the matter so completely in mind. For this reason alone prudence demanded that he should be entrusted with the principal command." When the call was made for volunteers to accompany Hobson on this perilous venture the traditional spirit of the American sailor was shown. "To my surprise," said Sampson, "enough officers and men volunteered to man a hundred *Merrimacs*, there being hundreds of offers from a single ship. As only seven men were required, it was a difficult matter to decide who should be chosen to go." The general plan which Hobson had proposed was to attach ten torpedoes on the port side of the collier, below the water line, which were to be exploded by electric wires from the bridge of the vessel when in the channel. After considerable delay the seven men necessary for the undertaking were selected, each being chosen for his special fitness to execute some particular feature of the plan. At half-past one A. M., June 3, after serving coffee and sandwiches, Hobson ordered his crew to quarters, and the *Merrimac* started on her course for the entrance to the channel. No opposition to her advance was made until she had passed in under Morro castle. Then she was discovered and a general fire was opened upon her from both sides of the channel. Paying no attention to this the vessel was quietly directed toward the point where it had been decided to sink her. At the crucial moment the current bore her stern around

until she came close to the Morro side of the channel, making it necessary to change the helm so as to get the hull across the entrance before discharging the torpedoes. It was then discovered, however, that the steering gear had been shot away. An anchor was then thrown out in the hope that the current might carry the stern around, but this expedient was only partially successful. As there was nothing more that Hobson or his men could do to change this unfortunate situation and they were exposed to a galling fire from all sides, orders were given to discharge the torpedoes. Number one worked effectively, but the next three failed to ignite, the connections having been broken, as they were of all the remaining five. Shortly after her own torpedoes had been discharged, a mine was exploded under the *Merrimac* from the shore, which expedited the work of sinking her. Yet it was twenty-two minutes before she went down, and the men could escape to the raft which had been thrown over. To avoid detection they kept their bodies under water, and several search boats drew near the sunken collier but did not discover the float. Soon after sunrise a steam launch approached containing Admiral Cervera and a reconnoitering party. When they had come within about one hundred feet, Hobson called out that they were Americans and wished to surrender to a Spanish officer. He then swam to the launch and was taken on board by the Admiral and his officers; and after a few moments all the others were rescued. Hobson and his crew were generally well treated by the Spaniards, and were exchanged on July 6. Like most of such daring and unusual ventures that have been made in the course of wars, this was only partially successful, as the *Merrimac* sank lengthwise in the channel, and near to the easterly side, so that the passage of vessels was not seriously interfered with. But the heroic action of Hobson and his seven associates thrilled the people of the United States; and when they returned to America after the close of the war they were everywhere received with tumultuous enthusiasm. As was illustrated in this case, too many unusual and uncertain conditions are to be faced in all such movements to warrant the assurance that any successful results

Photo. Copyrighted by J. E. Purdy, Boston.
LIEUT. RICHARD P. HOBSON.

can be achieved. Happily the brave crew escaped all the dangers attending the blowing up of the *Merrimac* while their valor won for them considerate treatment by their captors.

As soon as it was definitely settled that Cervera's entire fleet was shut up in Santiago, Sampson increased the vigilance of the blockading squadron. Early in June the fleet was divided into two squadrons, the first, under his immediate command, consisting of the *New York, Iowa, Oregon, New Orleans, Mayflower,* and *Porter,* was to guard the eastern side of the harbor entrance; while the second, under the command of Commodore Schley, consisting of the *Brooklyn, Massachusetts, Texas, Marblehead,* and *Vixen,* watched the west side. On June 2 Sampson issued the standing order for battle, in the following words. "If the enemy tries to

escape, the ships must close and engage as soon as possible, and endeavor to sink Cervera's vessels or force them to run ashore." How strictly this order was observed, with but a single exception, the story of the battle of July 3 will demonstrate. To further tighten his grip upon the enemy's position, on June 12 Sampson reduced the radius of the blockade's semicircle from six to four miles by day; and each commander was instructed to see that the bow of his vessel was constantly turned toward the harbor entrance so that not a moment need be lost in commencing the attack whenever the Spanish fleet should make its appearance.

During the period since the beginning of the war the government had been actively engaged in recruiting troops and massing them at different points in the South. As has been said previously this was pre-eminently a naval war; and it would have been fortunate for the prestige of the War Department if Sampson could have engaged and destroyed Cervera's fleet before the army had been despatched from our own shores; for the masterly incompetency that was manifested in its equipment and direction makes a chapter in the history of the Spanish war for which every patriotic American must wish the material had never been provided. In response to the President's calls nearly two hundred thousand volunteers had been assembled. An immense number of officials of every character were appointed from private life to command, or minister to the wants of, this great army; with the result that the petty claims of office seekers and not the effectiveness of the army received the supreme attention of the Department. Most of the regular infantry and cavalry and some of the volunteer regiments had been assembled at Tampa, Florida, and organized as the Fifth Army Corps, which was held in readiness to land in Cuba as soon as the Navy should have made the way safe for transports. General Miles, the head of the army, believed that the final and important battles of the war would be fought about Havana, and so detailed General Shafter to take command of the force about to embark for Santiago. On June 1 the *Indiana,* with some smaller war-vessels, was ready to convoy the transports, and embarkation began; but so poorly was it conducted that it was not until the 14th that the fleet could set sail. The expedition consisted of 815 officers and 16,072 enlisted men, all regulars with the exception of the Seventy-first New York, and the first Volunteer Cavalry, popularly known as the "Rough Riders." This motley aggregation of cowboys, full-blooded Indians, and college graduates was enlisted chiefly in Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, by Colonel Wood, with Theodore Roosevelt, who resigned his office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy to take this command, as Lieutenant-Colonel. On June 20 the fleet of transports arrived off Santiago and Admiral Sampson at once had a conference with General Shafter, the result of which was the decision to land the troops at Daiquiri, a few miles east of the entrance to the bay. When preparations for disembarking were begun it was found that no preparation of any kind had been made for such purpose. As Senator Lodge has said in his "War with Spain": "The Army had neither lighters nor launches. They had been omitted, forgotten, or lost, like an umbrella, no one knew exactly where; so the work of disembarking the troops fell upon the Navy." This unexpected burden fell upon the shoulders of Captain Goodrich of the *St. Louis.* By the use of Navy launches, and in spite of a heavy swell and high surf, six thousand troops were landed the first day, June 22, and by the 26th the entire force, with a large quantity of ammunition and supplies, had been safely put on shore. But "confusion doubly confounded" reigned everywhere among the land forces. The troops had been crowded like sheep into the transports with no reference to order; officers were separated from their commands; artillery-pieces were on one transport, the horses on another, and the harness on a third, with no means of finding out where any of them were. As there

were no lighters the horses were thrown into the sea, where many of them were drowned, some in bewilderment swimming out to sea instead of to the shore. Immediately upon landing the first detachment of troops General Lawton advanced along the shore and seized Siboney, eight miles nearer Santiago, where Kent's division landed. General Wheeler then pushed on, and on the 24th defeated the Spanish force at La Guasima, with a total loss of fifteen killed and fifty-two wounded. During the following week the land forces were concentrated at Sevilla. During these days the troops suffered from the heavy rains, lack of rations, and poor camp accommodations. No proper provision had been made for the landing of supplies or transporting them to the camp; with the result that, while there was an abundance aboard the transports, the troops were in actual want. On June 30 it was decided to make an advance; but to reach Santiago the important points San Juan hill and El Caney must be taken. In these engagements, which covered three days, the only serious engagements on land which were fought, the Spaniards offered stubborn resistance at each point. The troops, too, were in a wretched plight, half sick from exposure and climatic conditions. They had, too, to march and fight under a scorching semi-tropical sun in the heavy woolen uniforms worn in regular service, as no khaki uniforms were available until the transfer to Montauk Point, a month later, was begun. The spectacular event of the campaign was the charge up San Juan hill. As the roughness of the ground and wire fence obstructions broke up all regular military formations, it proved to be a fight where individual bravery and energy won the day. The Rough Riders, though raw and unexperienced troops, won marked distinction, and with the troops of the First Regiment of regulars, were the first to gain the enemy's intrenchments. Here they were nobly supported by the negro troops of the Tenth Cavalry. The fighting continued with more or less regularity until about noon of July 3, when the Spaniards ceased firing. The losses during the three days fighting were eighteen officers and one hundred and twenty-seven men killed, sixty-five officers and eight hundred and forty-nine men wounded, and seventy-two missing. The condition of the troops after the battle was most deplorable; a large proportion were sick, and all suffered wretchedly from the lack of adequate supplies. Notwithstanding the victories of the three days which had put his army in possession of the strong out-posts about the city, the valiant General Shafter cabled the Secretary of War, July 3, that he was "seriously considering withdrawing about five miles and taking up a new position on the high ground between the San Juan river and Siboney," as he considered it impossible to take Santiago by storm with the forces he then had. But, happily, the Navy was again to come to

GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER.

the rescue of the Army, and spare it the disgrace of a retreat after its brave and victorious advance.

The events of July 1 and 2 forced upon the Spanish governor some decision in

[illegible] to Cervera's fleet in the harbor. Under the Spanish regulations the Admiral and his fleet were under the absolute control of the Captain-General of the island, Blanco; and on July 1, the latter telegraphed Cervera: "In conformity with the opinion of the Government you will re-embark those of your crews which were landed, taking advantage of the first opportunity to go out of the harbor with all your ships." In the course of Shafter's inland advance on Santiago, Cervera had landed a thousand of his seamen, who seemed indispensable for the protection of the city. Upon the receipt of General Blanco's message, Cervera called a council of his officers to consider the situation, and all agreed that it would be suicidal to force the blockade; and the Admiral was fully determined that he would not take the responsibility of any such course. These views of himself and officers were communicated to Blanco; but an imperative order was at once returned, instructing Cervera to "re-embark landed troops of squadron as fast as possible and go out immediately." This order was received on July 2 very early in the morning, and Cervera determined to go out at four o'clock that afternoon. But upon gathering in his sailors who had been engaged about the city, he found many of them so exhausted that the dash out of the harbor was postponed until the morning of the third. Cervera's plan of action was based upon the supposition that the ships of the blockading squadron would maintain the same positions they had held during the preceding four weeks. Captain Concas, his chief of staff and captain of the flagship, in an account of the fleet's cruise and destruction published later said: "Close in shore, toward the west, there was a yacht (the *Vixen*), which we supposed to be in constant communication with the insurgents, and supporting the yacht was the *Brooklyn*, in the centre of the interval and far away from the other ships, consequently leaving a large space open to the southwest between the *Texas* and the coast. Supposing, therefore, that the *Brooklyn* was at her usual station when we came out, the *Infanta Maria Teresa* (Cervera's flagship) was to engage her in battle, endeavoring to ram her, and while the rest of the enemy's squadron was grappling with our flagship, the other ships, headed by the *Vizcaya*, without delaying to succor the *Maria Teresa*, were to pass in column between her and the coast and endeavor to escape. Those of the ships which succeeded in escaping were to gain Havana or Cienfuegos." This programme is interesting as showing the purpose of the gallant Admiral to sacrifice himself, crew, and ship in a valiant endeavor to engage Sampson's entire fleet, and single-handed hold it in check, while the remainder of the Spanish vessels stole away, — a plan whose unselfish heroism honored the Commander who conceived it and merited better results than followed his action.

The morning of July 3 dawned clear and bright, the sea was calm and beautiful, sparkling under the rays of the tropical sun, and a holy quiet befitting the Sabbath morn seemed to brood over the whole scene. Before dawn the *Massachusetts* had gone to Guantanamo for coal, and so failed of any share in the glorious action of the day. At 8.55 A. M. Admiral Sampson signaled to the other vessels of the fleet, "Disregard movements Commander in chief," and in the *New York* leisurely steamed toward Siboney, where he was to land and go several miles inland to confer with Shafter, by appointment. Just as the *New York* was off Siboney, and still in full view of the fleet, the lookout on the bridge called out: "Smoke in the harbor!" and an instant later shouted "The fleet's coming out." Glasses were at once trained on the entrance and Sampson calmly replied, "Yes, they are coming out. Hoist two-fifty," that signal meaning "close in toward harbor entrance and attack vessels." Checking the course of the *New York* to the eastward, she was at once brought about and with all steam on hastened toward the scene of action. While Sampson was nearing Siboney, the *Iowa*, at

9.31 A. M., first discovered the hostile fleet coming out, and at once Captain Evans signaled "Enemy's ships coming out!" and fired a signal gun. Cervera's vessels were sighted at nearly the same time by all the ships of the blockading squadron, and in conformity with Sampson's permanent order of June 2, all began to close in and attack. As President Roosevelt afterward said of it, it was a "Captain's fight." The Spanish fleet came out in the following order,—*Maria Teresa* (flagship), *Vizcaya, Cristobal Colon,* and *Almirante Oquendo.* At first there was some doubt as to the course the hostile ships would take; but as soon as it was evident that it was to be a dash for liberty toward the west all the fleet, with one exception, turned in that direction, keeping up a terrific fire on the Spanish ships. After facing the enemy for about ten minutes, however, the *Brooklyn* (Schley's flagship) made a broad loop to the right, or east, away from the fleeing enemy. In making this movement he forced the *Texas,* which had been headed at once to the west and was fighting hard, to reverse her engines and lose all the headway to avoid being rammed by the *Brooklyn.* Speaking of this movement Rear-Admiral (then Captain) Philip said to the historian Maclay: "The *Texas* at this time was doing her best to close on the Spaniards, when to my surprise and consternation, I saw the *Brooklyn* swing round with port helm—when all the other American war ships had used the starboard—away from the Spaniards and place herself directly in our course. I was compelled to stop and reverse our engines, and even then came nearer to a collision than I could wish. On account of this circumstance the *Texas* lost a splendid chance of closing with the enemy." Passing the *Texas* the *Brooklyn* steamed far to the south, out of the range of the enemy's guns, and then turned west, her commander keeping a battleship between himself and the Spanish ships during the remainder of the fight. When it is remembered that the *Brooklyn* outclassed every vessel of the Spanish fleet in all respects,—speed, armament, men, and general fighting strength,—this famous "loop" must take rank as the most unique movement ever made by any officer of the American Navy during its entire history. A historian of the war thus sums this matter up: "The one great lesson that Nelson gave in naval strategy was 'that a captain is never out of position when alongside an enemy.' Farragut's great axiom, sixty years later, was that 'the nearer you get to your enemy the harder you can strike.' Schley's contribution to naval strategy, as too plainly shown by his conduct throughout this campaign, was 'Avoid your enemy as long as possible, and if he makes for you, run.'" As was said this was a Captain's fight, and once it was on, each commander used his own discretion as to where he could fight most effectively. Shot and shell fairly rained upon Cervera's ships, which they returned with vigor but with little effect. The *Maria Teresa,* struck by several shells and on fire was first turned to shore at quarter after ten, only six miles west of Morro Castle. The *Oquendo* had been receiving a similar pounding, and riddled with shot and also on fire, she was run upon the beach about a half mile west of the *Teresa,* at 10.20. The entire fire of the American fleet was then turned upon the *Vizcaya* and *Colon,* the pace attained, however, becoming too much for the older battleships. At 11.05 the *Vizcaya* was run ashore about fifteen miles west of the Morro, while the *Oregon,* with the *Brooklyn* at a safe distance outside, put on full steam to overtake the *Colon.* It was a wild and exciting chase. The *Oregon* had won the most glorious honor by her trip from the Pacific coast, but now she fairly outdid herself. Built to make fifteen knots, Captain Clark, by the eager and terrible work of his aids in the engine room, forced the monster battleship up to a speed of seventeen to eighteen knots. For some time it was simply an ocean race, no shots being fired by any of the vessels; but steadily the *Oregon* gained, and when Captain Clark considered himself within range a shot was fired which

fell beyond the *Colon;* and the Spaniards saw at once that the end had come. At 1.15 P. M. the *Colon* turned to shore about forty-five miles west of Santiago, and surrendered.

Thus ended one of the most exciting and remarkable battles in Naval history, and the United States squadron had done

CAPTAIN CHARLES E. CLARK.

its work as cleanly and effectively as did Dewey's fleet at Manila. Not a vestige of the enemy's fleet remained. And most remarkable of all was the fact that the American ships were hardly injured and only one man had been killed and one wounded. The news of the victory reached the United States on the eve of the usual Fourth of July celebration; and it is hardly necessary to say that rarely, if ever, has the nation's natal day been observed with such wild enthusiasm. Some particular act of bravery and heroism was told of nearly all the Captains and crews; and for the time Dewey and Manila were forgotten while the air rang with the shouts for Sampson, Clark, Philip, and Evans, and plucky Wainwright who, in his unarmed yacht, had boldly attacked the Spanish torpedo-boats, and had been chiefly instrumental in destroying them.

Though Santiago had not been captured, nor any foothold firmly established on Spanish territory, everyone looked upon the destruction of Cervera's fleet as virtually ending the war; and the further land movements were watched with only a listless interest. On July 3 General Shafter demanded the surrender of Santiago, which was refused. On the 10th and 11th the city was bombarded by the land and sea forces. About this time General Miles reached Santiago with troops intended for Porto Rico. With General Shafter he met the Spanish Commander, General Toral, under a flag of truce, and arranged terms for a surrender, which took place on the 17th. In the meantime the condition of the American troops had become desperate in the extreme, while the war department seemed unconscious of their existence. The whole force had become so reduced by malarial fevers that an epidemic of yellow fever seemed imminent. Then it was that the leading officers and surgeons met at General Shafter's headquarters and signed the famous "round-robin" addressed to the Secretary of War, reciting the shocking conditions that prevailed and urging that the troops be at once removed to the United States. This appeal so aroused public sentiment through the country that even the War Department woke from its lethargy, and on August 4 orders were issued to remove the command to Montauk Point, Long Island.

General Miles, with an entire force of about 16,000 men and a convoy of battleships, then began the illustrious campaign in Porto Rico, which was to wrest from Spain her last territory on the Western Continent. After a leisurely march of about two weeks over about two-thirds of the island, meeting no opposition worthy of the name, further movements were checked by the signing of the Peace Protocol, August 12, 1908; *and the Spanish war was at an end.* Compared with other modern wars, it was not a great one.

There were two real battles, and in both the honors went to the New Navy, whose work had been quick, sharp, and decisive. As the vessels returned to home waters, crowds flocked from all quarters to the ports which they visited to see the ships that had been so nobly tested, and not found wanting; while the arms of the people of every city and town throughout the land were wide open to receive any of the officers or crews that had distinguished themselves. The Navy had worthily established its claim for the recognition of the people, and they responded in no uncertain manner. He would have been rash who should have favored in Congress a course similar to that which had been followed after previous wars,—a course which allowed the Navy to fall into desuetude and inefficiency.

The improvement in the Navy following the close of the Spanish war was rapid, and the treatment of the Department by Congress and the people was most generous. In 1893 there was not a single battleship in commission, and but few cruisers. In 1908 the efficient Navy included twenty-seven battleships, ten armored cruisers, twenty-eight cruisers, sixteen torpedo boat destroyers, thirty-eight torpedo boats, twelve submarines, ten monitors, and thirty-eight gunboats. For 1893 the entire appropriation for the Department, to cover all expenditures, including construction, was $23,000,000. The appropriations for the navy in the budget for 1909 sum up $135,000,000. In 1893 there were about fifteen thousand sailors and marines enrolled; at the beginning of the present year, 1909, there are over forty-five thousand. These statistics express more emphatically than any words the vast importance the "New Navy" has assumed in the national economy. When the appropriation bill was introduced in Congress in the Fall of 1908 four new battleships were asked for, to be larger, more powerful, capable of steaming faster, and more heavily armed than any other battleships afloat. These were to be of the 26,000 ton class, and their estimated cost was about $8,000,000 each. In view of the rapidly increasing deficit in the national revenue, however, a strong spirit of opposition to a further enlargement of the navy at this time manifested itself. There also appeared a well-defined suspicion that we had been building rapidly but not too wisely. Serious defects in the plans of some of the later battleships were openly charged, even by active officers of the fleets, and many hearings have been held upon the subject. Early in the present year the President appointed two separate commissions to investigate the condition of the navy whose reports have not yet been made. All these conditions, however, made it evident to congressmen that a policy of retrenchment was advisable. For a time it seemed

GENERAL NELSON A. MILES.

doubtful whether any new ships would be authorized this year. But under the spur of the President's earnest advocacy, and the powerful influence of the Department itself in Washington, a compromise was reached and authority was given for the construction of two of the enormous battleships. A potent influence that has

been cultivated and exploited to support the President's policy has been the ever-present "war scare." For two years every effort has been made to keep the probability of a war with Japan before the public, and so create popular sentiment to support the ambitious programme of the Administration. There has grown up among thoughtful people, however, an assured feeling that this bogy was being too strenuously worked. As Representative Burton, Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs in the House, said, when the current bill was being discussed, "there is a period of war scare every time a naval bill comes up for consideration. Believe me, it will all pass away, a phantom of the air." While the appropriation for the British navy for the year 1908 was only $170,000,000, notwithstanding that country's purpose to maintain a fleet at least ten per cent greater than the fleets of any other two powers combined; and the appropriations for the German and French navies for the same period were $83,000,000 and $64,000,000 respectively; it would seem that the United States could well afford, for the present, to adopt a "go-slow" principle in regard to naval affairs. The appropriation for the Navy Department for the year 1908 was $118,700,000, about $17,000,000 less than for the current year. But even on that basis *more than sixty-five per cent of the entire revenue of the United States for the year* 1908 *went to pay for past wars or preparations for future wars.* In view of the many arbitration treaties that have recently been made between leading nations of the world, and the theoretical indorsement that is given by the Government and the people of the United States to the principles of the Hague Conferences, it would seem to be the wiser course to act as if war could be honestly avoided and peace honorably maintained. In another chapter of this work (International Courtesies) extended reference was made to the part so-called "Yellow journals" play in the delusion of the public, and in the creation of an immoral and erroneous public sentiment. Surely in this twentieth century a people so widely and highly educated as are the people of the United States should refuse to be moved by such irresponsible utterances. The sober thought and saner judgment of the people of all nations are today looking toward peace. Under such conditions it should appear the wiser course for governments to abandon the childish policy of trying each to build a greater war monster than another can produce.

During the Fall of 1907 rumors became current that it was the purpose of the Government to send a large fleet of battleships around Cape Horn to the Pacific Coast. These rumors were later confirmed, and the plan of the Department was fully disclosed. The proposition caused widespread discussion and much comment. As troubles over the School question in California had greatly irritated the Japanese people it was considered by many an unwise move. Opposition, however, was quieted by the declaration, frequently repeated, by the Government that the proposed cruise had no political significance, but was merely an extended practice-cruise of a large fleet, such as smaller squadrons were constantly taking in the Atlantic waters. Accordingly, after an imposing review by the President, sixteen of the finest battle ships of the United States and of the world steamed out of Hampton Roads, on December 16, 1907, under command of Admiral Robley D. Evans. It is needless to remark that the deepest interest of the nation was centred upon the fleet, especially until after it had sucessfully passed through the Straits of Magellan and was plowing the more friendly waters of the Pacific ocean. The first port reached was Trinidad, where the vessels arrived December 23, and where the Christmas holidays were passed. The reception there accorded officers and men was but a foretaste of the friendly feeling that was everywhere manifested. It is not too much to say that every port at which the fleet stopped was theirs, and all that it contained. Receptions, formal dinners,

excursions, picnic parties, barbecues followed each other in quick succession; and had it not been for the long reaches between ports, with the recuperative tonic and force of ocean airs, no human organization could have withstood the demoralizing effects of such open-handed hospitality. By March of 1908 the ships had reached the California coast, and from San Diego to San Francisco one day of festivity followed another without cessation. On May 6 the fleet entered the harbor of San Francisco, which was originally its objective point. But some time before this it had been reported that it was the purpose of the Government to have the battleships continue their cruise until it should cover the circle of the earth; and during the stay of the vessels at San Francisco this report was confirmed and the requisite instructions were issued. Admiral Evans had been in poor health during the greater part of the cruise from Hampton Roads, and, at his own request, was relieved of active command of the fleet, Admiral Sperry finally and permanently succeeding him May 15. After continuing the cruise to the North and visiting the Puget Sound cities, the great fleet again turned its course toward the West, reaching Honolulu July 16. From Honolulu to Auckland, 3,851 miles, was the longest leg of the cruise, and is said to have been the longest run ever made by war ships without coaling; but the vessels reached their destination with coal enough in their bunkers to steam another thousand miles. Auckland opened its arms to receive the visitors on August 8; and on the 19th Sydney's population undertook to outdo the hospitality of their New Zealand brethren. At Melbourne the same kindly feeling and genial reception awaited the fleet; and another link for the chain that binds the English-speaking races together was forged. The enthusiasm and warmth of the reception accorded the fleet by English colonial governments and peoples was hardly second to that of the Americans of our West Coast. Leaving Melbourne September 4 Manila was reached October 2; and after a brief stay the cruise was continued to Japanese waters. There, from the 20th to the 25th of October, the Japanese, from the Mikado to the humblest laborer, vied with each other to do honor to the American representatives,

Photo. Copyrighted 1907, *by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.*

ADMIRAL ROBLEY D. EVANS

and to manifest in the most generous manner their friendliness toward the American Government and people. This reception was naturally different in many respects, so far as customs were concerned, from what had been accorded the fleet in other ports. That it was one the officers and men of the squadrons will never forget has since been manifested in a most practical way. Before the fleet reached Hampton Roads on the homeward voyage twenty-one hundred dollars had been subscribed by its officers and men to procure an elegant and costly loving-cup to be presented to the Japanese Navy as an expression of the appreciation by the American sailors of the courteous attention shown them by their Japanese fellow seamen. This absolutely unique testi-

monial ought to go far toward strengthening the sentiments of peace and amity between the two peoples.

After leaving Japanese waters the battleships made a brief visit to Amoy, where another unexpectedly cordial reception was accorded them. Certainly if the Oriental nations and peoples are not truly friendly to the United States and its people every person on our fleet, from Admiral Sperry to the cabin boys, will give them the credit of being the most consummate and entertaining actors that ever appeared on any stage. From Amoy the course lay toward Manila, where a second and longer stop was made. Leaving the capital of the Philippines November 30, after visits at Singapore and Colombo, the Suez Canal was reached January 3, 1909. Happily all the vessels passed through the great water-way without accident, one of the ships only grounding for a few hours, and being quickly floated again without damage. After entering the Mediterranean the fleet was for a time broken up, separate squadrons being sent to different ports, all to rendezvous again at Gibraltar at the end of January to prepare for the homeward cruise. At all the ports of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean the same royal welcome was accorded the American ships and their crews.

Photo. Copyrighted 1909, by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

ADMIRAL CHARLES S. SPERRY.

Saturday, February 6, was as bright and clear a day as one could wish for a final display of the American fleet in European waters. Not a cloud was in the sky. A fair breeze just crested the waves with foam which sparkled in the genial sunlight. All was excitement and joyful anticipation on board the great battleships, for the time had come to bid farewell to all foreign shores. At eleven o'clock the *Connecticut,* which had been the flagship throughout the entire cruise, steamed majestically from her position in the harbor of Gibraltar to take her place at the head of the line of the fleet. The homeward run was begun. Great enthusiasm was manifested at all points along the shore and on the rocky cliffs. As vessel after vessel swung into line cheer upon cheer from the spectators expressed the kindly feelings the American sailors were leaving behind, as well as the appreciation due the perfect maneuvering of the squadrons, and the striking beauty and significance of the spectacle. For twelve miles the course was due south. Then, being clear of the southernmost point of Europe, Cape Tarifa, the fleet turned sharply to the West and, passing the pillars of Hercules, steamed out into the Atlantic and began the last stretch of the cruise which should end in the longed-for home waters. Before leaving Gibraltar Admiral Sperry expressed his unqualified satisfaction with the results of the long run of close to 45,000 miles, summing up what seemed to him its inestimable advantages and achievements in these words: "This cruise marks an epoch in our naval annals, *for the fleet has found itself*—has been welded into a unity. An aggregation of battleships, irrespective of the power and efficiency of the individual units, is not a fleet in the highest sense of the term until by long, faithful, and harmonious work on the part of the personnel,

the spirit of the fleet has been developed. That now has been accomplished. The American people have come to appreciate the appearance of sea power as one of the most potent factors in the preservation of a just peace; and they should appreciate what it means to have a fleet like this. The lessons of the cruise have been many, and it is no exaggeration to say that the condition of our ships is better to-day than when they sailed from Hampton Roads in December, 1907. During these fourteen months the fleet has been practically self-sustaining in the matter of repairs. The officers and men responsible for repairs have met every test, and the results prove that the ships have been better cared for than when they depend upon the navy-yards. . . . For technical work the cruise has been ideal. The long stretches between ports permitted unremitting daily exercises and maneuvering. The degree of gunnery efficiency has been greatly improved, as the conditions of drilling and training during long-distance cruising cannot be equaled in home waters, where there is constant interference. This is proved by the unequaled

Photo. Copyrighted 1908, *by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.*
THE CONNECTICUT

results of the target practice at Magdalena bay and Manila.

"The fleet everywhere has encountered unbounded hospitality. The lavish entertainment and perfect good feeling displayed were almost without precedent, and they should always be remembered by our people. While the cruise has been intensely interesting and valuable to officers and men, there is naturally widespread elation throughout the fleet at the prospect of reaching home in a fortnight."

If the skies were bright and nature smiled as the fleet started from Gibraltar for home, she had no such welcome to offer the ships as they entered Hampton Roads again on the morning of February 22, 1909,—one year and sixty-eight days after they had left that roadstead. All preparations had been made for receiving the fleet in the most royal manner. Battleships and cruisers on the home station had met the incoming fleet about one thousand miles east of Cape Hatteras, and accompanied it to the place of rendezvous. President Roosevelt came down from Washington Sunday night on the *Mayflower*, to act as the supreme reviewing officer as the fleet entered the Roads. Promptly at eleven o'clock the *Connecticut* came out of the mist and fog into sight of the reviewing boat, and soon after belched forth the President's salute from her big guns. In regular order followed the other vessels of the fleet, the ships being four hundred yards apart. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather the shores were lined with enthusiastic spectators, and hundreds of small boats darted in every direction. The entire fleet had passed in review before two o'clock, at which hour the Admirals and Captains assembled on board the *Mayflower* to pay their respects to the Commander-in-chief of the Navy of the United States, and to receive the official "Well Done" of the President. That this was bestowed without stint and in fulsome eulogy need hardly be said. This ceremony completed, the President entered a launch and was conveyed first to the *Connecticut*, and then to the flagship of each of the other squadrons in turn. To officers and men alike he expressed his joy and gratification that they and their vessels were again at home after such a record-making cruise. The many predictions of calamity that were made fourteen months before had been proved visionary, and the wisdom of the President vindicated. Rarely have there been occasions when "joy unconfined" reigned so supremely in every heart. On all the vessels the men cheered the President as only the strong throats of the lusty sailors can cheer; and as, when he went over the side of the *Connecticut*, another and louder cheer broke out, he turned and laughingly said, "I'd cheer you the same way if there was only enough of me."

By five o'clock all the official formalities had been observed and completed, and the most remarkable, as well as the most spectacular and sensational, cruise ever made by any naval fleet was at an end. As the subject will long interest the people of the United States an itinerary of the cruise, and the distances covered is given here, which may prove of value for future reference:

Hampton Roads to Trinidad	1850
Trinidad to Rio de Janeiro	3100
Rio de Janeiro to Punta Arenas	2228
Punta Arenas to Callao	2666
Callao to Magdalena Bay	3050
Magdalena Bay to San Francisco	1200
San Francisco to Honolulu	2100
Honolulu to Auckland	3850
Auckland to Sydney	1284
Sydney to Melbourne	575
Melbourne to Albany	1350
Albany to Manila	3500
Manila to Yokohama	1753
Yokohama to Amoy	1343
Amoy to Manila	666
Manila to Singapore	1368
Singapore to Colombo	1560
Colombo to Suez	3440
Suez to Gibraltar	1920
Gibraltar to Hampton Roads	3500

These figures represent a total of 42,303 miles covered in direct course. From San Francisco side trips were made to the

Puget Sound ports; and in the Mediterranean various irregular routes were followed so that the total number of miles covered is generally placed, in round numbers, at forty-five thousand.

Reviewing the admirable conduct of the crews of the different vessels of the fleet under conditions naturally tempting to excessive indulgences and license; the magnificent appearance of the vessels themselves and their manifest adaptability for all the demands to which such sea monsters may be subjected; and the fact that these superb battleships are but the most imposing class of a much larger fleet equally fit and ready for service,—the American people, whatever views may be held as to the necessity of a great navy, may take a peculiar and just pride in what has been accomplished in but little over fifteen years. But while we glory in these achievements it is certainly the hope and prayer of all Christian and civilized people that never one of the great guns of our monster battleships may speak a word hostile to any one of the nations or peoples who during the past fifteen months have so spontaneously and ungrudgingly given of their affection and their substance to manifest their respect and regard for this great Christian nation, and the noble and humane principles which its theory of government represents.

THE DEWEY ARCH, NEW YORK CITY.

XLVI.

THE VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY DISPUTE — THE MONROE DOCTRINE — 1895.

Alexander I. of Russia and Mme. de Krudener.— The Emperor's Religious Enthusiasm.— His Part and Purpose in Forming the Holy Alliance.— Text of That Remarkable Document. — The Holy Alliance Becomes Association of Despots For Overthrow of Liberty.— Spanish Colonies in Western Hemisphere Declare Independence.— Purpose of Holy Alliance to Restore Power to Spain.— Canning's Proposals.— Views of John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State.— Declares Against Acting "As a Cock-boat in Wake of British Man-of-War."— "Make an American Cause and Adhere Inflexibly to That."— Statement of His Doctrine as Announced by President Monroe in 1823.— Reception of Message by British Press.— Canning's Duplicity Proved.— Doubtful Position of the United States Government as to Doctrine for Seventy Years.— "To Be Asserted When, and to What Extent, Individual Conditions Demand."— Polk's Attitude as Congressman and Later as President.— Application to French Occupation of Mexico.— Interpretations and Indorsements in Many Party Platforms.— History of Differences between Great Britain and Venezuela.— Intervention of the United States.— Olney versus Salisbury.— Latter's Contempt for Monroe Doctrine.— President Cleveland's Vigorous Message.— Appointment of American Commission to Determine True Boundary Line.— Great Britain Assents to Arbitration.— Distinguished Arbitrators.— Character of Award and Results.— Final Determination of Status of Monroe Doctrine.

I mistake the American people if they favor the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality, that there is one law for a strong nation and another for a weak one, and that even by indirection a strong power may with impunity despoil a weak one of its territory." GROVER CLEVELAND.

FTER Napoleon had been safely banished to St. Helena in 1815, and the allied powers betook themselves to the task of re-establishing conditions which the great soldier's career and the liberated spirit of freedom had seriously shattered, Alexander of Russia came naturally to the front as the foremost European potentate, distinguished alike, at that time, as a soldier and a wise statesman actuated by the highest moral purposes. It was during the protracted sittings of the representatives of the different powers to restore the peace of Europe that the Czar first came in touch with one of the most remarkable of women, who had charmed all the noted people of the different courts of Europe by her wit, cleverness, and beauty in youth; and who, later in life, deeply penitent for the sins of her earlier life, became the ascetic pietist and lay preacher, Mme. de Krudener. Herself of Russian descent, of an exceedingly sentimental and poetic temperament, at the age of nineteen she became the wife of an aged and very distinguished Russian diplomat, who was well known and highly esteemed at every court of Europe. She

spent some years in the great capitals of the world, reveling in all the excitements, gayety, and license which the utter lack of moral sense of the age made possible. Failing health, an uneasy conscience, and some scandals led her to retire to a quiet life about 1807, when a little over forty years of age, when she came under the influence of the Moravian Brethren, the mystical side of whose religious beliefs appealed strongly to the sensitive nature of the brilliant woman, weary of sin and of self. From this time until her death among some poor colonists in Crimea, in 1824, her entire life was devoted to preaching the simplest gospel of Christ and to deeds of self sacrifice and noble charity. There is abundant evidence that the wonderful political events of the three years preceding the year 1815 had most seriously impressed Alexander I., the Emperor of Russia, and that he recognized the Divine purpose in their development; so that he was in the frame of mind best suited to absorb the exalted teaching and be influenced by the impassioned appeals of Mme. de Krudener. Visionary in her thought and subject to the spiritual uplifting of a devout mysticism, she has left an account of her first meeting with the Emperor, while on the road to Paris, in 1815. Without formal introduction, and with absolute fearlessness, she at once called upon him to repent of all the sins of his past life as man and Emperor, and as a child to consecrate his entire strength of mind and body and all his mighty influence to the honor and glory of the one God. For nearly three hours this earnest exhortation was kept up, the Emperor being greatly impressed and moved, at last falling on his knees with the two or three present while Mme. de Krudener prayed earnestly that his sins might be made clear to him, and that he might be led to realize the great powers God had placed in his hands for the good of his fellowmen. So powerfully was the Emperor attracted by the noble and pure thought of the woman that he insisted upon her keeping near him, and helping him by her uplifting conversations and prayers. And as soon as the imperial palace had been occupied, the Emperor made it his first business to see that proper apartments were secured in the immediate vicinity for Mme. de Krudener and her attendants.

ALEXANDER I. OF RUSSIA.

By a rear entrance the Emperor, attended by a single servant, could unseen enter the apartments of his spiritual teacher; and there, after the stormy political discussions of the day were over, he spent three or four hours of every night reading the Bible, listening to his teacher's expositions, and in earnest prayer. This absorption in religion and in spiritual thought continued until late in September, 1815, the climax of the situation being reached on the 11th of that month. During the summer the great Russian army had been encamped in Champagne. Before setting out for the return to Russia the Czar determined to hold a grand review on the 10th of September, his birthday, to be followed on the 11th by a solemn religious service of thanksgiving and consecration. Accordingly

seven great altars were erected on the plain, at which masses were simultaneously celebrated, with all the gorgeous accessories of the ritual of the Greek Church. On an elevated spot in full view of the one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers assembled on the vast plain was the Imperial tent; and before it, in sight of the whole great multitude, the Emperor and his spiritual adviser participated in the services, prostrating themselves in prayer and offering up devout thanksgiving to the Almighty for the especial protection accorded the Russian troops in the recent campaign. The distinguished writer and critic, Sainte-Beuve, on the authority as he affirms of an eyewitness, thus described the scene: "The honors paid by Louis XIV. to Mme. de Maintenon at the camp of Compiegne did not surpass the veneration with which Mme. de Krudener was treated by the conqueror. It was not as the granddaughter of Marshal Münnich, it was not even as his favorite subject; *it was as the ambassadress from Heaven that he received her,* and conducted her into the presence of his armies. Bareheaded, with her still golden hair falling to her shoulders, and a few curls gathered together and fastened over her forehead; clad in a long dark gown confined at the waist by a single girdle, and rendered elegant by her manner of wearing it; thus she appeared at this period, thus she arrived in the plain at dawn, and thus, erect, at the moment of prayer she seemed as a new Peter the Hermit, in the presence of the prostrate troops." "This day," declared the Emperor at its close, "has been the most beautiful of my life, and one that I can never forget. My heart was filled with love for my enemies; I was enabled to pray fervently for them all; and it was whilst weeping at the foot of the cross of Christ, that I interceded in behalf of France." "There is no doubt," says the biographer of Mme. de Krudener, "that this religious solemnity on the Plains of Vertus must be regarded as indicating the high water mark of Mme. de Krudener's career in the eyes of the world. It made patent to all Europe what until then had only been realized in its entirety by the initiated few, namely, the overwhelming influence of her religious teachings upon the mind of the Czar. It was the signal for all the arts of diplomacy to be put in motion in order to rescue Alexander from what, in the eyes of his contemporaries, was nothing less than a lamentable infatuation." And diplomacy and the separation between the Emperor and Mme. de Krudener which followed soon after the remarkable scene on the Plains of Vertus, were only too effective in weaning him from the noble sentiments that then fully possessed him. Before departing for Russia, however, the Emperor determined to testify openly before all nations as to the faith that was in him, and to set an example before Europe of the practical application of the doctrines of Christianity to the problems of international politics. Accordingly he drew up a paper expressing his thought, which was for years one of the most discussed and least understood documents of European history, and one which was a determining factor in the fate of nations during the first half of the nineteenth century. This document or agreement is known as the *"Holy Alliance;"* and as it became one of the determining elements in the development of the Monroe Doctrine, and is so unique and interesting in itself, we shall briefly describe and quote it. Many have gone so far as to ascribe to Mme. de Krudener, not only the inspiration, but also the composition of the paper. But her faithful attendant and fellow-preacher for many years wrote of its origin as follows: "A few days before his departure, the Emperor said to us, 'I am going to leave France, but previous to my departure I wish to render public homage to God,—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,—in return for the protection He has vouchsafed to us, and to invite the nations to enroll themselves under the banner of obedience to the gospel. Here is the draft of the act, which I beg you to go through carefully, and if it contains

any expression of which you do not approve, I trust you will inform me of the fact. I wish the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia to unite themselves with me in this act of adoration so that, like the Wise Men of the East, we may be seen openly acknowledging the supreme authority of one Divine Saviour. You will unite yourselves with me in prayer that my allies may be disposed to sign.' The following day he returned for the draft; we were profoundly touched by the humility with which he was pleased to listen to the suggestions we made to him. The next day he took the document to the allied sovereigns to sign, and he had the satisfaction of seeing them enter at once into his views. That same evening he came to inform us of the steps he had taken and to render thanks to God for the success with which they had been attended." And M. Capefigue, the historian of the Restoration, states that he personally inspected the original of the treaty, written throughout in the hand of the Emperor Alexander, with corrections by Mme. de Krudener, by whom the words "Holy Alliance" were interpolated. The essential parts of this remarkable agreement were as follows:

"*In the Name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity.*

"Their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, in consequence of the great events which have occurred in Europe in the course of the last three years, having become profoundly convinced that it is necessary to base the principle of conduct to be adopted by the Powers, in their mutual relations, on the sublime truths contained in the eternal religion of Christ, our Saviour; *declare solemnly that the present act has for its sole object to manifest,* in the face of the universe, their unalterable determination to adopt as their rule of conduct, whether in the administration of their respective states or in their political relations with all other governments, no other principles than those of their holy religion, precepts of justice, of charity, and of peace, which, far from being exclusively applicable to private life, ought, on the contrary, directly to influence the resolutions of princes, and guide all their decisions, as offering the only means of consolidating

MME. DE KRUDENER.

human institutions and remedying their imperfections.

"In consequence their Majesties have adopted the following articles:—Art. 1. In accordance with the words of Holy Scripture, which command all men to regard one another as brothers, the three contracting Monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble brotherhood and, regarding each other as compatriots, they will lend one another aid, and succor in all places, and under all circumstances; believing themselves to be placed toward their subjects and their armies in the position of a father toward his children, they will direct them in a

similar spirit of brotherhood, for the protection of religion, peace, and justice.

"Art. II. As a result, the only principle in operation, either between the said governments or between their subjects, *will be that of rendering reciprocal service;* to display to one another, by an unalterable good will, the mutual affection with which each should be animated; to regard one another without exception as members of one and the same Christian nationality; the three allied princes themselves only considering themselves as delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one and the same family, to wit: Austria, Prussia, and Russia; thus confessing that the Christian nation of which they and their people form a part has really no other sovereign than Him to whom alone supreme power belongs, because in Him alone are contained all the treasures of love, of knowledge, and of infinite wisdom, that is to say in God, our divine Saviour Jesus Christ, the incarnate word. Their majesties consequently recommend to their people with the most earnest solicitude, as being the only means of enjoying that peace that is born of a good conscience, and which alone is lasting, daily to fortify themselves more and more in the principles and practice of those duties which our Divine Saviour imposed on mankind." A sublime and exalted teaching this, but of differing value as translated in the language and spirit of Mme. de Krudener, or of Prince Metternich; and unfortunately he, the tricky diplomatist, had the ears of the three allied sovereigns. "That the King, the Emperor, and the Czar," says Professor McMaster, "had any hidden motive in forming this far-famed Holy Alliance; that they said one thing and meant another; that their intention was less to rule in accordance with the maxims of Christ than to set up and maintain absolute governments; that when they signed that league they knew they were forming a bond of union against the spread of liberal ideas, and even then contemplated a system of meddling in the affairs of other nations,—there is no evidence whatever. . . . That this little society of Christian monarchs should have any interest for us of to-day is due to the fact that their treaty contains the words 'Holy Alliance,' that the signers have ever since been called the 'Holy Allies,' and that to their league have wrongfully been attributed results which sprang *from the 'Quadruple Treaty' signed two months later* by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain; *a new alliance* which bound the four powers to do four things: exclude Napoleon forever from power; maintain the government they had just set up in France; resist with all their might any attack on the army of occupation; and meet in 1818 to consult concerning their common interests, and to take such measures as should then seem to be best fitted to serve the peace and happiness of Europe." Continuing, McMaster says, "By the Quadruple Treaty, signed at Paris in 1815, England, Prussia, Russia, and Austria bound themselves to maintain the government they had just set up in France, and to hold a Congress of the Powers in 1818. They met, accordingly, in September at Aix-la-Chapelle, and with that conference a new era opens in the constitutional history of Europe. *Then and there was formed the real 'Conspiracy of Kings.'* The reactionary movement of three years had extinguished in the hearts of the best of them the last trace of liberalism, and they all stood together on *a common ground of hatred of popular liberty.* It was the conference at Aix-la-Chapelle that united the sovereigns in the project of a joint regulation of European affairs, *and turned the Holy Allies into a mutual association for the insurance of Monarchy.* Having, in the language of the time, taken the people of Europe into their Holy keeping the three autocrats declared that henceforth all useful or necessary changes in the legislation and administration of states must emanate alone from the free-will, the reflecting and enlightened impulse of those whom God rendered responsible for power."

Taking advantage of the domestic

troubles that overwhelmed the different European states early in the nineteenth century, the Spanish colonies of North and South America began about 1810 to revolt against their mother country and to set up governments of their own; and by 1820 these colonies had so far established their independence that individual governments were recognized by the United States, and diplomatic relations were established with each. About 1818 Russia made a settlement on the coast of California, and seized a small island of the Hawaiian group. Although this movement aroused some apprehension it was not until 1822 that the extent of the Russian pretensions was brought directly to the attention of the government at Washington. Then the Russian Minister placed in the hands of the Secretary of State an Edict of the Emperor Alexander granting to Russian subjects alone all rights of commerce, whaling, and fishing, whether on the islands or in the ports and gulfs of the northwest of America, from Bering Sea to fifty-one degrees north latitude. Foreign vessels were, therefore, forbidden not only to land on the coast and islands, *but even to come within one hundred miles of them.* This unexpected attempt to define the boundaries of the two countries aroused the government of the United States, and led to immediate demands for explanations, protests, and statements as to the respective positions of the two countries; and in July, 1823, in conversation with the Russian Minister, John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State for the United States, announced explicitly that "we should contest the right of Russia to any territorial establishment on this Continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American Continents are no longer subjects for any European colonial settlements,"—a concise and emphatic statement of the principle that has since become so widely known as the "Monroe Doctrine."

The fall of the "Holy Allies" from grace, and from their exalted spiritual position as announced in 1815, was rapid and complete. From an alliance based on the most divine sentiments of the religion of Christ it swiftly became a close association of a few despots actuated by the principles and morals of the Spanish Inquisition, and secretly pledged to extirpate every movement or tendency looking toward the spread of popular government. It is not surprising, therefore, to find these "lords of creation" closing their conference at Laybach, in 1821, with the solemn declaration that henceforth all "useful or necessary changes in the legislation and administration of states *must emanate alone from the free-will, the reflecting and enlightened impulse of those whom God has rendered responsible for power,*—(their modest manner of referring to themselves); nor to learn that at Verona, in 1822, they "secretly made additions to the Treaty of the Holy Alliance," whose first two sections read as follows:

"The undersigned, specially authorized to make some additions to the treaty of the 'Holy Alliance,' after having ex-

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

changed their respective credentials, have agreed as follows:

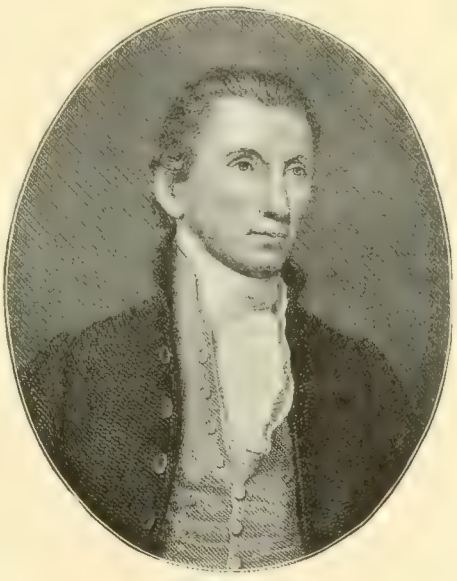
"Article I. The high contracting powers, *being convinced that the system of representative government is equally as*

incompatible with the monarchical principle as the maxim of the sovereignty of the people with the divine right, engage mutually, in the most *solemn manner, to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative government*, in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known.

"Article II. As it cannot be doubted that the liberty of the press is the most powerful means used by the pretended supporters of the rights of nations to the detriment of those Princes, the high contracting parties promise reciprocally to adopt all proper measures to suppress it, not only in their own states, but also in the rest of Europe." These "additions" to the original treaty were signed by the authorized representatives of Russia, Austria, France, and Prussia. In harmony with the general spirit of the conference it was agreed before adjournment that France, in the name of the Holy Alliance, should send an army into Spain to put an end to the system of representative government which had been struggling, and with a good measure of success, for supremacy in that country. Accordingly in April, 1823, a French army under the Duc d'Angoulême crossed the Pyrenees and, after a feeble resistance on the part of the revolutionists, re-established Ferdinand upon his despotic throne. Of course the independence of the Spanish Colonies in North and South America had not been recognized by any power excepting the United States; the colonists were, as yet, simply subjects in revolt against their rightful sovereign; and Ferdinand was begging lustily of the Allies that they would aid him in reducing his rebellious subjects to submission. The matter was seriously discussed by the Powers at Verona, but was left open for decision at a subsequent Conference to be held in the fall of 1823. Such was the situation that faced the nine million people of the United States, who seemed engaged in a vain effort to guarantee political freedom, and the blessings of representative government, to all the people of this hemisphere! "The moment was a critical one," as Professor McMaster has well said. "It was not Mexico, nor Buenos Ayres, nor Chile that the Holy Allies proposed to attack, but the republican institutions, and the republican governments of the new world." England had already established quite an extensive trade with the Spanish colonies, and was so situated as regards the Allies that her government wished to appear in the most favorable light to the Colonists but without committing itself to any position that might be uncomfortable in the near future. Accordingly in the spring of 1823, Mr. Canning, then the English prime minister, opened negotiations and proposals through Mr. Rush, the American minister at the Court of St. James; but nothing of a practical nature resulted, though Canning later assumed all the glory of having conceived and set up the Monroe Doctrine,—or, as he sententiously expressed it, "I called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old."

As the time approached for President Monroe to prepare his annual message to Congress, the dominant consideration seemed to be the relation that should exist between the peoples of the two continents, and their several governments. Soon after receiving the full statement of Canning's proposal through Mr. Rush, President Monroe took occasion to lay all the documents and papers before ex-President Jefferson, who was then living in retirement at Monticello, and before ex-President Madison. In his reply to Monroe's communication, Jefferson said: "The question presented by the letters you have sent me, is the *most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. That made us a Nation, this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us.* And never could we embark on it under conditions more auspicious [Mr. Jefferson here had in mind a coalition in some form with Great Britain]. *Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to en-*

tangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicil of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere the domicil of freedom." Meeting after meeting of the cabinet was held to discuss the questions involved from every standpoint; and nowhere did the President find a stauncher supporter, wiser counselor, or more sturdy advocate than in his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams. Mr. Adams believed emphatically in an unqualified and explicit statement of our position; that matters should not be minced in the least, but that what we wanted and what we proposed to stand for should be so simply and plainly stated as to admit of no ambiguity; and that, instead of following the usual course in such matters of sending diplomatic notes and polite messages through secret channels, the pronouncement should be made in the most public manner, in the plainest language, and from the most authoritative source. But there were earnest divisions in the cabinet itself on the matter. Calhoun doubted the necessity, or even advisability, of publishing "so ostentatious a display of republican principles." Wirt, the Attorney-General, who had been absent from all of the meetings up to within a week of the convening of Congress, now joined the cabinet discussions and, with a mind uninfluenced by former spirited arguments, proceeded to examine Mr. Adams' proposals afresh. He coolly suggested that the whole statement might seem mere bombast; for if the Allies should actually begin hostile operations against South America, would the United States back up Mr. Adams' declaration with men and guns? To this Mr. Adams could only reply, "That is, and has been to me, a fearful question." With eloquent earnestness Adams endeavored to allay the fears of his colleagues who were alarmed at the possibility of the spread of war. But while he dismissed this danger as remote, he pictured vividly the perilous alternatives in case the Allies subjugated Spanish America; California, Peru, and Chile might go to Russia; Cuba to England; and Mexico to France. The danger was even at our door, he declared, for within a few days the minister of France had openly threatened to recover Louisiana. More and more convinced of the soundness of his position as the days passed, he persisted with increased earnestness that this country ought to decline



JAMES MONROE.

the overture of Great Britain, and avow its principles explicitly to Russia and France, "rather than to come in as a cockboat in the wake of British man-of-war;" that the reply to Russia and the instructions to Rush in England must be part of a *combined system of policy.* "The ground that I wish to take," he said, "is that of earnest remonstrance against the interference of European powers by force with South America, but to disclaim all interference on our part with Europe; *to make an American cause and adhere inflexibly to that.*" And when, on December 2, 1823, President Monroe submitted his annual message to Con-

gress, voicing for the first time, officially, the political sentiments on those subjects which have since borne his name, it was noted that in practically every case he had adopted the idea, if not the phraseology, of his Secretary of State. As a part of his review of our relations with Russia, the President, in his message, said: "In the discussion to which this interest [the rights of the United States on the northwest coast of America] has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, *as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American Continents,* by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, *are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.*" Referring next to the "Holy Alliance," the President said: "We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, *to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.* With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, *we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.* Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm and manly policy; *meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the Allied Powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness;* nor can anyone believe that our Southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference." Such is the text of the Monroe Doctrine in the words of its propounder; it has however, been more conveniently and briefly summed up under three heads, as follows:

I. No more European Colonies on either of the American Continents;

II. The United States will not interfere in the internal concerns of any European power;

III. "In regard to those continents (North and South America) circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different;" and if any European power attempts at any future time to extend its political system to any part of this hemisphere "for the purpose of oppressing" the nations or "controlling in any other manner their destiny," the United States will interfere.

The message was most cordially received by the people of the United States, and its positions undoubtedly won immediate approval. The effect in England was quite as marked as here at home. Canning, though not at all in accord with the part of the doctrine restricting the rights of the European governments to colonize on the western hemisphere, was so much relieved by the effects of the pronouncement on the Holy Alliance that for the time, and publicly, he heartily approved the whole message. The great

Brougham exultingly declared that "the question with regard to South America is now disposed of, or nearly so, for an event has recently happened than which no event has dispensed greater joy, exultation, and gratitude over all the freemen of Europe; that event, which is decisive of the subject in respect of South America, is the message of the President of the United States to Congress." The English press, too, gave the message most complimentary attention and sympathetic criticism. In his volume of essays entitled "With the Fathers," Professor McMaster has reproduced several leading editorial notices bearing upon the matter and influence of President Monroe's address, from which we quote briefly. Under date of December 24, 1823, the editor of the London Courier said: "The speech of the President of the United States is, in all its bearings, a document of more than usual importance. . . . The question of the independence and recognition of the South American States may now be considered at rest. Great Britain has, as we have repeatedly shown, acknowledged their independence, *de facto;* and the United States, their nearest neighbors, have not only acknowledged it, but have given a bold and manly notice to the continental powers that they shall treat 'any interposition with a view of oppressing or controlling them in any manner as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward themselves, and as dangerous to their peace and safety;' in other words, they shall view it as affording them just ground for war. After so clear and explicit a warning, there is not one of the continental powers, we suppose, that will risk a war with the United States. . . . Thus, then, we repeat that the question may be considered to be set at rest; we shall hear no more of a Congress to settle the fate of the South American States."

On the same date the editor of the London Morning Chronicle said: "The American papers received yesterday contain the accounts of the opening of Congress and the message of the President of the United States. The communication of the chief office-bearer of the great Republic to the Legislature at this critical period,—when the ambition of Kings, not satisfied with the calamity which it has occasioned in Europe, threatens to rekindle the flames of war throughout the western hemisphere—was looked forward to with the utmost anxiety. It is worthy of the occasion and of the people destined to occupy so large a space in the future history of the world. *What a contrast between the manly plainness of this state paper and the Machiavelism and hypocrisy of the declaration of the manifestoes of the Governments of this part of the world!* . . . The speech of the President of the United States, so full of wisdom and just ideas, has, however, had more effect on the opinions of the leaders in the national securities than the abundance of money or the changed policy of France, for in it they see a sufficient guarantee for the maintenance of the freedom of the American Continent."

Under the date of January 3, 1824, the editor of the Liverpool Advertiser referred in the following graceful and appreciative language not only to the President's political attitude, but to the general conditions in the country as set forth in the message: "By one short passage in it is set at rest, we dare presume, whatever may have been in agitation by the Continental Allies in reference to the late Spanish possessions in America. There will be no attempt made, it may be confidently affirmed, to interfere with the present condition of those countries when it is known that such interference would be viewed by the United States as a just cause of war, on her part, with any power attempting such interference.

"In regard to the power, prosperity and resources of the nation herself, also, the language of the speech is very interesting; her revenue, it is affirmed, will on the first of the year exceed her expenditures by not less than nine million dollars. Her population is estimated at ten millions, and every branch of industry, every source of revenue, wealth, and power is flourishing.

"While in her power and resources, as they are illustrated in this speech, the nation of the United States exhibits the vigor of ripe years, she, in those sentiments of active humanity seems, to our thought, to preserve the fresh feeling of youth, and not to be wholly engrossed, as older States are, in the pursuit or support of purely selfish interests. And we have thus a pleasure from contemplating her less as that metaphysical, insentient thing, a State, than as an actual human and feeling being."

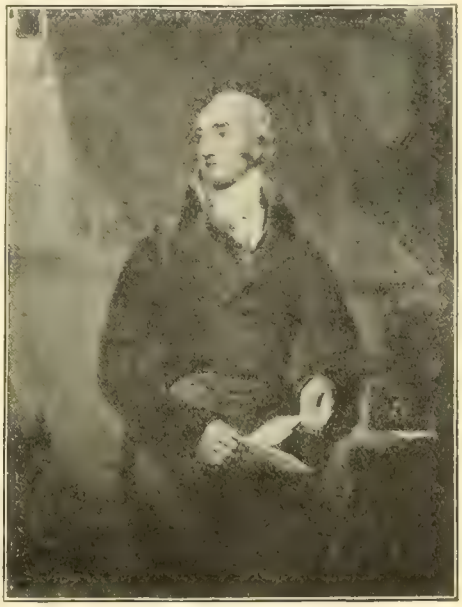
The editor of the Paris Etoile, the ministerial organ of the French government, however, did not receive the President's words so graciously. "Mr. Monroe," he said, "who is not a sovereign, who has himself told us that he is only the first delegate of the people, has taken in his message the tone of a powerful monarch whose armies and fleets are ready to go forth on the first signal. He does more; he prescribes to the potentates of Europe the conduct they are to pursue in certain circumstances if they do not wish to incur his displeasure. Such is the prohibition which he issues against their ever thinking of any new colonization in the two Americas. Mr. Monroe is the temporary President of a Republic situated on the Eastern Continent of North America. This Republic is *bounded on the south by the possessions of the King of Spain,* and on the north by those of the King of England. Its independence has only been acknowledged for forty years; by what title, then, are the two Americas to be under his immediate dependence, from Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn? . . . It was reserved for Mr. Monroe to show us a dictator armed with a right of superiority over the whole of the new world. According to the political system he would establish it would not be permitted to Spain to make the least effort to re-enter on the territory which for three centuries she has possessed. . . . England would require his previous consent, if it suited her interest to make any new military or political establishment either in Canada or Nova Scotia. And yet, Mr. Monroe's message contains phrases indirectly hostile to the policy and ambition of the Great Powers of Europe!"

To this snarling criticism a most spirited rejoinder came from an unexpected source,—*The London Times,* whose editor on January 16, 1824, handled the editorial position of the The Etoile with great earnestness, as well as with a characteristic logic and sarcasm. "A direct attempt is made," he said, "by the Etoile to sever the Chief Magistrate of a powerful and enlightened nation from the body of a state which he represents. 'Not a sovereign!' No, but he is the acknowledged—the elected head and organ of a great sovereign people one whose elevation cost his country neither a drop of blood nor a widow's tear, nor the beggary or banishment, the persecution or corruption, of a single human being among ten millions of men. . . . He calls Mr. Monroe a 'temporary president;' but is the power he exercises a temporary power? It is, on the contrary, a prerogative which never dies, let who will be its trustee for the moment; and which, as Mr. Monroe has on this occasion employed it, has its sanction in the heart of every citizen among those millions who confided it to his hands. Will the Etoile venture to match the durability of any despotic throne in Europe with that of the President's chair in North America? If so, we tell him that he is likely to lose his wager."

As has been previously intimated, Mr. Adams, when Canning first proposed, through Mr. Rush, united action by Great Britain and the United States upon the questions which constitute the Monroe Doctrine, suspected the sincerity of the British premier, believing that he had in view the great increase of English influence in affairs of the American Continents, as a result of principles enunciated and risks assumed by the United States alone. Hence his determined attitude not "to come in as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war;" an attitude whose wisdom Canning's subsequent position

emphatically affirmed. On December 17, 1824, the Prime Minister wrote: "Spanish America is free; and if we do not mismanage our matters sadly, *she is English*, and *novus saeclorum nascitur ordo*." Also in 1825, shortly after the British government had recognized the independence of Mexico, Canning declared that "the great danger of the time—a danger which the policy of the European system would have fostered—was a division of the world into European and American, republican and monarchical; a league of wornout governments on the one hand and of youthful and stirring nations, with the United States at their head, on the other. *We slip in between, and plant ourselves in Mexico. The United States have gotten the start of us in vain, and we link once more America to Europe.*"

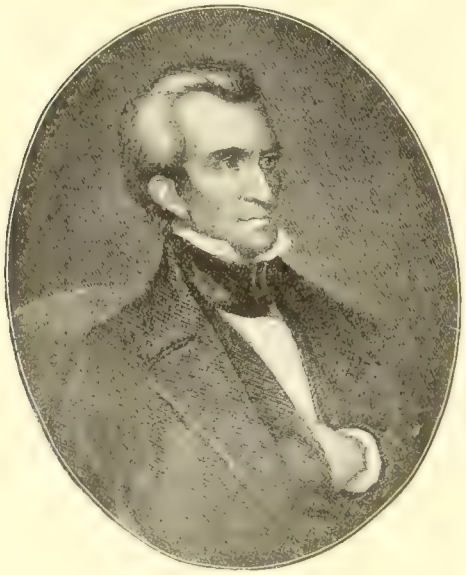
The position taken by the young nation of the United States in proclaiming such a doctrine under circumstances then existing, is, we think, without parallel in history. Perhaps the situation itself was equally unparalleled. As the unforeseen result of European political movements, within a very few years it had come about that every people of the western hemisphere had been ranged on the side of representative government as opposed to absolutism; and wise statesmanship foresaw the infinite possibilities which the situation offered for the culture and development of popular rights and privileges unhampered by constant friction with the prejudices and reactionary thought and influences of despotic institutions. But that a nation so weak physically, and occupying or controlling so insignificant a part of the great territory set apart, should have the temerity to defy all the peoples of the Old World, backed by great and trained armies, all of whom had tasted of the fruits of colonization in the western hemisphere and were hungry for more plunder; that this young knight whose virgin sword had hardly yet been fleshed should cry "stand back!" and "hands off!" to the world's most experienced commanders and statesmen verges so closely upon the confines of the sublime and the ridiculous that one hardly knows in which category to place it, even though seventy years of a more or less strenuous application of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine has proved that it was an act of such exalted statesmanship as to stamp



GEORGE CANNING.

its real origin as divine rather than human. One student of the causes that led to the formulation of the doctrine, and of the condition and character of the people that led to its avowal, will see only David, "a youth, ruddy and of a fair countenance," strong in the realization of the great truth that "One with God is a majority," defying the insolent and mighty Philistine and all the enemies of the living God; while another, less reverent, perhaps, may rather see Don Quixote, inspired with all the noble sentiments of chivalry, as, mounted upon his faithful Rosinante, with spear in place, he goes forth to defy every form of error, and valiantly enters the lists to redress all wrong and injustice. Certain it is that for more than seventy years after its promulgation a place somewhere between these two extremes was given to the Monroe Doctrine by all who, for any reason, were brought into intimate relation with

its precepts. As announced, the doctrine was simply a dictum of one man, and of one, though President of the United States, so far as that opinion was concerned, possessed of no more power to enforce its proposals than any ordinary citizen. This position was fully realized by all men connected with public affairs, and an effort was at once made to give to the Doctrine an unquestioned standing by having its principles embodied in a Joint Resolution of the House and Senate. Henry Clay was then at the zenith of his power, and was speaker of the House. He undertook the leadership in the movement. But it was not far from a presidential campaign, with many prominent and earnest aspirants for presidential honors in the field. Clay was one of the most conspicuous; and his rivals,—Adams, Jackson, Crawford, Calhoun, and their friends,—did not propose to let their great antagonist gain political capital by securing the enactment of any measures that would exalt the Monroe dictum to the



JAMES K. POLK.

higher status of a National policy, accepted and indorsed by the National Legislature. Under such conditions Clay could secure so little support for his measure that he was forced to table it. It has often been charged that as a result of this experience Clay abandoned his support of Monroe's policy. But events that occurred only the next year prove the fallacy of this charge. John Quincy Adams became President in 1825, and immediately appointed Clay as his Secretary of State. Very early in the Administration's course rumors became current that France was planning to seize Cuba and Porto Rico as, in some sense, a return for her services in restoring the monarchy in Spain. Clay immediately instructed the American Minister to France to investigate the matter and to make clear to the French Government "that we would not consent to the occupation of those islands by any other European Power than Spain, under any circumstances whatever."

As a general proposition it may be said that for seventy years the Monroe Doctrine existed as a basic theory for the relations of the United States with foreign powers, but to be used when, and to what extent, individual conditions might demand. At different times the same statesmen took different views of its scope and purpose. Polk, while a member of Congress from Tennessee, in a memorable speech delivered in 1826, said: "When the message of the late President of the United States was communicated to Congress in 1823, it *was viewed, as it should have been,* as the mere expression of opinion of the executive, submitted to the consideration and deliberation of Congress, and designed probably to produce an effect upon the councils of the Holy Alliance, in relation to their supposed intention to interfere in the war between Spain and her former Colonies. That effect it probably had an agency in producing, and if so, it has performed its office. *The President has no power to bind the Nation by such a pledge.*" But when later Polk had been elected President by the party whose slogan was "The whole of Oregon, or none; fifty-four forty or fight," and the troubles with England over the Oregon boundary assumed a very serious aspect, the President confidently called forth all the dormant

powers of the Monroe Doctrine, and declared to the English government that "in the existing circumstances of the world, the present is deemed a proper occasion to reiterate and reaffirm the principle avowed by Mr. Monroe, and to state my cordial concurrence in its wisdom and sound policy. Existing rights of every European nation should be respected, but it is due alike to our safety and our interest that the efficient protection of our laws should be extended over our whole territory, and that it should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent, be planted on any part of the North American Continent." Polk further applied the Doctrine in its fullest force to the case of Yucatan. There a war had broken out between the Indians and the whites, who, in desperate straits, appealed to England, Spain, and the United States for aid, offering in return the full sovereignty of the peninsula. In 1848 the President said in his message to Congress: "While it is not my purpose to recommend the adoption of any measure with a view to the acquisition of the 'dominion and sovereignty' over Yucatan, yet, according to our established policy, we could not consent to a transfer of this 'dominion and sovereignty' to either Spain, Great Britain, or any other European power. In the language of President Monroe, in his message of December, 1823, 'we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.'"

For forty years after Mexico had achieved independence her social and political affairs were in the most chaotic condition. Since the acknowledgment of her independence in 1821, there had not been a month's peace. Thirty-six different governments had been set up and overthrown within thirty-three years. So desperate had conditions then become that France, England, and Spain decided upon armed interference. Unfortunately the American people were just then, 1860, too much occupied with their own affairs to follow closely those of their neighbors. As is well known the Allies landed at Vera Cruz; but it becoming evident that it was Napoleon's purpose to establish a French Empire in Mexico, England and Spain indignantly withdrew from the undertaking. To the general public the apparently unopposed invasion of Mexico seemed the death-blow to the Monroe Doctrine. As a writer in the London Times, in 1862, said: "Napoleon has done a real service to the world in extinguishing the Monroe Doctrine." And a writer in a leading Review said: "The occupation of Mexico is the extinction of the Monroe Doctrine. That doctrine, it must be owned, is both absurd and arrogant in theory and practice." But again it soon became evident that the principle was neither dead nor forgotten, only dormant. Even during the terrible stress and strain of our civil war, Secretary of State Seward repeatedly called the attention of the French government to the fact that the people of the United States would not recognize any government in Mexico which was not the free choice of the people of Mexico. All protests were unavailing, however, until in the summer of 1865, General Sheridan with fifty thousand veteran troops took up a position on the Rio Grande to enforce by arms, if necessary, for the first time the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. Concurrently with this demonstration of force, the French government was again and finally notified that the people of every State on the American Continent have a right to a Republican government if they choose, and that any attempt by a foreign power to prevent the enjoyment of such institutions is, in its effect, antagonistic to the free and popular government existing in the United States." As Napoleon read these despatches in the light reflected from fifty thousand bayonets glistening in the Southern sun, a new view of the situation dawned upon him, and the French troops were withdrawn from Mexico in 1866, the Emperor leaving his unfortunate tool, Maximilian, to his wretched fate.

In 1870, President Grant somewhat enlarged the popular view of the Doctrine though not, perhaps, its inherent principles, when in his message to Congress on May 28, 1870, relating to San Domingo, he said: "The Doctrine promulgated by President Monroe has been adhered to by all political parties, and I now deem it proper *to assert the equally important principle that hereafter no territory on this Continent shall be regarded as subject of transfer to a European power.*" And the place and force given to the Doctrine during the days following our civil war can, perhaps, be shown in no way better than by quoting the statement of Secretary of State Fish, under date of July 14, 1870. He says: "The United States stand solemnly committed by repeated declarations and repeated acts to this doctrine and its application to the affairs of this Continent. In his message to the two Houses of Congress at the commencement of the present session, the President, following the teachings of all our history, said that 'the existing dependencies are no longer regarded as subject to transfer from one European power to another. When the present relation of colonies ceases, they are to become independent powers, exercising the right of choice and of self-control in the determination of their future condition and relation with other powers.' This policy is not a policy of aggression; but it opposes the creation of European dominion on American soil, or its transfer to other European powers, *and it looks hopefully to the time when, by the voluntary departure of European governments from this Continent and the adjacent islands, America shall be wholly American.*"

Not a little disturbance in political circles in the United States followed the proposal by a French company to dig an Isthmian canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Representatives Burnside in 1879, and Crapo in 1880, introduced resolutions in the House, declaring that the American people adhered to the Monroe Doctrine, and could only view the purpose of the Powers to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama as an evidence of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. This application of the Doctrine to commercial undertakings was novel, and seemed very far-fetched. As Mr. Blaine showed clearly, however, it was not to the digging of the canal that such objections could be raised; but capital so interested must look for protection to one or more of the great Powers of the world, and this country could never allow any European power to extend such protection.

The first reference to the Monroe Doctrine in party platforms seems to be that which the Democratic Convention that nominated Buchanan for the presidency, at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1856, inserted in its platform, in the following form: "Resolved, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other states of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe Doctrine; their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction; they should be applied with unbending rigidity." The next reference of this character was made by the Republican Convention which convened at Baltimore in 1864, and renominated President Lincoln. Maximilian was then nominally Emperor of Mexico, supported by French arms. The Convention adopted the following: "Resolved, That we approve the position taken by the government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institution of any republican government on the western hemisphere; and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States."

Neither party seems to have thought

that the Doctrine needed further indorsement until 1896, after a Democratic president had somewhat cleared the atmosphere by his vigorous action in the Venezuela boundary case. Then the Republican convention inserted the following plank in its party platform, which is not without interest in view of the events that were so soon to follow: "We reassert the Monroe Doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the Doctrine effect by responding to the appeal of any American states for friendly intervention, in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but these possessions must not on any pretext be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all the English-speaking part of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants." On the other hand the Democratic party at its convention of the same year simply modestly asserted that "The Monroe Doctrine, as originally declared and interpreted by succeeding presidents, is a permanent part of the foreign policy of the United States, and must at all times be maintained."

But before another presidential election was due, great changes had occurred. The Monroe Doctrine consists of two equally important and equally distinct parts,—non-interference on the part of the United States in any old-world affairs or politics, and a similar non-interference of the old-world powers in the affairs of the American continents. If either feature had been more urgently or strenuously maintained than the other, from the days of Washington and Jefferson to those of Lincoln, Grant, and Cleveland, it was the position of non-interference, non-*entanglement*, in old-world affairs. But in the period between 1896 and 1900 the Republican administration became elaborately entangled in such old-world affairs, notwithstanding the emphatic declaration in its platform of 1896 that it would not do so. Consequently we are not surprised at the unostentatious tribute paid to the Monroe Doctrine in the party's platform of 1900, where under the shadow of the plank relating to the South African war is worked in the following ringing pledge of loyalty: "We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine."

But by far the most important event tending to fix the status of the Monroe Doctrine was the position taken by President Cleveland in 1895 regarding the Venezuela Boundary controversy. It is

GROVER CLEVELAND.

unquestionably true that the English nation has long had a most unsavory reputation as to territorial acquisition, the national lust for more lands too often blunting the honor and warping the conscience of the people as to the conditions under which expansion is achieved. In 1821 a motion was introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States looking toward the establishment of a settlement on the Columbia river. Canning, who was then the British minister to the United States, in an interview with Mr. Adams, our Secretary of State, protested against any such action, where-

upon. Mr. Adams challenged any claim of England to any part of the shores of the Pacific. "I do not *know*," said he, "what you claim nor what you do not claim. You claim India; you claim Africa; you claim—" "A piece of the moon, perhaps," interrupted Canning. "No," said Adams, "I have not heard that you claim exclusively any part of the moon; but there is not a spot on this habitable globe that I could affirm you do not claim; and there is none which you may not claim with as much color of right as you can have to the Columbia river or its mouth." Mr. Adams knew his antagonist and spoke for a powerful nation; Venezuela had no Adams, and was not the United States. About 1814, as a result of one of the many readjustments of national lines and possessions which grew out of the Napoleonic wars, England acquired title from Holland to territory described in the treaty as "the Cape of Good Hope, and the establishments of Demarara, Essequibo, and Berbice." No limits nor bounds were mentioned, nor does it appear that any definite boundaries had ever been set to "the establishments of Demarara, Essequibo, and Berbice," which have since been known as British Guiana. Venezuela declared her independence of Spain in 1810, and a few years later united with two other of Spain's revolted colonies to form the Colombian Federal Union, which was recognized by the United States in 1822. By the dissolution of this Union in 1836, Venezuela again became a separate and independent republic, being promptly recognized as such by the United States, and other powers, though Spain delayed her recognition until 1845, when she ceded to Venezuela by the treaty the same territory which as an independent republic Venezuela had owned and possessed since 1810. But neither in the treaty nor in any other documents are the boundaries described otherwise, or more explicitly, than "as being the same as those which marked the ancient vice-royalty and captaincy-general of New Granada and Venezuela in the year 1810." As the ill-defined territory of British Guiana adjoined on the west the equally undetermined country of Venezuela, it will be readily seen that the situation was rich in possibilities for quarrels and misunderstandings, as well as for the gradual encroachment of the stronger upon the territory claimed by the weaker power.

In 1835 the British government commissioned a young man, Robert Schomburgk, to explore the strip of country obtained from Holland. He completed his survey in 1839, and took the ground in his report that, as Great Britain owned the Essequibo river, she was entitled to all the territory drained by its tributaries. He accordingly drew a line around the sources of the rivers which enter the Essequibo from the west, and urged Great Britain to claim the drainage basin of that river. This she did, and in 1840 sent Schomburgk to mark out on the ground the line he had traced on paper. This course of Great Britain, and the markings and boundary signs of Schomburgk, aroused the Venezuelans and, in 1841, a protest was made to the British government by the Venezuelan minister. This was the beginning of the boundary disputes between the two governments which were continued until 1895, with only an occasional cessation. It is, of course, impossible here to enter into the details of this long drawn out discussion, during which England constantly evaded or refused all of Venezuela's urgent requests for arbitration, while all the time allowing and encouraging British settlers to take up lands within the disputed zone; until in 1881, Lord Granville, the British foreign secretary, made the astounding reply to one of the requests of the Venezuelan minister, that in the course of five and thirty years which had elapsed since Aberdeen drew the line so many settlers had gone into the disputed country under the belief that it belonged to Great Britain, it was now impossible to deprive them "of the benefits of British rule." Lord Granville then proposed a new line far to the west of those laid down by

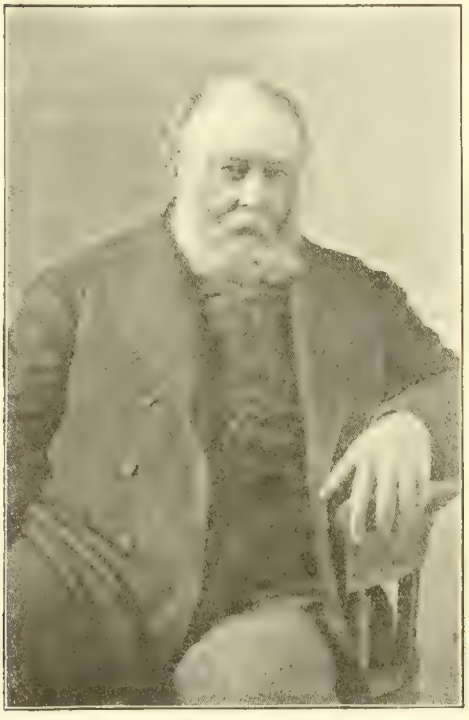
Schomburgk and Aberdeen. When one considers that, as the various despatches and notes of the Ministers show, Lord Granville's closed land was the very land which, in 1850, Great Britain admitted was in dispute, and which she solemnly declared and pledged her word she did not intend "to occupy or encroach upon;" the course of the British government becomes clearly one of persistent aggression of a powerful state against the rights of one too weak to enforce its protests, with the evident anticipation that Venezuela would be goaded to some overt act to protect her rights, when the whole country would naturally become the prey of the powerful aggressor. It should be borne in mind that the area which was now under dispute, but which Great Britain claimed arbitrarily, was no insignificant area, but covered 109,000 square miles,—a territory thirteen times larger than the State of Massachusetts. More than that, the latest aggressions of the English included the mouth of the Orinoco river, which they had begun to fortify. This, one of the largest rivers of the world, is the natural commercial highway of Venezuela, its general course being from west to east, and the whole of it lying within what had hitherto been the undisputed territory of Venezuela. With its mouth in the control of a hostile power, Venezuela naturally became helpless and all possibility of growth or development was at once destroyed. It is easy to see, therefore, that the questions at issue between the two countries, while merely side issues of no serious moment to England, involved the very life of the people of Venezuela. Finally, gold having been discovered in parts of the disputed territory, with the result that more English settlers were constantly going into the country, Lord Salisbury bluntly asserted the absolute right of Great Britain to all the territory within the Schomburgk line, graciously consenting to arbitrate as to the country west of it, regarding the ownership of which there had heretofore been no suggestion of a question. Venezuela, however, persisted in her position that all or none should be arbitrated; and as Great Britain began to fortify the territory included within the agreement of 1850, Venezuela broke off all diplomatic relations with Great Britain in 1887.

As early as 1876 the government of Venezuela had laid its case before the government at Washington, and thereafter, from time to time, sought advice and aid from the State Department of the United States, "the most powerful and the oldest of the Republics of the new continent, and called on to lend to others its powerful moral support in disputes with European Nations." Repeatedly our representative at the Court of St. James had expressed to the British government the interest of the United States in Venezuela's petitions, and repeatedly arbitration had been urged by our ministers; and finally, previous to the rupture between the two countries, Mr. Bayard, our Minister to Great Britain, formally tendered to the English government, on February 8, 1887, the good offices of the United States to promote an amicable settlement of the pending controversy, and offered our arbitration, if acceptable to both parties. A few days later, Lord Salisbury, on behalf of Great Britain, replied that the attitude which had been taken by the President of the Venezuelan Republic precluded her Majesty's government from submitting the question at that time to arbitration.

In his message to Congress on December 3, 1894, the President reviewed the whole situation and fully advised Congress as to what steps had been taken, stating further: "I shall renew the efforts heretofore made to bring about a restoration of diplomatic relations between the disputants and to induce a reference to arbitration,—a resort which Great Britain so conspicuously favors in principle and respects in practice, and which is earnestly sought by her weaker adversary." And on February 22, 1895, a joint resolution was passed by both Houses of Congress earnestly recommending to both parties in interest the

President's suggestion "that Great Britain and Venezuela refer their dispute as to boundaries to friendly arbitration."

In a lecture delivered at Princeton University upon the Venezuelan boundary controversy, and now published with other essays under the title of "Presidential Problems," President Cleveland has given his view of the situation at



LORD SALISBURY.

that time. "During a period of more than fourteen years," he says, "our government, assuming the character of a mutual and disinterested friend of both countries had, with varying assiduity, tendered its good offices to bring about a pacific and amicable settlement of this boundary controversy, only to be repelled with more or less civility by Great Britain. We had seen her pretensions in the disputed regions widen and extend in such manner and upon such pretexts as seemed to constitute an actual or threatened violation of a doctrine which our nation long ago established, declaring that the American continents are not to be considered subjects for future colonization by any European power . . . England had finally and unmistakably declared that all the territory embraced within the Schomburgk line was indisputably hers. Venezuela presented a claim to territory within the same limits, which could not be said to lack strong support. England had absolutely refused to permit Venezuela's claim to be tested by arbitration; and Venezuela was utterly powerless to resist by force England's self-pronounced decree of ownership. If this decree was not justified by facts, and it should be enforced against the protest and insistence of Venezuela and should result in the possession and colonization of Venezuelan territory by Great Britain, it seemed quite plain that the American doctrine which denies to European powers the colonization of any part of the American continent would be violated. Recreancy to a principle so fundamentally American as the Monroe Doctrine on the part of those charged with the administration of our government, was, of course, out of the question. Inasmuch, therefore, as all our efforts to avoid its assertion had miscarried, there was *nothing left for us to do* consistently with national honor but to take the place of Venezuela in the controversy, so far as that was necessary, in vindication of our American doctrine . . . In the advanced condition of the dispute, sympathy with Venezuela and solicitude for her distressed conditions could no longer constitute the motive power of our conduct, but these were to give way to the duty and obligation of protecting our own national rights."

Interesting as they are, and novel in diplomatic intercourse, it is impossible in this place to consider in detail the documents that passed between the representatives of the United States and of Great Britain relative to the situation. All this matter can be found in President Cleveland's work referred to above, and in works treating of the diplomatic relations of the United States. Suffice it to say that Secretary of State Olney pre-

pared a most exhaustive and learned presentation of the case of the United States, which was submitted to the government of Great Britain. Of this state paper Mr. Cleveland says: "The Monroe Doctrine may be abandoned; we may forfeit it by taking our lot with nations that expand by following un-American ways; we may outgrow it, as we seem to be outgrowing other things we once valued; or it may forever stand as a guaranty of protection and safety in our enjoyment of free institutions; but in no event will this American principle ever be better defined, better defended, or more bravely asserted than was done by Mr. Olney in this despatch." But in Lord Salisbury, Mr. Olney had a foeman worthy of his steel, and as men they were much alike. Not distinctly intellectual nor personally attractive, Salisbury was cool, hard-headed, and intensely *British*, and knew the diplomatic history of his country as few of his contemporaries knew it; and his reply to Mr. Olney's despatch opened up the weak points of the American position, if they were weak, and analyzed as they had not been analyzed before the underlying principles of the Monroe Doctrine. "But the circumstances with which President Monroe was dealing," said he, "and those to which the present American government is addressing itself have very few features in common. Great Britain is imposing no 'system' upon Venezuela, and is not concerning herself in anyway with the nature of the political institutions under which the Venezuelans may prefer to live. But the British Empire and the Republic of Venezuela are neighbors, and they have differed for some time past, and continue to differ, as to the line by which their dominions are separated. It is a controversy with which the United States have no apparent concern . . . The disputed frontier of Venezuela has nothing to do with any of the questions dealt with by President Monroe." And again referring to the Monroe Doctrine he says: "It must always be mentioned with respect on account of the distinguished statesman to whom it is due, and the great nation who have generally adopted it. *But international law is founded on the general consent of nations;* and no statesman, however eminent, and no nation, however powerful, are competent to insert into the code of international law a novel principle which was never recognized before, and which has not since been accepted by the government of any other country. The United States have a right, like any other nation, to interpose in any controversy by which their own interests are affected; and they are the judge whether those interests are touched, and in what measure they should be sustained. But their rights are in no way strengthened or extended by the fact that the controversy affects some territory which is called American."

RICHARD OLNEY.

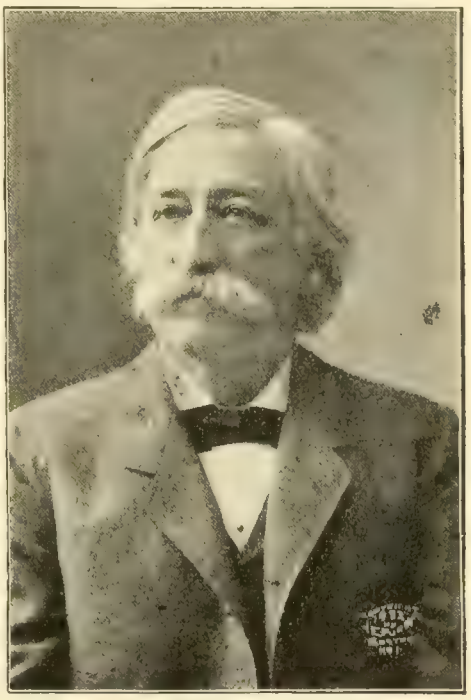
On December 17, 1895, Mr. Olney's despatch and Lord Salisbury's reply were submitted to Congress, accompanied by a message from the President, whose emphatic and peremptory character startled the world, and seriously tried the faith and loyalty of Mr. Cleveland's staunchest friends. Referring to the Monroe Doctrine the President said: "Without at-

tempting extended argument in reply to these (Lord Salisbury's) positions, it may not be amiss to suggest that the doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound, because its enforcement is important to our peace and safety as a nation, and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions, and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government. *It was intended to apply to every stage of our national life, and cannot become obsolete while our Republic endures.* If the balance of power is justly a cause for jealous anxiety among the governments of the old world and a subject for our absolute noninterference, none the less is the observance of the Monroe Doctrine of vital concern to our people and government." Considering then the absolute refusal of the English government to arbitrate the questions at issue, the President suggested that there was but one course open to the government of the United States, and that was to determine for itself what the true line of division between Venezuela and British Guiana should be, and then to act in accordance with such definite knowledge; and to accomplish that end he advised the appointment of a commission, which should proceed to determine for the guidance of the American nation just what the rights of the two antagonized countries were. "When such report is made and accepted," he said, "it will, in my opinion, be the *duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory, which, after investigation, we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela.* In making these recommendations, *I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred, and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow.* I am, nevertheless, firm in my conviction that while it is a grievous thing to contemplate the two great English-speaking peoples of the world as being otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march of civilization, and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice, and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor, beneath which are shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness."

The recommendations of the President were acted upon with remarkable unanimity and promptitude in Congress, a bill authorizing the appointment of the proposed commission and an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars for the necessary expenses, being passed by the House on the day after the receipt of the message and by the Senate three days later. On January 1st following the President appointed these commissioners to act under the law: Associate Justice, D. J. Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court; R. H. Alvey, Ch. Justice of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia; Andrew D. White, Ex-United States Minister to Germany and to Russia; D. C. Gilman, President of Johns Hopkins University; and Hon. F. R. Coudert of New York, one of the highest authorities on Roman law. But the sentiment of the best Englishmen had been aroused and influences were brought to bear that caused the government of Great Britain to reconsider its position with the result that the atmosphere of the British foreign office daily became more mellow, and arbitration constantly became more and more imminent. On February 27, 1896, in a note to Lord Salisbury, after speaking of arbitration as seeming to be "almost unanimously desired by both the United States and Great Britain," our Ambassador to England proposed an entrance forthwith upon negotiations at Washington to effect this purpose. On March 3d, Lord Salisbury replied concurring in the suggestion of the United States government, and empowering Sir Julian Pauncefote "to discuss the question either with the representative of Venezuela or with the government of the United States, acting

as the friend of Venezuela." In the negotiations that followed England abandoned the position that the territory within the Schomburgk line should not be questioned, only insisting that, whatever the award, English settlers long in occupancy of the disputed territory should have their rights scrupulously considered. To meet these claims it was agreed that adverse holdings or prescription during a period of fifty years should make a good title. By the Provisional Treaty between Great Britain and Venezuela of February, 1897, it had been agreed that the Court of Arbitration should consist of five members,—two to be named by and act on behalf of Great Britain; two to act on behalf of Venezuela, one of whom was to be named by the President of Venezuela and the other by the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States; while the fifth, who should act as the president of the court, should be named by the other four, or in default of their action or agreement, by King Oscar of Sweden and Norway. The arbitrators named by England were Lord Chief Justice Russell and Sir Richard Collins, one of the Justices of her Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature; on behalf of Venezuela, the president of that country named Chief Justice Fuller, of the Supreme Court of the United States, while the Justices of that Court selected the Hon. D. J. Brewer; and these distinguished jurists elected as the fifth member of the court and its presiding officer, Hon. Frederic de Martens, Privy Councillor and Permanent Member of the Council of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia. By the third article of the Treaty establishing the Tribunal and its powers, it was provided: "The Tribunal shall investigate and ascertain the extent of the territories belonging to, or which might lawfully be claimed by, the United Netherlands, or by the Kingdom of Spain, respectively, at the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the Colony of British Guiana, and shall determine the boundary-line between the Colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela."

By the final article of the Treaty "The High Contracting Parties" engaged "to consider the result of the proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration as a full, perfect, and final settlement of all questions referred to the arbitrators." The Tribunal began its sittings at Paris, on June 15, 1899, and its decision, which was said to have been unanimous, was announced on October 3, 1899. This verdict was largely in the nature of a compromise, but was most emphatically favorable to Venezuela, when that country's interests were viewed in the light of the claims of Great Britain. A large proportion of the territory within the famous Schomburgk line, which Lord Salisbury had claimed absolutely and refused to arbitrate, was restored to Venezuela; while the complete control of the Orinoco river was secured to that country as well as important rights in the Amakuru and Barima rivers, whose naviga-



Photo, Copyright 1907 *by J. E. Purdy, Boston.*
MELVILLE W. FULLER.

tion Great Britain had claimed to control absolutely.

Thus ended what threatened to be one of the most deplorable political complications of the century with peace and some honor, at least, for all parties. By a bold and determined adherence to a long maintained sentiment of national policy, the United States was able to check the aggressions of a powerful nation on the rights of a weaker, which had for years appealed to our government for its aid in its defenseless position. But while doing a merciful and just act a great principle of national policy was so firmly established that it is hardly probable it will ever be seriously questioned again by any European Power. In his recent address (July, 1908) before the Naval War College at Newport, R. I., President Roosevelt, in his enthusiasm over his favorite theme of a greater, and yet greater navy, declared that the Monroe Doctrine never received the recognition of any great Powers until we began building our great navy of battleships. As a matter of fact, however, before the keel of the first of our modern warships had been laid the fact that the Monroe Doctrine stands as the cardinal principle of the American foreign policy and as such must be respected in spirit and in letter had, after serious and hostile deliberation, been recognized and respected by the nation of all others of the world the most able to dispute its power and standing. Moreover since the memorable Venezuelan case many other and strong indorsements of the effectiveness of the Doctrine have been added to those already conceded. Not the least of these was the virtual acceptance of the standing of the Monroe Doctrine and its position as what must be recognized as an "unwritten law" of nations, was the final agreement of all the nations represented at the first Hague Conference that the representatives of the United States government should be allowed to sign each of the Conventions arrived at with the following proviso: "Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or policy or internal administration of any foreign state, nor shall anything contained in the said Convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions." And it was more than an international courtesy that led Germany, in 1901, when she proposed to use forcible means to collect the claims of some of her subjects against Venezuela, first to inform the government of the United States, through her Ambassador at Washington, of her purpose to take such action, but that the "German Government had no purpose or intention to make even the smallest acquisition of territory on the South American Continent, or the islands adjacent."

Therefore, notwithstanding Lord Salisbury's dictum that International Law is founded on the general consent of nations, and no statesman however eminent, and no nation however, powerful are competent to insert into its code a novel principle "which was never recognized before, and which has not since been accepted by the government of any other country;" we are prone to believe that the verdict of history will be that this "novel principle," the Monroe Doctrine, worked over and out by John Quincy Adams, voiced by President Monroe, was, after seventy years of a doubtful meaning and existence, given real life and an unquestioned position as an unwritten principle of international law by the honest, forceful, and clear-sighted statesmanship of Grover Cleveland.

XLVII.

THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII — 1898.

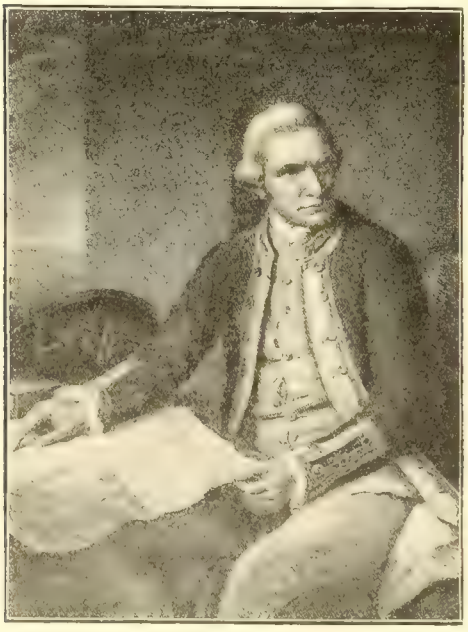
Sandwich Islands Unknown When American Independence Declared.— Discovery by Captain Cook, 1778.— His Experience With Natives.— Descriptions of Islands.— Highest Volcanoes in World.— Notable Eruptions.— Princess Kapiolani Defies Pele, Goddess of Volcanoes.— Three Periods of Hawaiian History.— Origin of Native People.— Physical Characteristics. — Their Religion and Superstition.— The Tabu.— Pastimes of People.— Native Poetry. — Vancouver's Influence.— Introduction of Rum.— Kamehameha I.— Conquers Other Chiefs. — Established Central Government.— Overthrow of Idolatry by People.— Arrival of Missionaries.— Intense Interest of People in Education.— Continuous Interference of Foreign Powers.— The "New Kaahumanu."— Formation of Written Language.— First Constitution.— Independence Recognized by United States, France, and England.— Comparison of Census Statistics.— Steady Growth of American Party.— Statement of Liliuokalani.— Early Movements Toward Annexation.— Hostility of English.— First Treaty With United States.— Kalakaua.— Crisis on Accession of Liliuokalani.— Establishment of Provisional Government.— Negotiations with Government of United States.— The Joint Resolution of Congress.— Final Cession to United States.

"Some unsuspected isle in far-off seas."— BROWNING.

IT is an interesting fact that when, in 1898, the Hawaiian islands were annexed to the United States territory was added to the national domain whose very existence was unknown at the time the Declaration of Independence was made, and the people of the thirteen original states began their struggle for a separate political existence. Moreover it seems well-nigh incredible that for more than two hundred years a great number of navigators should have cruised between the west coast of America and the east coast of Asia, and yet never have sighted so extensive and prominent a group of islands; for they were no low-lying lands which might easily be passed by unless one ran very close to their shores, but were conspicuously marked by some of the loftiest mountains of the western hemisphere, which were visible for many miles in every direction. Yet there seems to be no trustworthy evidence that until the last quarter of the eighteenth century they were ever visited or even sighted.

One of the earliest traditions of the people of Hawaii relates that sometime between the years 1525 and 1530 a small vessel was wrecked on the coast of one of the islands. Only the captain and his sister reached the shore in safety, when they knelt for a long time in prayer, and were found in this attitude by the natives, who received them kindly and ministered to all their wants. According to the Spanish historians about that time Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico, fitted out several exploring expeditions, one of which, consisting of three vessels under the command of Alvarado de Saavedra,

sailed from Lacatula for the Moluccas, October 31, 1527. When the squadron was about five thousand miles from port the vessels were separated by a fierce storm, and the two smaller ones were never heard from. As most of the severe gales of that region come from the southwest, which would drive a disabled vessel directly toward Hawaii, and as the Spaniards were the only white people navigating the Pacific at that period, it has come to be believed that the small vessel wrecked on the Kona coast was one of the missing vessels of Saavedra's fleet. According to the same tradition the captain and his sister settled among the natives, and their descendants were among the leading chiefs of later days, and have been marked even down to recent times by their different racial characteristics. There is evidence, too, that a Spanish navigator, Jean Galtano, visited the islands about thirty years later, though no distinct record of the event has been found. In the year 1743 the British ship



CAPTAIN COOK.

of war, "Centurion," under command of Lord Anson, cruised in the southern Pacific on the lookout for Spanish galleons; and in the account of his "Voyages" it is cited as a "remarkable" fact "that by the concurrent testimony of all Spanish navigators, there is not one port nor even a tolerable road as yet found out between the Philippine islands and the coast of California; so that from the time the Manila ship first loses sight of land she never lets go her anchor till she arrives on the coast of California." It is evident, therefore, that none of these islands were known to the navigators of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries; and so were truly *discovered* by Captain Cook. He was then making the third of his remarkable voyages, having sailed from Bolabola, one of the Society islands, December 8, 1777, in an effort to find a northern passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. On Sunday, January 18, 1778, he reached the island of Oahu, and then visited other islands of the group. The simple natives, who had never seen a white man nor any such vessels, were thrown into a state of the greatest consternation and perplexity; and in their excitement and fear crowded the heights above the shore to watch every movement of the strange visitors. The majority of the people regarded Captain Cook as the incarnation of their absent god, Lono, whose return was expected as a result of an ancient prophecy, while the crews of his two vessels were looked upon as supernatural beings. Messengers were sent to the other islands to inform the chiefs of the arrival of these strangers, who were thus described: "The men are white; their skin is loose and folding; their heads are angular; fire and smoke issue from their mouths; they have openings in the sides of their bodies into which they thrust their hands and draw out iron, beads, nails, and other treasures." From this description it is evident that the natives, who knew nothing of clothes, regarded those worn by the Englishmen as their skin, which was "loose and folding;" and that when they put their hands into the pockets of their clothes, the natives thought they actually thrust them into "the sides of their

bodies." On February 1, 1778, Lt. Gore and twenty men landed, taking on shore three goats, a boar, and a sow pig of English breed, as well as seeds of melons, pumpkins, and onions. As the weather was very stormy they were obliged to remain on shore two nights, and were most hospitably entertained by the natives. On February 3, Cook with his two vessels continued his voyage to the coast of Alaska, Bering straits, and the Arctic ocean, until stopped by the ice fields, when he returned to winter in the islands he had discovered, arriving November 26th. Again he was received as a god. Sacrifices were offered to him, and he and his followers were loaded with gifts, many of which were of great value, they giving only some trinkets in return. As there were no metals on the island any scraps of iron, old nails, or the commonest tools were eagerly sought after. The distinctive marks of rank among the chiefs, and the insignia of royalty, were most costly feather cloaks. Their groundwork was a fine netting of native hemp, to which small and very delicate feathers of a bright yellow color were attached so as to overlay each other and form a soft and smooth surface. These choice yellow feathers were taken from somewhat rare birds that have one little tuft of the feathers under each wing, which gives some idea of the value that must have been represented in such cloaks. That worn by the great king Kamehameha I. is said to have busied nine generations of kings in its making. Five of these almost priceless garments were presented to Captain Cook at one time, for which, in return, he graciously presented the generous donor with a "linen shirt and a cutlass." After a few weeks, however, the natives began to realize that the Englishmen were very human, and that they were carrying a heavy burden; while with the Anglo-Saxon's usual contempt for an inferior race, Cook and his men grossly abused the confidence and friendship of the people. As matters were assuming a serious aspect, the English determined to get a chief on board one of the vessels, and hold him as a hostage. But the suspicions of the natives had been aroused, and the attempt to abduct the chief led to a serious quarrel, during which Captain Cook was stabbed in the back by one of the men, who used a large iron knife which one of the Englishmen had brought in. Captain Cook's followers then opened fire on the natives and in the skirmish seventeen of them were killed, including five chiefs. After this encounter, which had resulted in the loss of their commander, the British left the islands, February 25, 1779, sailing for the Arctic ocean.

The Sandwich islands as they were named by Captain Cook in honor of his patron the Earl of Sandwich, then First Lord of the British Admiralty; or the Hawaiian islands as they were called by the natives after the largest of the group and are now officially known, lie at the present "cross-roads" of all Pacific ocean travel and commerce. They are about 2,100 miles from San Francisco, 2,300 from Seattle or Victoria, 2,500 from Manila, 4,650 from Panama and the proposed canal, and 6,400 from Cape Horn. All steamers, of which there are now several lines from San Francisco to Japan, China, Australia, and the Philippines, as well as the English lines from Vancouver and Victoria to Australia and New Zealand, make regular stops at Honolulu. There are seven inhabited, and six or eight small, uninhabited islands in the group. The largest is Hawaii, which is also the most easterly, and is ninety miles in length by seventy in breadth. The islands all lie just within the Tropics, between latitudes 18° and 23° north. They extend from Hawaii in a northwesterly direction for a distance of about 380 miles in the following order, which is very nearly, also, their order in size: Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Oahu,—on the south side of which is situated the capital city, Honolulu,—Kaui, Niihau, and the small island of Lanai, lying just south of Molokai and west of Maui.

All these islands are of volcanic or coral formation, and present a great

variety of physical conditions, as of climate, soil, etc. On Hawaii are the two highest island mountains in the world,—Mauna Loa, near the centre of the island, rising to the height of 13,765 feet above the sea, and Mauna Kea, about twenty miles north of Mauna Loa, with an altitude of 13,805 feet; while Mauna Loa and Kilauea, about twenty miles east, are the largest active volcanoes on the globe. Ocean soundings made around the island reveal a depth of from seven

CRATER OF KILAUEA VOLCANO.

teen to twenty thousand feet within four miles of the shore. This would mean that, if the bed of the ocean could be laid bare, one would see Mauna Loa rising to a height of over thirty thousand feet. All the islands are, in fact, but the tops or table lands of a submerged range of volcanic mountains. There have been six or seven eruptions of Mauna Loa during the last century, the most notable ones being those of 1855, 1880, and 1885. They have all been of a similar character, and have usually occurred without any premonitions of earthquakes or subterraneous noises,—as quietly as the moon rises. Lights are first seen on the summit, which steadily increase until the whole country becomes illuminated, so that it has been possible to read a book at night at a distance of several miles from the volcano. Then fires burst forth lower down the sides of the mountain, usually at about eleven thousand feet above sea level, and play like a fountain to a height of from two hundred to one thousand feet. At the same time streams of lava pour through huge fissures, merging into a river of fire from a mile to two and a half miles wide, which flows towards the sea. Frequently the flow is rapid, the stream reaching a velocity of ten miles an hour; at other times it spreads out into great lakes, making little progress for days. These streams, of course, destroy everything in their path. In 1880 the flow continued for nine months, and the stream stopped a half mile only from the beautiful town of Hilo. In 1885 the duration of the flow was fifteen months, but its course was fortunately toward the ocean. In 1887 a stream of molten lava broke through a fissure in the mountain about seven thousand feet above sea-level, and reached the ocean, twenty miles distant, in three days. But the most frightful and awe-inspiring of all known volcanoes is Kilauea, which all scientists and most travelers visit, though its crater is reached with difficulty. It is really a foot-hill of Mauna Loa, and has an altitude of only about four thousand feet. A hotel has been built close to the edge of the crater from which most of the horrors and phenomena of the region

can be seen. One can look down into the great crater, which is nine miles in circumference and six hundred feet deep, stretching out like a great plateau with perpendicular walls. "The floor of this vast pit," says a distinguished traveler, "is covered with black lava hills in gigantic forms and irregular shapes, piled up in endless confusion, while the level portion is crossed by many cracks and fissures, from which jets of hot steam and sulphuric vapors are constantly arising." But the most remarkable feature of this Inferno is the ever active lake of molten lava, about three miles distant from the entrance to the crater at the hotel. To reach this one descends about three hundred feet from the floor of the crater into an inner pit, and so may come near enough to the burning mass to stir it with a stick. The same writer quoted above says: "In this great bed we saw a volume of liquid fire, like molten iron, moving to and fro, surging and hissing like a sea in a storm. Conducted by the guide I went across a thin shell of lava burning the soles of the feet, and over crevices through which the livid fire could be seen only a few inches down, until I came to the edge of the cone-shaped wall that confined the liquid mass of some twenty acres or more. The heat was intense, as the lake of fire, boiling like a cauldron, covered in places with a hard crust separated by great lanes of fire, surged and rolled its heavy surf against its enclosing walls. The whole surface was constantly changing, fountains were playing at many points, and liquid tongues of fire would leap up as the congealed surfaces would meet with a crash, and new lanes form, sometimes opening clear across the lake. As daylight faded away the walls of the pit began to glow with the reflection of the volcanic fires, and the heavy gases hung in clouds like reflectors in the star-lit sky. As the darkness deepened, the light from the lava grew brighter, while the jets and surges of molten fire continued without intermission, fountains of liquid fire shooting up thirty feet. The peculiar sullen or angry roar of the fiery surf was distinctly heard, sometimes like the noise of cannon or rattling fire of musketry." In the whole interior of the crater, the atmosphere is filled with myriads of thread-like filaments of lava resembling twisted hair, the products of volcanic fires,—a product similar to blown glass. This is known as "Pele's hair," Pele being the goddess of the volcano and its fires.

Like most of the early peoples, or people in a semi-savage state, the Hawaiians had a special god or goddess who was identified with every force of nature; and this goddess of the subterraneous fires was worshiped with a reverence and awe proportioned to her supposed powers for evil, as manifested in the frightful and destructive eruptions of Mauna Loa and Kilauea, with which the natives were only too familiar. The abode of the goddess was in the lake of fire in Kilauea's crater, and certain berries that grew near the crater were sacred to her. To break the force of their superstitious beliefs was the first effort of the missionaries to the people; and to aid in this work, one of the noblest acts of heroism anywhere recorded was performed by the Princess Kapiolani after her conversion to Christianity. Although tradition says that her previous life had been marked by excesses of intemperance and licentiousness she was one of the first to renounce the old gods and idols, and yield to the purifying and elevating influences of the Gospel of Christ, thus greatly aiding the missionaries in their work not only by the influence of her high rank but by the more potent force of her changed life. To demonstrate to her people that their old gods had no power, either for good or for evil, she determined to attack one of the most deep-seated of their superstitions and fears. Accordingly public announcement was made in December, 1824, that she would go to the very abode of the goddess Pele, there eat her sacred berries, and openly defy her. The more deeply to interest the people in her act and the better to advertise her purpose, and in the face of the most strenuous opposi-

tion of her husband and friends, she journeyed on foot from Kealakekua on the west coast more than half way around the island, a distance of about one hundred and twenty miles. After reaching Kilauea she spent the night with friends just outside the crater. The next morning she and her company of about eighty persons descended into the crater and approached the burning lake. There, in full view of its terrifying activity, she ate the sacred berries and threw stones into the lake of fire, saying: "Jehovah is my God. He kindles these fires. I fear not Pele. If I perish by her anger then you may fear Pele; but if I trust in Jehovah and He preserves me when breaking her *tabus,* then you must fear and serve Him alone." "Then," says the historian, "they united in singing a hymn of praise to the true God, and knelt in adoration to the Creator and Governor of the Universe." To an intelligent person of this civilized age and country, the act of this heroic woman does not seem remarkable. But when one considers that from her earliest childhood, until within two years of the time of her act, she had been taught and had firmly believed that with this Pele lay the power not only of smiting her with instant death, but also of spreading death and destruction among her people as a punishment of her impious act; and when one also considers that the defiance was made amid physical surroundings that seemed the very "jaws of hell," and were calculated to suggest diabolical power and presence even to people who had outgrown all superstition —even Luther threw his inkstand at the devil,—one can but marvel at her faith in her newly found God, which inspired her with such superhuman courage and love. Hers was certainly as it has been called "one of the greatest acts of moral courage ever performed." Nor did her zeal diminish; but throughout the remaining seventeen years of her life she labored earnestly for the moral uplifting of her people. And at her death, in 1841, it was said of her: "This nation has lost one of its brightest ornaments. She was confessedly the most Christian, the most civilized in her manners, and the most thoroughly read in the Bible of all the chiefs this nation ever had. The hand of God is to be seen in the consistent life for twenty years of this child of a degraded paganism."

The history of the Hawaiian people divides itself naturally into three distinct and well defined periods. 1st. From the earliest reliable records or traditions to the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook, in 1778. 2d. From the discovery by Captain Cook to the advent of the missionaries in 1820, which is known as the "Period of Conquest," and includes the most notable reign of Hawaiian history,—that of Kamehameha the Great, who subdued all the other chiefs of the islands, and united the people under one wise and strong ruler. This centralization of power, together with the abolition of idolatry and the *tabu system,* which took place early in his son's reign, prepared the way for the introduction of Christianity. 3d. From 1820 to the annexation of the islands to the United States.

As a multitude of works have been written which cover the second and third periods, and which are, therefore, more familiar to the general reader, we shall use the limited space which the plan of this work allows to especially illustrate the character of the people during the first period and the conditions then existing, of which it is much more difficult to obtain any reliable and detailed account, —merely giving a general outline, or rapid survey, of the events and movements of the second and third periods.

Some fourteen or fifteen centuries ago there was, it is believed, a migration of people from the East Indian Archipelago into the Pacific ocean, the first point of settlement having been the island of Savaii, in the Samoan group. From this central point these people were gradually dispersed over all the islands of the eastern Pacific, from New Zealand to Hawaii; and for a long time they have been classed as one race,—the Polynesian.

Quite recently these people have been called by ethnologists Sawaioris, a compound word made up of the first, middle, and last syllables of *Sa*-moa, Ha-*wai*-i, and Ma-*ori;* and it is by this name that they are now most commonly designated. The earliest migration has generally been placed at about the fifth century after Christ; but when the settlements of the other islands followed there is no consensus of opinion. It is practically certain, however, that the people whom Captain Cook found at Hawaii belonged to this race, and had a very ancient lineage. All that transpired in their history during the intervening centuries is simply a matter of conjecture, or legendary, though there are many evidences that a more or less frequent intercourse was kept up by the Hawaiians with the fatherland of Samoa and with Tahiti, so that the people became skillful and daring navigators. As a people the Sawaioris have common characteristics, physically the Hawaiian not differing materially from his brothers of Samoa, or the Maoris of New Zealand. All authorities agree that they were an exceptionally large and well-developed people, the average height of the men being placed at five feet and nine or ten inches; and a skeleton has been found in a catacomb at Waimea, which is six feet seven and three-quarters inches in length. In his great work on the "Human Species," de Quatrefages, in a table giving the stature of different races of men, shows that the natives of Samoa and Tonga are the largest people in the world. They are generally described as of a brown color, with straight black hair and very little beard; their features are fairly regular, eyes invariably black, lips of medium thickness, noses short and wide at the base, with foreheads high, but rather narrow. The native Hawaiians presented marked contrasts of character, possessing great strength and boldness, yet being indolent and servile. Every act of their lives was hedged about by religious observances and ceremonials, yet they were cannibals and licentious beyond almost any other known people. Chastity and common morality were practically unknown among them; yet their history presents not infrequent instances of an affectionate and generous disposition, capable of making great sacrifices for the good of others. Their religion was such as to degrade and corrupt a people rather than elevate them; and the fact that so many attractive and amiable qualities survived its debasing and vicious influences, is the best evidence of a naturally better character as their birth-right.

In their social life there were three distinct and fixed ranks, or castes,—the nobility, the religious orders, and the common people. The King had absolute power over the lives, services, and property of all his subjects. The chiefs served, when the King so desired, as a sort of advisory council; and these assemblies furnished the occasion for the most powerful displays of native eloquence which was always greatly appreciated by the people. The kingly office was hereditary in the royal family, though the sovereign could name his successor; and in default of heirs, the chiefs chose the king from among those of highest rank. Each island had its king; and the chiefs were the head-men of districts, and his immediate vassals. In theory, and generally in practice, the King was the owner of all the land, which he subdivided among the chiefs, and they again among their followers and the people, who were mere tenants at will. The person of the King and his chiefs was sacred, and they were held in the highest reverence. As a native historian has said: "It was death for a common man to remain standing at the mention of the King's name in song or when the King's food, drinking water, or clothing was carried past; to put on any article of dress belonging to him; to enter his enclosure without permission; or even to cross his shadow, or that of his house. If he entered the dreadful presence of the sovereign he must crawl, prone on the ground, and leave it in the same man-

ner." This reverence for the kingly office became a most important factor in the introduction of Christianity, as the chiefs were among the first converts, and the people were easily led to follow them, at least so far as form was concerned.

The early religion presents a very interesting but very complex subject for study. As has been said, it affected practically every act of the lives of the people. There was first among the gods, "Essential and uncreated," a trinity,—Kaue, Ku, and Lono. "Kaue was held superior to the others, and was benevolent in his character; Ku was the essence of darkness and cruelty; while Lono was more closely associated with the human." Of lesser divinities the number was legion. Earth, Seas, and Air were full of them. They were present in all the phenomena of nature; the families had their tutelary gods,—a kind of ancestor worship; and every trade or occupation, even the thieves and gamblers, had a special deity. Human sacrifices were offered on special occasions, such as the dedication of a temple, the launching of a war canoe, the building of a chief's house, or the sickness of a King or Queen. Of the religious customs, that which most directly affected the people was the *Tabu,* which served every conceivable purpose. A piece of land was *tabued,* and it was a capital offense to enter it; one having a debt against another could have his house *tabued,* and no one could leave or enter it until the debt was paid, and the *tabu* lifted. There were regular *tabu* seasons, sacred to the gods, when every fire or light on the island, or in a particular district, must be extinguished; no canoe could be launched; no one could bathe, and no individual, except the priests, must be seen on the streets, or out of doors; even the dog must not bark, nor the pig squeak, nor the cock crow, lest the *tabu* should be broken, and fail to accomplish its purpose. The temples and idols and the persons of the principal chiefs were always *tabu,*—that is, sacred, and not to be touched. The *tabu* ruled the family, too, and was largely responsible for the destruction of anything resembling family life. It was *tabu* for any woman, even the highest, to eat with any man, or to eat of food prepared in the same oven, or to partake at any time of pork, bananas, cocoanut, turtle, and certain kinds of fish; and one author has found evidence that this *tabu* extended to fowls, and every animal ever sacrificed,—except in cases of special indulgence. As hogs and fowls were the only animals on the islands, and cereals were unknown, the diet allowed to women must have been extremely meagre. When the Princess Kapiolani, whose later heroic defiance of the goddess Pele has already been mentioned, was a girl, she and a companion rebelled against this *tabu,* and determined to eat a banana, one of the most common fruits on the islands. They rushed into the water, concealing the banana in their hands, and ate it when some distance from the shore. Unfortunately a priest chanced to see them and their act, and the young girls were condemned therefor to degradation of rank, and perpetual poverty and celibacy. Influence, however, was apparently brought to bear on the priest, who suggested an expiatory sacrifice. A young boy, a favorite page of Kapiolani's, was seized and strangled; whereupon the sentence upon the offenders themselves was annulled.

That conjugal love was comparatively weak among the Hawaiians may be easily inferred from what has already been said. Other evidences of it may be found in the frequency of divorce, as the tenure of the marriage relation depended entirely upon the will of the husband; and in the practice of infanticide, which was everywhere prevalent. This was usually accomplished by burying the little babe alive; and one of the best authorities on Hawaiian customs estimates that two-thirds of the offspring of the common people were destroyed in this manner. As it was more commonly the female babes that were so disposed of, there was always a great excess of males in the population. Considering all these con-

ditions and the additional effects of the heat of the tropics and the fact that little, and often no clothing was worn by either sex, it is hardly surprising that chastity, as it is regarded among civilized peoples, had but little foot-hold among the natives. In this connection, however, it may be observed that one of the highest authorities on anthropology (Waitz) remarks that the absence of clothing among native people is not in itself a mark of immodesty; nor is its adoption due to a sense of shame, but rather to the need of protection or the desire for ornamentation; a truth which is illustrated by the story, recorded by the Rev. Dr. Anderson, of the Hawaiian who, having been rebuked by a missionary for appearing in his house nearly naked, added to his slight attire on his next visit a pair of stockings and a hat.

And yet with all these dark and ugly phases of their lives and customs there is abundant evidence that there were many of the people whose characters exhibited bright glimmerings of "sweetness and light," and who were in all respects beyond the confines of savagery. We are told that many were very brave, and thought little of self-sacrifice for others, where duty or family honor were concerned; and it would be difficult to find a nobler illustration of this than the following anecdote offers: "Some lads belonging to two villages fell out, and began stone throwing. One of them, who was the son of a chief, was struck and, it was feared, killed. As soon as this was known to the young men of his village they armed themselves in order to go to the other village to seek reparation according to the custom of the times, by killing some one of the family of the boy who had thrown the stone. A report that they were coming preceded them, and a young man, a cousin of the boy, in order to prevent a fight, quietly walked out of the village to meet the avengers of blood. When he met them he calmly said, 'You are coming to avenge your brother. I am brother to the boy who killed him. Do not go farther. Kill me and be avenged so that our villages may remain at peace.' His conduct somewhat disconcerted the avenging party; and by the timely arrival of a Christian teacher matters were settled without bloodshed." The Hawaiians, when not restrained by their *tabu,* were a light-hearted and generally joyous people, as most children of the sun and the sea are. They entered into all sports, of which they had many, with genuine enthusiasm. On all the islands there were occasional markets and fairs for the purpose of trade, as well as to discuss national affairs; while an annual festival, the *Makahiki,* was held in the autumn of each year. At these meetings games and contests were given an important place. Boxing, foot-racing, bowling, wrestling, surf-bathing, a species of tobogganing, throwing and catching the spear, the shooting of mice with bow and arrow, and checkers were all freely indulged in; while the children played "cat's cradle," walked on stilts, spun tops, and were fond of kite-flying. Moreover Vancouver, who visited the islands three times, 1792-93-94, says that he witnessed a sort of drama or operatic performance in several acts, describing incidents in the lives of members of the royal family, which was "supported with a wonderful degree of vivacity and spirit." Dancing was a favorite pastime, and also held an important place in their religious rites. Unfortunately many of these dances were such as to degrade the people, the worst of them being the lascivious and infamous *hula hula* dance, which has put a stigma on the Hawaiian name throughout the civilized world.

The people were also deeply interested in oratorical efforts and have been called natural orators and politicians. The husband of Kapiolani, after the islands had all been brought under one rule by Kamehameha I., attained great celebrity as the "National" orator. Their legends and historical tales were handed down from generation to generation by professional singers and story-tellers who were attached to the retinue of the leading chiefs. As among nearly all primitive peo-

ples the Hawaiian bards were highly esteemed and reverenced, and the people's love of poetry and song found expression through them. The native poetry, of which they were passionately fond, had no rhyme or meter, but the poems consisted of short musical sentences or lines, divided into bars or measures with particular attention to the accent and cadence of the final words. Much of their poetry was of a dreamy, half minor tone and covered every expression of feeling, from the religious chants and prayers, and love songs, to dirges and lamentations for the dead. As an illustration of their poetry, we give a passage from a poem in memory of Chief Keeaumoku, the father-in-law of the great Kamehameha, which has been preserved by one of the missionaries:

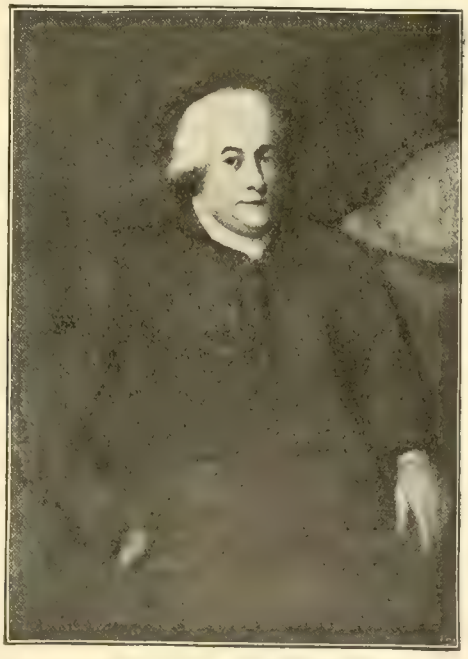
Auwe, auwe, ua mate tuu alii,
Ua mate tuu hatu, tuu hoa,
Tuu hoa i ta wa o ta wi
Tuu hoa i paa ta aina
Tuu hoa i tuu ilihune
Tuu hoa i ta ua me ta matani
Tuu hoa i ta wela o ta la,
Tuu hoa i ta anu o ta mauna,
Tuu hoa i ta ino
Tuu hoa i ta malie
Tuu hoa i na tai ewalu
Auwe, auwe, ua hola tuu hoa,
Aohe e hoi mai!

Alas, alas, dead is my chief,
Dead is my lord and my friend;
My friend in the season of famine
My friend in the time of drought
My friend in my poverty,
My friend in the rain and the wind,
My friend in the heat and the sun,
My friend in the cold from the mountain,
My friend in the storm
My friend in the calm,
My friend in the eight seas.
Alas, alas, gone is my friend,
And no more will return.

During the second period of their history, the Hawaiian Islands came to be well known to navigators, and through them to the countries from which they came. Early in the period, too, the islands became the rendezvous of the great whaling fleets, so that there were often several foreign vessels in their ports at the same time. Frequently some of the sailors deserted, or were purposely left on the islands, so that there gradually grew up a foreign element among the people of the roughest and most dissolute character. For several years after Captain Cook set sail there were no visitors. During the years 1786-9 several English and French captains arrived and traded with the natives, without unpleasant incidents. But in 1789 Captain Metcalf, an American, came into port with two vessels. He began at once to quarrel with the people, and it was not many days before one of his boats was stolen. To retaliate, he induced a great number of the natives to come out to his ship with supplies, which he proposed to buy. But no sooner had he massed them on one side of the vessel than he opened a broadside from his guns, sinking the canoes, and killing more than one hundred natives. The survivors then seized his smaller vessel, which was commanded by his son, and massacred everyone on board excepting the mate, Isaac Davis, whose life was spared. The boatswain, John Young, happening to be on shore, was detained. Captain Metcalf soon left the islands. But Davis and Young remained among the people, and being both possessed of strong and clean characters, soon achieved positions of influence. Both became chiefs, and were close and trusted advisers of Kamehameha during his wars of conquest, and in the settlement of his kingdom. In 1792 Captain George Vancouver arrived at Hawaii. Remembering their recent experiences, the natives received him coldly, and with well-marked suspicion. His coming has, however, been held to mark an era in the development of the country. He soon gained the confidence of chiefs and people alike, and made determined and continued efforts to restore peace among the warring leaders, to rid the people of many of their superstitions, and in every way to en-

lighten and elevate them. Between 1792-95 Vancouver made three successive visits, being received each time with increased favor. Of his last visit a native writer says: "Vancouver and his men were regarded as the guests of the nation, and treated with unbounded hospitality. He gave the King much valuable advice in regard to his intercourse with foreigners, the management of his kingdom, the discipline of his troops, etc. He also told him of the one true God, Creator and Governor of all mankind; that their *tabu* system was wrong; and that he would ask the King of England to send him a teacher of the true religion." It would certainly have been fortunate for the Hawaiians had the Englishman Vancouver preceded the Englishman Cook and the American Metcalf! One of Vancouver's greatest benefactions was a liberal gift of sheep and cattle. Up to this time the only animals on the islands were native hogs, dogs, and mice, with some fowls,—all of which seem to have been brought in at the time of the first migration. There were even no wild animals, nor serpents, nor any creeping things, save one species of lizard. When Vancouver presented his sheep and cattle, he wisely had them *tabued* for ten years, so that they should have time to propagate; and also stipulated that at the end of the period the women as well as the men should be privileged to eat them.

About 1800, rum began to be shipped into the islands with results that beggar description. About the same time, too, some "Botany Bay" convicts who had come off a vessel introduced the "art of distilling," and it was not many months before nearly every chief had his still. Drunkenness became chronic and the condition of the people was deplorable. Even Kamehameha became an excessive drinker, but was led to reform through the influence of John Young, and became a total abstainer. But the vice became so fastened upon the people that they lapsed into a bestial condition; and as it was the aim of the white savages who had settled among them to keep them so, Kamehameha was able to do but little to resist the ravages of disease, made more horrible and deadly by the grossest intemperance. Universal experience has demonstrated that the so-called civilized white man, when he gives rein to his passions, is liable to become more debased, brutal, and savage than any real savages in their natural state; and with their motto "There is no God west of Cape Horn," the majority of the seamen of those days flung all moral restraints to the winds and became animals rather than men. A native Hawaiian was well within the bounds of truth when he wrote: "While there have been no serpents or tigers in these islands, there have been human brutes, worse than serpents and tigers, that have greatly destroyed the people." Captain Cook estimated the population of the islands at 400,000 in 1778; but so great was the mortality during this second,—which may be



CAPTAIN VANCOUVER

called a transition,—period, that in 1830 the population had fallen to 130,000.

But the dawn of a better day was near. After about twenty years of almost constant fighting Kamehameha I. had subdued all the other chiefs, and comparative

peace reigned throughout the islands. While still a nominal supporter of the national religion he had privately recognized the futility of its forms and ceremonies, and the evils of the sacrificial rites. Rumor had reached the islands

KING KAMEHAMEHA I.

of the new religion which was being preached in the Society islands; but being unable to learn more of it the King died in 1819 in the faith of his ancestors, which he also charged his son and successor Liholiho, or Kamehameha II., to maintain. The rough old warrior was eighty-two years of age at the time of his death. He had done a great work among his people, and had unconsciously laid the foundation for a better and more comprehensive one. Down to the nineteenth century a more or less continuous strife had existed between the chiefs of the different islands. Kamehameha became the true "Father of his Country" by consolidating the group under one government, putting an end to feudal anarchy and the long series of petty wars, and thus making straight the way for the introduction of modern civilization and the Christian religion. His widow Kaahumanu, who was possessed of a character hardly less marked and determined, was associated by the dying king with his son in the equal control of the government, as Liholiho had few of the virtues of his father, was weak in character and dissolute, and unduly subject to priestly influence. No sooner had the ex-Queen assumed power than she determined to break the *tabu*, so far, particularly, as it restricted the social privileges. At first the King offered a nominal resistance though he permitted his younger brother to eat at a banquet with his mother and other women, the first time that the sexes had ever partaken of a meal together. Kaahumanu also brought all her influence to bear upon the young King to persuade him to renounce idolatry and abandon the native religion, with the result that, returning from one of the other islands, the native historian relates "he found a great feast prepared, at which he sat down with a large company of chiefs of both sexes, and openly feasted with them, while a multitude of common people looked on with mingled fear and curiosity to see what judgments would follow so impious an act. As they saw no harm ensue they raised a joyful shout, 'The *tabus* are at an end and the gods are a lie.' The effect of it was like that of displacing the keystone of an arch. The whole structure both of idol-worship and of the *tabus* fell at once into ruins. The high-priest himself set the example of setting fire to the idols and their sanctuaries." For a time the adherents of the old religion in other parts of the kingdom resisted the new movement for freedom, a chief of one of the islands openly rebelling against the crown. A decisive battle was fought about December 20, 1819, when the rebellious forces were entirely overthrown, and opposition to the reform movement was at an end. Then followed a brief period during which, as one has said, "Hawaii presented to the world the strange spectacle of a nation without a religion."

During the early part of the nineteenth century New England whalers were more or less constantly in different Hawaiian

harbors and occasionally native youths shipped with them on their return trips. In this way several had come into American and especially New England towns. One of these, Humehume, son of a king of one of the islands, enlisted in the American navy and served through the war of 1812, as well as the war with Algiers, returning later to the islands with the first missionaries, whom he greatly aided in many ways besides acting as one of their interpreters. One of these Hawaiian youth was found one morning in 1809 on the steps of one of the New Haven churches, hungry and lonely. He was kindly cared for and became one of the inspiring causes of the first mission to the Sandwich Islands. In 1817, the "Foreign Mission School" was established at Cornwall, Conn., to furnish instruction to young men from heathen lands. Five young Hawaiians were among the earliest students. Through them the Missionary Society became interested in their land and people; and on October 23, 1819, two clergymen and five laymen with their wives, and three of the Hawaiian students from the Cornwall school, embarked at Boston on the brig *Thaddeus* for the islands. On March 31, 1820, they arrived off Kohala, one of the minor divisions of the island of Hawaii. A boat was at once sent ashore under the first officer to learn the condition of the country. On his return he reported: "Liholiho is King; the *tabus* are abolished; the idols are burned; the temples are destroyed. There has been war, but now there is peace." This was welcome news to the missionaries, who were ignorant of any of the recent religious or political changes. Continuing their course they arrived at Kailua, where the King was then residing, April 4th; and the Captain with Mr. Bingham and Mr. Thurston of the missionaries, with an interpreter, at once called on the King to explain the purpose of their visit, and to secure permission to reside in the country. On the second day following, the King with his family dined on board the *Thaddeus;* and after a week's delay permission was granted them to remain on the islands one year, two of them at Kailua and the others at Honolulu. It afterward became known that the most potent influence with the King was the advice of John Young, the castaway whom Captain Metcalf had left behind in 1770. Moreover the most powerful argument Young used with the King was that the missionaries preached the same religion which Captain Vancouver had told them about years before, and of whose principles he had promised to send them a teacher. The Hawaiians had not forgotten their friendly visitors any more than they had those who had brought misery upon them and planted among them the seeds of licentiousness and hate.

The reception of the missionaries was generally cordial, and gradually they gained the confidence of the natives. From the start the greater number of their pupils were the chiefs and their attendants and families, and the wives and children of foreigners. At first they could only teach in English. They labored so earnestly, however, to master the native language and to reduce it to writing, that they were soon able to make it the medium of their instruction. Kaahumanu at first treated the missionaries with contempt. But her alert mind soon became interested in the arts of reading and writing, which led to her consideration of the teachings of the foreigners, with the result that her heart and conscience were both touched, and she accepted the Christian religion. So great was the change in her character and manner that the natives ever after called her the "New Kaahumanu." During the remainder of her life she did all in her power to aid the missionaries, urging her people to embrace their teachings and to learn to read and write. Just before her death in 1832, the first printed copy of the New Testament in the Hawaiian language was placed in her hands, which she received with reverent thankfulness and joy.

The childlike confidence of the people in foreigners who came to the islands and manifested an interest in the natives is one of their most interesting characteris-

ties. Vancouver's name was held in reverence for years after he had departed. A like trust was placed in the newly arrived missionaries as soon as they had made it clear that their mission was one of love. In 1825, the British frigate *Blonde,* commanded by Lord Byron, a cousin of the poet, reached the islands bearing the remains of the King and Queen, who had died while on a visit to England. After the funeral services had been held, a national council of chiefs was convened to determine the succession to the crown, and to settle other important affairs of government. Lord Byron had already shown so kindly an interest in the people that he was invited to attend the council, greatly and wisely aiding the chiefs in their deliberations. He unqualifiedly indorsed the objects and labors of the American missionaries, and suggested many changes in their customs and the adoption of new laws.

But the course of the missionaries was not altogether a smooth one. By the time of their arrival there had grown up a considerable colony of foreign residents, almost without exception of the lowest and most depraved character. They did not themselves propose to submit to any laws restraining their licentious practices and they constantly incited the lower orders of the natives to resist. Many times the lives of the missionaries were threatened and on two or three occasions they were driven from their homes. Unfortunately the English consul, Charlton, sided with the disorderly element and was constantly stirring up strife. In 1826 the United States armed Schooner *Dolphin,* under the command of Lieutenant Percival, arrived at the islands, and took sides with the disorderly seamen and foreigners. Lieutenant Percival joined hands with Charlton and his followers and demanded the immediate repeal of the laws against vice. Later his men attacked the mission premises, and Mr. Bingham barely escaped with his life through the assistance of natives. Lieutenant Percival then waited upon the chiefs and again demanded the repeal of the laws obnoxious to the dissolute elements. Intimidated by his threats the governor of Honolulu gave assent to the violation of the law, whereupon it is said "a shout of triumph rang through the shipping." The *Dolphin* remained in port two months longer; and the same authority declares "that the pernicious influence exerted by its crew during that time cannot be described." It is some relief to the American people to know that Lieutenant Percival was brought before a Court of Inquiry at the Charlestown Navy Yard upon his return and that most of the thirty-six charges against him were sustained. About this time several memorials were presented to the President of the United States by the shipowners of Nantucket, complaining of the frequent mutinies and desertions of their crews, and declaring that there was danger that the "Sandwich Islands would become a nest of pirates and murderers." These memorials stated that nearly one hundred whale-ships visited the islands every year, and that thirty were frequently in the port of Honolulu at one time. As a result of these representations the sloop of war *Peacock,* Captain Jones, was sent to the islands to investigate conditions, arriving at Honolulu in October, 1826, where she remained for about three months. During this time a great council of chiefs was convoked by the Queen Regent, at which Captain Jones and the British Consul were present. Charlton denied the right of the chiefs to make any treaties or agreements with foreign powers, claiming that they were subjects of Great Britain. Proving that Charlton's own commission as consul recognized the independence of the islands, Captain Jones and the council soon agreed to the terms of a commercial treaty with the United States, the first the Hawaiian government had ever made with any foreign power. In October the missionaries from all the islands met together and drew up and published a circular briefly reviewing the course they had pursued and challenging an investigation. The challenge was accepted. A public meeting was held at the governor's house, over

which Captain Jones presided. The opposition was as usual headed by Charlton. After the circular was read the opposition was invited to present charges and support them by reasonable and credible testimony. As they declined to do this the meeting was adjourned and the proceedings dropped. In his report upon this meeting, Captain Jones wrote that "not one jot or tittle, not one iota, derogatory to their characters as men, or as ministers of the Gospel of the strictest order, could be made to appear against the missionaries by the united efforts of all who conspired against them."

But the barbarous seamen soon overreached themselves. The earliest offender against the new rules which the missionaries had instigated was a Captain Buckle of the ship *Daniel*, of London. Returning to the islands in 1827 he learned that a full report of his and his crew's outrages in 1825 had been published in the United States, and he proceeded to execute vengeance on the missionary at Lahaina, Mr. Richards. The latter was, however, hidden away by the natives and soon taken to another island. The violent threats and riotous conduct of the *Daniel's* crew aroused the chiefs to action. All were summoned to attend a council at Honolulu, where it was decided that the missionaries should be protected at all hazards. The fort was immediately strengthened and preparations made to offer armed resistance to any who should attempt to do violence to the missionaries or to make their will the law in the islands. And under the inspiration of their indignation, on December 8, 1827, the first written laws were drafted and published against murder, theft, adultery, rum selling, and gambling. This vigorous action seems to have put an end to the outrageous and riotous conduct of visiting seamen, and no more outbreaks of a similar character are recorded.

Notwithstanding this organized opposition which appealed to all that was base in the native character, the work of the missionaries now progressed more steadily and aggressively, with the hearty sympathy of nearly all the chiefs and the better class of the people. In 1829, an immense thatched house of worship was erected at Honolulu, capable of seating four thousand people. It was opened on July 3, the King taking a prominent part in the dedicatory services. About the same time, too, additional laws were passed further restricting theft, gambling, and drunkenness, as well as establishing rules affecting marriage and the observance of the Sabbath. All the measures received the usual opposition, Charlton and his followers formally protesting that as foreign residents they were not amenable to the laws or courts of the country. This position was effectually met by a proclamation from the government, addressed to the foreign element, giving emphatic notice that the laws of the land would be enforced equally against natives and foreigners.

Material for a more pleasant chapter in the history of the relations between the United States and the islands was provided by the visit of the American sloop of war *Vincennes*, Captain Finch, which arrived in October of this same year. Captain Finch bore presents to the King and more prominent chiefs, as well as a letter from the Secretary of the Navy congratulating them on their "rapid progress in acquiring a knowledge of letters and of the true religion." The letter further contained the following important assured recognition of the island government: "Our citizens who violate your laws or interfere with your regulations violate at the same time their duty to their own government and country, and merit censure and punishment. We have heard with pain that this has sometimes been the case, and we have sought to know and to punish those who are guilty." This declaration greatly strengthened the position and courage of the chiefs in their contest with the rebellious foreign element of the population. Captain Finch, too, took great pains to advise the rulers upon the principles of civilized government and institutions, and especially to inform them as to their rights and duties as an inde-

pendent nation. Coming at a most critical juncture in their national affairs, when the forces of anarchy and evil were most active, this visit of the representatives of the United States government served a most useful purpose, and was a potent ally of the chiefs and the missionaries in their efforts for civil and moral improvement.

In 1830 the aged and devoted Kaahumanu made a final tour of all the islands, greatly strengthening the purpose of the chiefs and the missionaries and their followers to establish a stable, civilized government, throughout the kingdom. During the later years of her life this remarkable woman labored unceasingly to encourage every movement looking toward the enlightenment and moral uplifting of her people, and stood like a great wall against which all the tides of lawlessness and evil beat in vain. In her earlier life as licentious and idolatrous as she afterwards became chaste and Christian her example was well-nigh as potent an influence for good as was the preaching of the missionaries. Soon after the arrival of the latter they had devoted their most serious attention to the work of developing the spoken language of the people into a written one. An alphabet of twelve letters was decided upon,—the five vowels, a, e, i, o, u, and the consonants h, k, l, m, n, p, and w. The vowels have the same sounds as in the Latin languages, or particularly the Italian. In the written language every word and every syllable must end in a vowel, and two consonants can never come together,—a vowel must always intervene. The accent of more than five-sixths of all the words is on the penult. Having determined the form of the written language the printing press was in order. The first one was set up in 1822, and early in that year the first impressions of eight pages of a Hawaiian spelling book were made. The novelty of the proceeding greatly interested the chiefs and they were very receptive of all the instructions of the missionaries as to the supreme value of the arts of reading and writing. As has been said the chiefs and their dependents became their first pupils, and the desire to acquire the simple rudiments of knowledge became widespread. Within two years more than two thousand people had learned to read and write. A peculiar system of schools spread over the islands. Each chief sent the most proficient scholars among his immediate followers to different parts of his province as teachers, calling upon all his subjects to attend school. As a native historian says: "The eagerness of the people to acquire the new and wonderful arts of reading and writing was intense, and at length almost the whole population went to school. The time of school was from one to two hours in the afternoon, and the pupils were called together by the blowing of a conch-shell." In 1832 it was estimated that about twenty-five thousand of the people could read, and a large proportion of these could also write. In that year common schools began to be opened for the children, most of the pupils down to that time having been adults. The steady growth, too, of a really Christian ideal of character throughout the islands, especially away from the evil influences of the important ports, was marked; and it is undoubtedly true that the history of missions records no other so rapid and intelligent advance of a people from semi-barbarism and degradation along the road leading to civilization and a reformed social and civil life, as the Hawaiian people made during the decade following the arrival of the good brig *Thaddeus*. And in every one of these movements the good Queen Kaahumanu became an inspiring force, giving the encouragement of her visits to schools and missions in different localities, while earnestly and constantly appealing to her people to abandon all idolatrous customs and superstitious practices and come out into the sweet light of a moral life and trust in one only God and Father. As mentioned above, her last days were cheered by the possession of the first copy of the New Testament in the Hawaiian language, enabling her to read the Gospel in her own tongue and not depend upon the verbal translation of the teachers.

Evidences of the advance of the people

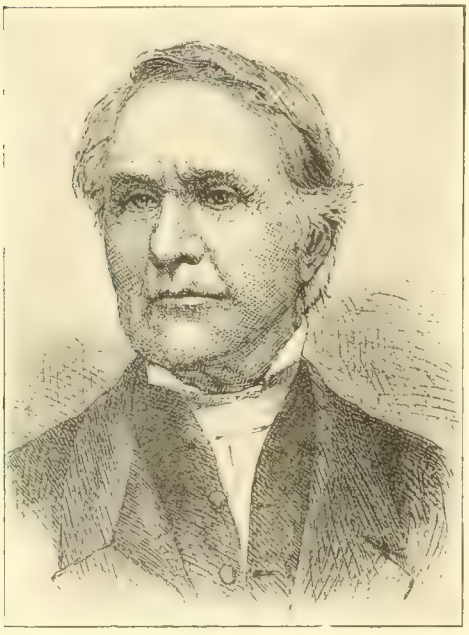
in civilization now followed each other in rapid succession. In 1831 the Lahainaluna Seminary was founded under the care of the Rev. Lorren Andrews. The scholars supported themselves in part by cultivating a tract of land granted by the chiefs to the school. A printing press and book bindery were set up here, where many textbooks were printed. In 1832 the first census of the islands was taken, showing a population of 130,313, disclosing a most astounding mortality, if Captain Cook's estimate of 400,000 population in 1778 was in any degree accurate. The first newspaper printed on the islands of the Pacific was issued in February of 1834 from the press at Lahainaluna, which was followed in October of the same year by one published at Honolulu. The first paper published in the English language, the Sandwich Islands Gazette, made its appearance in 1836. A girls' boarding school was opened at Wailuka in 1837, and a manual-labor school for boys was established the same year at Hilo.

For a long time the system of land tenures worked against the interests of foreign investors and planters. Absolute ownership of land was unknown among the Hawaiian people. A life estate was the longest that could be held, and land could not be bought or sold like other property. Foreigners could only obtain permission to occupy practically at the pleasure of the chiefs or King; and at the departure or death of tenants the land reverted to the crown. The first lease of land for a sugar plantation was made to Ladd & Co., in 1835; and the initial step was taken in the establishment of industries and foreign interests that made the ultimate annexation to the United States a certainty. The same year a silk plantation was started, and cotton began to be raised and manufactured, a stone cotton factory being built at Kailua.

The decade between 1825 and 1835 was characterized, however, by many political disturbances and much friction with the representatives of the English and French governments. The chief grounds for French interference grew out of the treament of some French priests who came to the islands in 1827. A small chapel was built and a few converts were gathered in. The priests from the start received the encouragement of Charlton and his associate opponents of the reform movements, who anticipated that in the spread of the Catholic cause they would secure a powerful political instrument. From the beginning, however, the priests were opposed by the chiefs, who saw in the Catholic service a worship of images which portended the restoration of idolatry. The Queen, Kaahumanu, in particular, opposed the new religion; and by her orders the governor of Oahu (Honolulu) published an order forbidding the natives to attend upon the Catholic worship. Finding that the faith was gaining a foothold in Honolulu, the Queen ordered the priests to cease propagating their teachings, also commanding the natives to give up their crucifixes, and threatening all with severe punishment who should persist in using them. As the priests persisted in their ministrations a council of the high chiefs was called. The result was a formal order that the priests should leave the islands within three months. As they still refused to yield, and none of the foreign vessels were disposed to take them at the request of the government, the chiefs built a vessel of their own, at a cost of four thousand dollars, in which they deported the priests to the California coast, where they joined the Franciscan missions. This experience led to a most hostile visit from the French frigate *Artémise* in 1839, when her commander, Captain Laplace, demanded and forced from the government most humiliating concessions. These, however, proved of no lasting influence. Even at the urgent request of the American missionaries religious toleration soon became established, and more peaceful political conditions followed.

Their continued troubles with the commanders of war vessels of different nationalities, however, led the chiefs to seek instruction in the principles of government and law. A letter was sent to

the United States' government asking that a legal adviser and instructor in the science of government be sent to the Islands. But as nothing came of this request one of the missionaries, Mr. Richards, was chosen as their adviser in 1838. He was released from his connection with the mission, and entered upon his new duties the following year, delivering lectures in the native language upon the principles of government and law, and assisting in the preparation of a constitution. The first draft of this document was made in 1839, and was accompanied



REV. TITUS COAN, D.D.

by a Bill of Rights, which the native people have regarded as their *Magna Carta*. It contained the following important clause guaranteeing a security hitherto unknown in the Islands: "Protection is hereby assured to the persons of all the people, together with their lands, their building lots, and all their property, while they conform to the laws of the kingdom; and nothing whatever shall be taken from any individual except by express provision of the laws." Religious liberty was pledged in these words: "All men of every religion shall be protected in worshiping Jehovah and serving Him according to their own understanding." This fundamental law also created a legislative body of fifteen hereditary nobles and seven representatives, the latter to be elected by the people. These legislators sat as one body and met annually. They were empowered to appoint four judges who, with the King and premier, should constitute the Supreme Court of the kingdom. The first attention of the legislative body was given to the laws of the land. Old laws were revised and new ones added, and the completed collection was published in 1842. They established a uniform system of taxation, abolishing local and arbitrary assessments. During the same year a treasury board was created, consisting of four persons, with Dr. Judd, of the missionary forces, as chairman. A regular system of keeping accounts was instituted, of collection of taxes, and fixed salaries were determined for the government officials, with the result that the credit of the nation was soon established, and the most pressing debts were paid off. That these laws were impartially administered, at least during the earlier days, is proved by the public execution of one of the high chiefs in 1840 for causing the death of his wife by poison.

Educational matters continued to receive careful consideration. In 1841 the first general school laws were enacted. About the same time a school for the especial education of young chiefs was founded. This was later known as the Royal school, because its pupils were exclusively children or youth whose claims to the throne were acknowledged. In 1842 a school was founded at Punahou by the American Mission, which has developed into the present chartered College of Oahu. It was also a period of especial religious activity. What has been known as the "Great Revival" occurred during the years 1838-9. This movement extended over all the islands and affected the bulk of the people. More than five thousand people were admitted to the

Protestant churches in 1839, and ten thousand the following year. The work was especially fruitful in results on the island of Hawaii, where the Rev. Titus Coan was the leader and tireless worker. In two years upwards of seven thousand people were added to his church in Hilo. The complete establishment of religious toleration, too, led to the revival of the Catholic mission. In May, 1840, the Bishop of Nilopolis, Rev. L. D. Maigret, and two priests arrived from Valparaiso and the erection of a Cathedral was at once commenced, a considerable number of converts soon being enrolled. The following year the bishop returned to France to secure further aid, and in 1842 sailed for the islands accompanied by seven priests, seven catechists, nine lay brothers, and ten nuns. Their ship also bore a large supply of crosses, church ornaments, and a cargo of goods for the mission. Unfortunately she foundered off Cape Horn and all on board were lost.

A permanent form of government having now been established, and a good degree of financial credit, recognition by the leading foreign powers was eagerly sought. As has been suggested the King and people had for years been subject to the insolence and the conflicting demands and bullying of the representatives of different nations as they came to the islands in their respective war vessels. There was no Hawaiian army or navy. Foreign officers were, therefore, able to exact the most humiliating concessions from the chiefs, threatening to bombard the towns if immediate recognition of their demands was not granted. The worst offenders were the French, with the English as close seconds. But happily nearly all the absurd demands of these naval officers were later repudiated by their governments, though long after great distress and injury had been inflicted upon the long-suffering people. A definite recognition of the independence of the nation by these powers could alone save the islanders from further insults of a similar character; and to secure such recognition an embassy was despatched in 1843. During the previous year representatives of the government had visited Washington, and after several interviews with Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, had received from him a letter declaring "as the sense of the government of the United States that the government of the Sandwich Islands ought to be respected; that no power ought to take possession of the islands, either as a conquest or for the purpose of colonization; and that no power ought to seek for any undue control over the existing government, or any exclusive privilege or preferences in matters of commerce." Having this assurance of the position of the government of the United States, the envoys of 1843 went directly to Europe, *via* Mexico. After wearisome delays they were able to secure a joint declaration from France and England which declared that "Her Majesty, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty, the King of the French, taking into consideration the existence in the Sandwich Islands of a government capable of providing for the regularity of its relations with foreign nations, have thought it right to engage reciprocally to consider the Sandwich Islands as an independent state, and never to take possession either directly or under the form of a protectorate, or under any other form, of any part of the territory of which they are composed." Returning from Europe with this agreement the envoys visited Washington; and on July 6, 1844, received from J. C. Calhoun, then Secretary of State, a despatch informing them that the President regarded the statement of Mr. Webster and the appointment of a commissioner to the islands "as a full recognition on the part of the United States of the independence of the Hawaiian Government." With these important assurances of the future respect of the most important foreign governments the Hawaiian nation seemed fairly to have entered upon its career as one of the group of independent states of the world. It had, however, many times during the next few years to realize that

the very weak powers have few rights that the strong will recognize if they in any way conflict with the apparent interests of the latter; and every two or three years envoys had to be sent to the great states to clear up false situations or seek a remedy for abuses of their powers.

A constant source of weakness of the native government was the absence of a well-informed legal adviser, familiar with international law. In 1844 a Mr. Ricord, a lawyer who had recently arrived from Oregon, was made Attorney-General. But it was not until 1846 that any suitable legal adviser was secured. In that year the brig *Henry*, from Newburyport, arrived having on board fifteen passengers bound for Oregon. Among them was a talented young lawyer, Mr. W. L. Lee, who bore the very strong endorsements of such eminent teachers of law and jurists as Professor Greenleaf and Judge Story. He was prevailed upon to remain in the islands and to accept the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, which he held until his death. As a native historian puts it, "to say that he was 'the right man in the right place' gives but a faint idea of his eminent services to the country. He organized the Courts of Justice, and so conducted the highest tribunal that it soon acquired universal confidence and respect, and instead of being a source of weakness, became the strongest pillar of the government." One of the measures to which Chief Justice Lee gave his attention was the drafting of a new Constitution. This was nominally done by three commissioners, one representing the King, one the nobles, and Mr. Lee acting for the representatives. This instrument was adopted June 14, 1852, and signed by the King. As it has formed the basis of all subsequent Constitutions, its principal provisions become of interest. Under it a legislature was established to consist of two separate bodies,—thirty nobles, selected by the King, and twenty-four representatives to be elected by universal suffrage. A privy council separate from the house of nobles was instituted. The courts were organized practically as they have since existed, and consisted of a Supreme Court composed of a chief justice and two associate justices, four circuit courts, and a petty judge for each district. Its liberal provisions placed the King, Kamehameha III., high in the favor of the people; and it was regarded by all as a marked advance upon the Constitution of 1840.

The census taken in 1850 revealed the further shocking mortality among the people. As noted above, the census of 1832 gave a total population on all the islands of 130,313. A second, taken four years later, gave a total count of only 108,579, a loss of 21,734 in four years. The census of 1850 showed that the number of inhabitants had fallen to 84,165, revealing a still further decrease of 24,414 in fourteen years. The latter census also gave the number of foreign residents at that time as 1,962. Immigration to the islands began to be encouraged in the "seventies," owing to a shortage of labor for the sugar plantations. A commission was sent to the Azores to interest the Portuguese in the subject, and to China and Japan. As early as 1865 a first colony came from China, numbering about five hundred. In 1878 the pioneer company of Portuguese arrived, numbering about two hundred; and in 1885 five hundred Japanese were brought in. How rapidly this foreign element increased and the native decreased the census of 1890 makes manifest. This gave the total population as 58,714 males, 31,276 females, a total of 89,990. Of this number there were natives and half-castes 21,449 males and 19,173 females, in all 40,622. There were, however, 8,602 Portuguese, 15,301 Chinese, and 12,360 Japanese included in the count,—a number which has since been materially increased. Nothing could better illustrate the decisive change in the character of the population of the islands than a comparison of these figures. In 1850 the proportion of the native people to foreigners was 82,203 to 1,962; in 1890 it was 40,622 to 49,368. The census of 1896 showed a material increase of the

total population which then reached 109,020; but the natives numbered only 39,504 while the foreigners were 69,516,—61,214 of whom were Portuguese (15,191), Japanese (24,407), and Chinese (21,616). From these figures it will readily be seen that the Hawaiian question had, before the acute stage of the question of annexation was reached, materially changed its character. The native population had already become a comparatively small minority, and was year by year being more and more submerged by the rapidly increasing body of foreign residents.

Our space does not admit of any detailed account of the political changes that intervened between the establishment of constitutional government and the recognition of the independence of the Hawaiian nation by the great Powers of the world, and the period of the supremacy of the question of annexation to the United States. Notwithstanding the assurances of respect for the Island Government which France and Great Britain had given, they continued to disturb its peaceful administration and to badger and harass its people in many ways. So aggressive were these attentions, and so threatening the attitude of the French government in particular, that Kamehameha III. secretly executed a formal cession of the Islands to the United States, which he placed in the hands of its representatives to be used if the French government attempted to enforce its alleged claims. But from the middle of the century to its close the independent power and influence of the native rulers and people were constantly weakening and authority was passing to the foreign residents. In view of the waning vitality and vigor of the native race this was inevitable and undoubtedly for the best. But many have looked, and will continue to look, upon the gradual crowding out of this kindly people by those whom they had hospitably received as guests, with feelings of deep regret. This transfer of political and financial supremacy must, therefore, offer two distinctly antagonistic points of view; and while believing that the annexation of Hawaii to the United States was the only logical and humane course, it is but fair that the other side of the question should be stated. As this was done clearly and concisely by the ex-Queen Liliuokalani in her book entitled "Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen," her words will be used. "For many years," she wrote, "our sovereigns had welcomed the advice of, and given full representations in their government and councils to, American residents who had cast in their lot with our people, and established industries on the Islands. As they became wealthy, and acquired titles to lands through the simplicity of our people and their ignorance of values and of the new land laws, their greed and their love of power proportionately increased; and schemes for aggrandizing themselves still further, or for avoiding the obligations which they had incurred to us, began to occupy their minds. So the mercantile element, as embodied in the Chamber of Commerce, the sugar planters, and the proprietors of the 'missionary' stores, formed a distinct political party, called the 'down-town' party, whose purpose was to minimize or entirely subvert other interests, and especially the prerogatives of the crown, which, based upon ancient custom and the authority of the island chiefs, were the sole guaranty of our nationality. *Although settled among us, and drawing their wealth from our resources, they were alien to us in their customs and ideas respecting government, and desired above all things the extension of their power, and to carry out their own special plans of advancement, and to secure their own personal benefit* . . . Kalakaua valued the commercial and industrial prosperity of his Kingdom highly. He sought honestly to secure it for every class of people, alien or native, in his dominions, making it second only to the advancement of morals and education. If he believed in the divine right of Kings, and the distinctions of hereditary nobility, it was not alone from the prejudices of birth and native custom, but because he was able to perceive that even

the most enlightened nations of the earth have not as yet been able to replace them with a ruling class equally able, patriotic, or disinterested. I say this with all reverence for the form of government and the social order existing in the United States, whose workings have, for more than a century, excited the interest of the world; not the interest of common people only, but of nobles, rulers, and kings. Kalakaua's highest and most earnest desire was to be a true sovereign, the chief servant of a happy, prosperous, and progressive people . . . He freely gave his personal efforts to the securing of a reciprocity treaty with the United States, and sought the co-operation of that great and powerful nation, because he was persuaded it would enrich, or benefit, not one class, but, in a greater or less degree, all his subjects."

It is a trite saying that however humble it may be, home is still the dearest place to us on the whole broad earth. The Hawaiian people had seen the descendants of the missionaries who had come to the Islands settling among them as lawyers, bankers, and business men, until by an unconscious and hardly noted development a very small minority of the population had attracted to itself the greater portion of the wealth of the kingdom, and a predominant influence in all its affairs. Most of these men were aliens, as the Queen complained, and had not become citizens of the country where there influence was so dominant. At the time of annexation these American residents numbered less than seventeen hundred. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that when the native rulers began to realize the true situation they should have become restive, and endeavored to offer some organized resistance to the power that was so rapidly supplanting them. Had the native race retained any of its ancient hardihood and vigor this resistance might have been as successful as it would have been reasonable. But a people that was so rapidly disappearing and had become physically so enervated could only submit to the inevitable. In fact, when the United States annexed Hawaii it added so much more to the territory of the country. But it can hardly be said that it was the Hawaiian people who were added to the population; it was a motley aggregation of Hawaiian, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, and other foreigners, of which the natives formed a rather small and constantly decreasing minority.

As one reads the history of the Islands the surprising fact is not that annexation was accomplished, but that it was so long delayed. For more than a half century it had been in the air, and American and Hawaiian leaders had given the matter serious consideration. As far back as 1849, referring to the most recent French assault upon the independence of Hawaii, Secretary of State J. W. Clayton, in a letter to the American minister at Paris, voiced the official sentiment of the United States government regarding the Islands. "The Department will be slow," he wrote, "to believe that the French have any intention to adopt, with reference to the Sandwich Islands, the same policy which they have pursued in reference to Tahiti. If, however, in your judgment it should be warranted by circumstances, you may take a proper opportunity to intimate to the minister for foreign affairs of France that the situation of the Sandwich Islands, in respect to our possessions on the Pacific, and the bonds commercial and of other descriptions between them and the United States, are such that we could never, with indifference, allow them to pass under the dominion or exclusive control of any other power." Nothing resulted from these negotiations, however, and French aggressions became more intolerable. Two or three war vessels of that nation were in the harbor all the time, and threats were made that the city would be bombarded unless certain guarantees were delivered to the Admiral representing the French government. So little informed, however, was the American representative at the Islands of the position of his home government that on March 11, 1851, he wrote

Daniel Webster, who had become Secretary of State, advising him of the state of affairs, and asking how far he might go in protecting the American flag if it should be raised by the local government. The King had then become so weary of the French insolence that he executed the secret cession of the Islands to the United States, which he placed in the hands of the American Minister, advising him at the same time that if the French war ships opened fire the United States flag would be raised above the Hawaiian on all the government buildings, and the secret cession should become operative. The Minister asked whether in such event the American war vessel in port could not be called upon to interfere "to protect American property, *which is to be found on both sides of every street in town and all along the wharves.*" In closing his letter he says: "The natives look upon them (the French) as enemies; and if they come again on a like errand, we shall be again appealed to for protection, and *the subject of annexation will come up again with added force.*" Replying to our Minister's inquiries Mr. Webster privately urged upon him extreme caution, and instructed him to return to the King the document the latter had placed in his hands. The Secretary's official communication stated clearly and precisely the position of his government. Among other things, he said: "It is too plain to be denied or doubted that demands were made upon the Hawaiian government by the French commissioner wholly inconsistent with its character as an independent state,—demands which, if submitted to in this case, would be sure to be followed by other demands equally derogatory, not only from the same quarter, but probably also from other States, and this could only end in rendering the Islands and their government a prey to the stronger commercial nations of the world. *It cannot be expected that the government of the United States could look on a course of things leading to such a result with indifference.* The Hawaiian Islands are ten times nearer to the United States than to any of the powers of Europe. Five-sixths of all their commercial intercourse is with the United States; and these considerations, together with others of a more general character, have fixed the course which the government of the United States will pursue in regard to them. The annunciation of this policy will not surprise the governments of Europe, nor be thought to be unreasonable by the nations of the civilized world; and that policy is that while the government of the United States, itself faithful to its original assurance, scrupulously regards the independence of the Hawaiian Islands, it can never consent to see those Islands taken possession of by either of the great commercial powers of Europe, nor can it consent that demands, manifestly unjust and derogatory and inconsistent with a *bona fide* independence, shall be enforced against that government . . . The Navy Department will receive instructions to place and to keep the naval armament of the United States in the Pacific ocean in such a state of strength and preparation as shall be requisite *for the preservation of the honor and dignity of the United States and the safety of the government of the Hawaiian Islands.*"

Copies of this letter were placed in the hands of the French Minister at Washington and of the American Minister at Paris; and our Minister was instructed to present a copy of it to the French Minister at Honolulu. These words, whose meaning could not be misunderstood, served to check the aggressive movements of foreign powers, and to establish a position regarding the Islands which was not changed until actual annexation took place. In 1855, however, Kamehamema IV. came to the throne, and the following year married Emma Rooke, a granddaughter of the John Young whom Captain Metcalf had left behind him in the last century, and who had been so influential an adviser of Kamehameha I. The Queen, when a child, had been adopted by Doctor Rooke, an English physician, with the result that all her sympathies

were with the British and unfavorable to American interests. Under her influence the King associated but little with Americans, but chose all his friends from the English settlers. "The King is strongly predisposed in favor of the British in preference to Americans or those of any other nationality," wrote Minister McBride to Secretary Seward, in 1863. "English policy, English etiquette, and English grandeur seem to captivate and control him. His familiar associates are Englishmen; and where an office becomes vacated by death, resignation, or otherwise, it is filled by the appointment of an Englishman . . . It is plainly to be seen that the British government places a high estimate on the future value of the islands, believing, no doubt, that the Pacific and other railroads will be built, and that these islands will become very important as a 'halfway house' between Europe and America on one side, and China and Japan on the other . . . The American interests greatly predominate here over all others combined, and not less than four-fifths of the commerce connected with these islands is American. The English have no commerce here worthy of the name, and but one or two retail stores; the Germans about the same amount of business as the English." Mr. McBride expressed the great fear of American interests that the "British rule should become dominant," in which case "American interests would be crushed out with eagerness and despatch." For some time, therefore, the British flag rather than the French was the danger signal. Queen Emma was active in the establishment of the English Church in the islands. The King had already translated the English Book of Common Prayer into the Hawaiian language, and in 1862 they welcomed Bishop Staley and other English clergy to the Kingdom, who soon after received the King and Queen into the communion of that church. But whatever evils these pro-English and anti-American movements might portend, the situation was wholly changed by the death of the King in 1863. Kamehameha V., his elder brother and successor, was of a far different character, and held with considerable success a middle course between the two leading factions. He was reactionary in his politics, refusing to recognize the Constitution of 1852. He called a convention, however, in 1864 to draft a new constitution which proved to be generally acceptable and was continued in force until 1887. In 1867 a representative of the government was sent to Washington to negotiate a reciprocity treaty between the United States and Hawaii. Such a treaty was completed and approved by the President and Cabinet but was defeated in the Senate. It afterwards became known that the opposition to the treaty in the Senate was based chiefly upon the belief that it would interfere with the progress of the annexation movement. The King dying in 1872, the dynasty of the Kamehamehas was at an end, he being the last direct male descendant of the first and great King of the Islands. Passing the brief reign of one year of Lunalilo, the succession to the throne rested between Queen Emma, the widow of Kamehameha IV., and David Kalakaua. Immediately the strongest antipathies were aroused, the English rallying to the support of the Queen, while the Americans supported the cause of Kalakaua. When the Legislature, specially convened, proceeded to election, the followers of Emma, believing Kalakaua's election predetermined, resolved themselves into a riotous mob, surrounded the Court House, broke in the doors, etc. The representatives were savagely beaten with clubs, one dying as the result of his injuries. The police being unable to control the mob, and the few native troops being unreliable, for the first time a force was asked for from a foreign vessel to put down the riot, and preserve peace. At the request of the government a force of one hundred and fifty armed men was landed from the United States war vessels *Tuscarora* and *Portsmouth*, which were luckily in the harbor. Order was soon restored, but hardly before a force of British marines

was landed, without request of the authorities, from the British war ship *Tenedos*. After the dispersion of the mob the election proceeded, with the result that Kalakaua won by a vote of 39 to 6. Shortly after, the American Minister, Mr. H. A. Pierce, who had long been an American merchant in Honolulu, called upon Queen Emma, advised her that Kalakaua had been elected and recognized by the representatives of foreign nations, and urged her to make the same recognition, and urge her followers to accept the situation without further disorder. This she at once did, with the result that the factions soon became harmonized and less friction existed than for several years. Kalakaua proved, however, too friendly to the United States, and when, in 1874, he decided to visit this country vigorous protests were offered by the French and English Ministers. The direct result of that visit of several weeks was the execution of a reciprocity treaty between the two countries, which went into effect September 9, 1875. The British government at once protested that the part of the treaty granting certain exclusive commercial privileges to the United States was in contravention of the Anglo-Hawaiian treaty of 1852, which contained the "most favored nation" clause. This contention continued many years, and the consideration of the case by Mr. Blaine, as Secretary of State, in 1881, hardly allayed the excitement. In a despatch to the American Minister at Honolulu, after setting forth in detail the situation of affairs then existing and showing the impossibility of a grant by the Hawaiian government of any of the privileges exclusively given to the United States by the Treaty of 1875, Mr. Blaine said: "You will add that, if any other power should deem it proper to employ undue influence upon the Hawaiian government to persuade or compel action in derogation of this treaty, the government of the United States will not be unobservant of its rights and interests, *and will be neither unwilling nor unprepared to support the Hawaiian government in the faithful discharge of its treaty obligations.*"

This treaty was to continue in force seven years. When that time had elapsed,

KING KALAKAUA.

negotiations were at once opened for a second treaty of like character, which were effective and resulted, in 1884, in the renewal of the treaty for another period of seven years. Moreover, as a part of this convention, the King ceded to the United States the exclusive right to enter Pearl river in the island of Oahu, and establish there a coaling and repair station. Again vigorous remonstrance was made by the British government, based, as before, on the Anglo-Hawaiian agreement of 1852. The treaty, however, prevailed and remained in force until annexation became an accomplished fact. But in view of the constant friction between so antagonistic forces, in such a restricted area, it did not require great political acumen nor a remarkably clear prophetic vision to see that an end of such constant disturbance of social, political, and business relations must soon be reached. Moreover, King Kalakaua had not proved a very acceptable sovereign from the Hawaiian standpoint. Many of

his acts were subversive of liberty and he was charged with gross venality in some business transactions. Accordingly one is not surprised to learn that in 1887 a determined revolt against his course was instituted by a union of the better class of citizens, who now began to organize systematically to secure better government. A mass meeting of the people was called, at which a spirit was manifested that awed the King. He at once agreed to give his assent to a new constitution. When this was drawn, its preamble declared that "the constitution of this kingdom heretofore in force contains many provisions subversive of civil rights, and incompatible with enlightened constitutional government." It was also declared to be necessary that a new constitution should be at once promulgated "in order to restore order and tranquillity, and the confidence necessary to a further maintenance of the present government." The terms of the new instrument contained many liberal provisions and gave satisfaction to the majority of the people. Liliuokalani, sister of the King, however, who had been named as heir-apparent by him, stoutly rebelled against its provisions. She was decidedly averse to liberal ideas and is said to have openly upbraided her brother for his failure to assert the royal prerogatives. It was her wish and purpose to restore as far as possible the ancient absolutism of the sovereign. Rightly or wrongly she was charged with being the inciting cause of the rebellion under the lead of Wilcox and Boyd which broke out soon after. The insurgents seized the palace grounds, government buildings, and offices. At once the King sent a messenger to the representatives of the foreign governments, who attempted to communicate with the insurgents and learn their demands. Failing in this, and firing being heard in the direction of the government buildings, an armed force of marines from the United States war ship *Adams* was at once landed. Upon their approach the rioters retreated to the King's bungalow, which they held through the day. Anticipating further trouble, the contingent from the *Adams* was reinforced; whereupon the insurgents decided to surrender. Nothing was accomplished by the rebellion, though it was believed by the foreign residents that the heir-apparent had shown her hand, and that they must perfect their organization so as to be ready for any other overt acts. In December, 1890, the King decided again to visit the United States. Upon his arrival in San Francisco he was received with due honors. Shortly after, however, he was stricken with a fatal illness, and died at the Palace Hotel, January 20, 1891. His body was returned to Honolulu on the United States war ship *Charleston*.

With the accession of Liliuokalani the decisive crisis in Hawaiian affairs was reached, and the beginning of the end of the national life. Convinced that the rebellion of 1889 was instigated by the Queen her opponents anticipated an early rupture of the existing political relations, with a positive attempt on the Queen's part to return to the old principles of absolutism. Nor were they disappointed. Though she had taken an oath to support the constitution of 1887, she had evidently done so with a reservation; as she soon began to manifest a spirit independent of the constitution and savoring strongly of personal government. For about a year after her accession her relations with the American party were friendly. Then her husband, General Dominis, an American, died, and she at once began to affiliate with the English party, and to be dominated by its influence. As she has shown in her "Story of Hawaii," the Queen had a rather amusing love of pomp and display, and dwelt in loving admiration upon the conception of Kingly state. Courtly etiquette was cultivated, and elaborate dress and regalia were demanded. Though the so-called National Guard was probably never larger numerically than a single company of a regiment of the American army, and was generally hardly equivalent to a "corporal's guard," yet the husband of the Queen was Lieutenant-General of

the army, wore a marshal's sash, and was covered with as many orders as would ornament the breast of a Bismarck or Wellington at a Court reception.

The Queen's first move was to relieve herself of her cabinet, or rather Kalakaua's, which she had inherited. But the little oligarchy which had become dominant in the Islands had planned wisely when they made their constitution of 1887. They realized that the King was then so alarmed by the disturbance they had excited that he would grant practically all their demands. They consequently incorporated in the new constitution that no act of the King or Queen would be valid unless countersigned by the Ministers, who, by the same law, could only be removed by impeachment or death. Then, nominating a ministry of their own for the King, which he accepted, the American party had reason to consider themselves practically secure. Kings might come or Queens might go, but they would go on forever. These men were not Hawaiians, they were American citizens, chiefly, and were familiar with American politics. The others were not. Consequently when the Queen, looking upon her ministers as in some degree, at least, personal to herself, undertook to establish a cabinet of her own choosing to take the place of the late King's, she found herself powerless. The ministers refused to resign, and against the Queen's power of removal appealed to the Supreme Court. But here, strangely, the American party were defeated, as the Court ruled that Kalakaua's ministry ceased to exist with his death, and that the Queen was free to appoint a Cabinet of her own. But the ministers must be approved by the Legislature. This was, however, a small body and the leading bankers, merchants, and planters who composed the opposition party easily controlled it. List after list of nominations were sent in by the Queen and all rejected; until in sheer despair she accepted a list suitable to the dominant party. This became widely known as the Wilcox-Jones cabinet. Affairs remained in this unsatisfactory and unsettled condition until 1893, when it became evident that the Queen was about to promulgate a new constitution. It was naturally anticipated by the American party that its terms would hardly favor their interests; and, it is said, it was "afterward disclosed" that it would have "placed American influence and the property of American citizens wholly at the mercy of the Queen and her personal adherents." It is unfortunate that there are no records of events on the Islands after 1890 that are not so tinged with partisanship as to make them utterly worthless as history. A dozen books are at hand, each one, however, written by an American who went to the Islands, associated only with Americans, was put up at the American Club, etc. It is somewhat natural, therefore, that the one or two per cent of the population who composed that party were the "intelligent," the "patriotic," the "most influential" people so constantly referred to by these writers, all of whom favored the opposition; while their opponents were—well, the less said of them the better. As we have said, annexation to the United States was a foregone conclusion, and had been for years; and considering the weakened vitality and virtue of the native race it was unquestionably a consummation greatly to be desired. But it is hard to read the story of the last decade of the nineteenth century in the Islands, as it is written, without a sensation of moral nausea at the thought of so much virtue and noble patriotism arrayed against such cohorts of Satan and darkness. Happily, as in the fairy tales, virtue (and money) vanquished all the forces of evil, and the beauty of holiness shone resplendent from the legislative halls as the anointed took over the government. This was done early in 1893. It was then that the Queen announced her intention of abrogating the Constitution of 1887 and of establishing a new one, which, it is asserted, was dicated by herself, and represented her extreme views. Though this Constitution was regularly drawn and presented to her Min-

isters, copies of it in recent histories are wanting. It is alleged, however, that it provided that members of the house of nobles and council of state should be appointed by the sovereign at will; and that all white men, unless married to native women, were to be absolutely debarred from suffrage. The last provision seems so incredible that one hesitates to believe that a woman, who in other respects manifested not a little ability and judgment, should ever have considered it. However, it was upon this statement of facts that the American party decided to act. Mr. J. L. Stevens was then Minister from the United States to Hawaii, and in his despatches for more than a year previous he had shown that the question of annexation was the one closest to his heart,—while his whole course was one of most hearty sympathy with the revolutionary party. The United States war ship *Boston* was also in the harbor. Great excitement followed the announcement of the Queen, and, it is said, "the entire

QUEEN LILIUOKALANI.

military force of the Kingdom paraded the streets." This was Saturday, January 14. A mass meeting of citizens was called for the following Monday. At that meeting a "Committee of Public Safety" was appointed; and we are told that the "meeting adjourned amid great enthusiasm, every person present seeming determined to resist to the utmost the attempted aggressions upon their liberties." The declaration of the Queen of her intention to disregard the constitution was claimed to be an abdication of her sovereignty. The Committee of Public Safety called upon the department chiefs to resign, which they did, and the archives and government buildings and offices were surrendered to the Committee's representatives. A state of anarchy followed, the Queen not attempting to use force to oppose the Committee's revolutionary course. Claiming that public and private property was endangered, the Committee called upon Mr. Stevens to land troops from the *Boston* to protect American interests, which were, as has been shown, identical with the interests of the Committee and those whom they represented. Accordingly Mr. Stevens requested Captain Wiltze of the *Boston* to send his forces ashore. The landing of the troops is said to have produced a quieting effect, though no hostile force was anywhere in evidence. On the following day, Tuesday, the chairman of the Committee of Public Safety, in the presence of a crowd that filled the space about the government buildings, formally proclaimed the abrogation of the ancient Hawaiian government, and the institution of a provisional government "for the control and management of public affairs and the protection of the public peace," which should exist "until terms of union with the United States of America" should be agreed upon. Upon the demand of the Committee the Queen's household guards, the police force, and all the civil forces surrendered with the approval of the Queen. Thus, as is commonly narrated, "the revolution was accomplished without the loss of life, the monarchy had fallen, and the first active step toward the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States had been taken." The Queen expressly stated in yielding her various positions that she

only did so to superior force, not wishing to enter into any conflict with the representatives of the United States government backed by its military force. At the time of abdication she presented a written protest, declaring that she resigned the power only temporarily, until her rights should be determined by the United States government, to whose justice she appealed. This protest was received by the Committee and indorsed by its officers. In it the Queen says: "I yield to the superior force of the United States of America—until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives, and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands."

Realizing that their action must be put before the government at Washington at once, the Committee of Safety secured the only steamer in the harbor and at once despatched a commission from its members to proceed to the United States. There being no other means of communication available at the time the Queen requested permission to send a letter to President Harrison by the same conveyance, which was refused. She, however, despatched such a letter by the first mail. In her letter she says: "It is with deep regret that I address you on this occasion. Some of my subjects, aided by aliens, have renounced their loyalty, and revolted against the constitutional government of my Kingdom. They have attempted to depose me, and establish a Provisional Government in direct conflict with the organic law of this Kingdom. Upon receiving incontestable proof that His Excellency the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States had caused troops to be landed for that purpose, I submitted to force, believing that he would not have acted in that manner unless by authority of the government which he represents.

"This action on my part was prompted by three reasons, *the futility of a conflict with the United States, the desire to avoid violence and bloodshed and the destruction of life and property, and the certainty which I feel that you and your government will right whatever wrong may have been inflicted upon us in the premises.* In due time a statement of the true facts relating to this matter will be laid before you, and I live in the hope that you will judge uprightly and justly between myself and my enemies. This appeal is not made for myself personally but for my people, who have hitherto always enjoyed the friendship and protection of the United States." Referring to her request that the vessel carrying the commissioners of the Committee of Safety might also take her letter to him, she continues: "This request has been refused: and I now ask you, in justice to myself and my people, that no steps be taken by the Government of the United States until my cause can be heard by you. I shall be able to send an envoy about the second day of February, as that will be the first available opportunity hence; and he will reach you with every possible haste, that there may be no delay in the settlement of this matter."

Unfortunately the simple woman, though a Queen, understood neither the exigencies of American politics nor the power of the influences opposed to her. For more than a year Mr. Stevens had been reporting a strong case against the Queen and in favor of the insurgent party to the State Department at Washington; and only shortly before the outbreak he had advised in language more poetical than just: "The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it." The administration was, therefore, not unprepared for the visit of the Hawaiian Commission. A treaty was speedily prepared with the Secretary of State which received the President's signature and was submitted to the Senate for approval February 15, 1893. Unfortunately the Senators considered other matters of more importance, as the session was drawing to a close, and the Hawaiian business failed of consideration.

President Cleveland succeeded President Harrison on March 4. His attention had been called to the situation by the Queen at the same time she wrote President Harrison. Very soon after assuming office, as is well known, Mr. Cleveland withdrew the treaty from the Senate. Mr. Cleveland's rugged justice has rarely been questioned by friend or foe, unless in the heat of partisan strife; and it is unfortunate that his course regarding the treaty should have been at once attributed to partisanship. It would be well for everyone interested in the subject to read the message to the Senate which accompanied the withdrawal of the treaty. Its contents can only be suggested here. "When the present Administration," he says, "entered upon its duties the Senate had under consideration a treaty providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the territory of the United States. . . . But it appeared from the documents accompanying the treaty when submitted to the Senate that the ownership of Hawaii was tendered to us by a Provisional Government set up to succeed the Constitutional ruler of the Islands who had been dethroned, and it did not appear that such provisional government had the sanction of either popular revolution or suffrage. Two other remarkable features of the transaction naturally attracted attention. One was the extraordinary haste—not to say precipitancy—characterizing all the transactions connected with the treaty." The President then reviews each step of the proceedings at Hawaii, and continues: "Thus between the initiation of the scheme for a Provisional Government in Hawaii on January 14 and the submission to the Senate of the Treaty of Annexation concluded with such government, the entire interval was thirty-two days, fifteen of which were spent by the Hawaiian Commissioners on their journey to Washington."

"In the next place, upon the face of the papers submitted with the Treaty it clearly appeared that there was open and undetermined an issue of fact of the most vital importance. The message of the President accompanying the treaty declared that 'the overthrow of the monarchy was not in any way promoted by this government'; and in a letter to the President from the Secretary of State, also submitted to the Senate with the treaty, the following passage occurs: 'At the time the Provisional Government took possession of the government buildings no troops or officers of the United States were present or took part in the proceedings. No public recognition was accorded the Provisional Government by the United States Minister until after the Queen's abdication, and when they were in effective possession of the government buildings, the archives, the treasury, the barracks, the police station, and all the potential machinery of government.' But a protest also accompanied said treaty, signed by the Queen and her ministers at the time she made way for the Provisional Government, which explicitly stated that she yielded to the superior force of the United States, whose Minister had caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu, and declared that he would support the Provisional Government. The truth or falsity of this protest was surely of the first importance. If true, nothing but the concealment of its truth could induce our government to negotiate with the semblance of a government thus created, nor could a treaty resulting from the acts stated in the protest have been knowingly deemed worthy of consideration by the Senate. Yet the truth or falsity of the protest had not been investigated. I conceived it to be my duty, therefore, to withdraw, the treaty from the Senate for examination, and meanwhile to cause an accurate, full, and impartial investigation to be made of the facts attending the subversion of the constitutional government of Hawaii, and the installment in its place of the Provisional Government. . . . *Our country was in danger of occupying the position of having actually set up a temporary government on foreign soil for the purpose of acquiring through that agency*

territory which we had wrongfully put in its possession. The control of both sides of a bargain acquired in such a manner is called by a familiar and unpleasant name when found in private transactions. . . . But in the present instance our duty does not, in my opinion, end with refusing to consummate the questionable transaction. It has been the boast of our government that it seeks to do justice in all things without regard to the strength or weakness of those with whom it deals. I mistake the American people if they favor the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality, that there is one law for a strong nation, and another for a weak one, and that even by indirection a strong power may with impunity despoil a weak one of its territory."

As is well known Mr. Cleveland sent a special envoy to Hawaii to investigate the true state of affairs, and that as a result of his investigation the President declined to resubmit the treaty to Congress. Failing of the desired annexation to the United States at that time, the Provisional Government established the Republic of Hawaii, believing that, with the advent of another Republican Administration in the United States, annexation could be achieved. Accordingly when the first Congress of Mr. McKinley's Administration convened a new treaty was submitted, which its adherents believed would receive prompt and immediate action. Unexpectedly, however, a strong opposition developed. In another chapter of this book (World Power) the story of this campaign and the reasons for the failure of the treaty have been given. Unable to secure the desired results in the regular way of treaty, the annexation party resorted to the measure of a Joint Resolution of Congress which was passed, and by President McKinley's signature became a law, on July 8, 1898. Thus ended the long contest; and the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, which had been debated and contemplated for more than a half century, became an accomplished fact.

On Friday, August 12, 1898, the United States war ship *Philadelphia,* under command of Admiral Miller, arrived at Honolulu, bearing the largest ensign made for the purpose at the Mare Island Navy Yard, and the ceremony of transferring

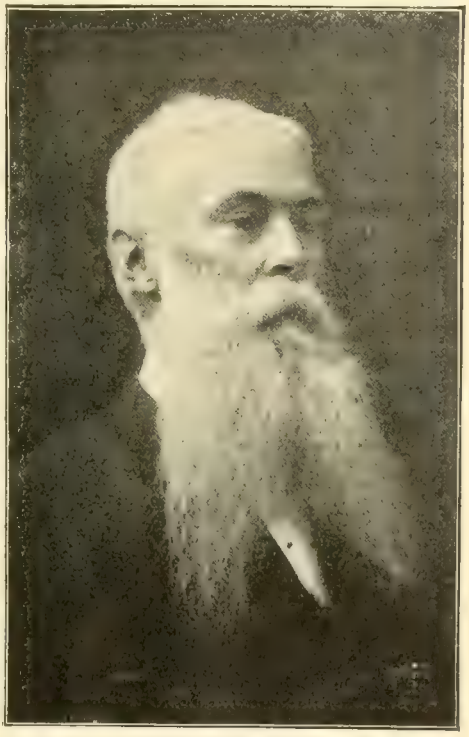


Photo. Copyright 1907 by J. E. Purdy, Boston.
SANFORD B. DOLE.

the territory took place on that date. Beside the chair of President Dole of the Hawaiian Republic sat Hon. Harold M. Sewall, who had been designated by President McKinley as Envoy Extraordinary to receive the transfer of the Island territory. The certified copy of the Joint Resolution of Congress accepting the cession of the Islands was delivered to President Dole by Mr. Sewall; and the President, in a brief address, delivered to Minister Sewall the sovereignty of Hawaii. After a prayer and the rendering of the Hawaiian national anthem, *Hawaii Ponoi,* by the native band stationed in the square below, at a signal the Hawaiian flag fell from the staff over the Government building, and the flag of the

United States was raised to its place. At the same time a similar change of flags was made over all public buildings, and the national salute thundered from the guns of the war vessels in the harbor. Following the flag raising Minister Sewall proclaimed the sovereignty of the United States, and the oath of office was administered to President Dole and the other officials by Chief Justice Judd, they having been authorized by President McKinley to continue the administration of the affairs of the Islands until a definite form of government for them should be determined upon by Congress.

XLVIII.

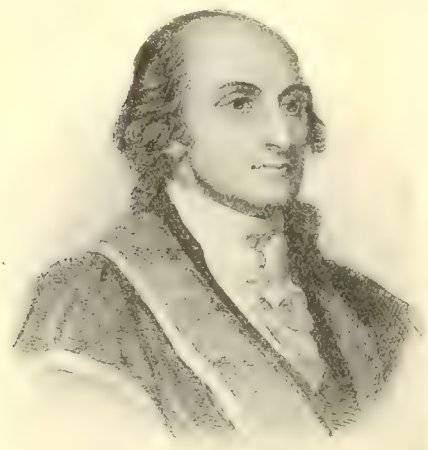
THE HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCES — 1899–1907.

Early Arbitration Agreements.— The Jay Treaty.— The Burr-Hamilton Duel.— The Geneva Arbitration.— The Czar's First Letter to Sovereign States.— Public Opinion Regarding It.— Second Letter and Programme for Conference.— Description of Holland and The Hague.— Grotius and His Work.— The House in the Wood.— Splendid Courtesy of Queen Wilhelmina and The Netherlanders.— First Meeting of First Conference.— Twenty-six Nations, Twelve Hundred Million People Represented.— Character of Delegates and Languages Spoken.— Delegates from the United States.— Routine Work of Delegates.— Social Functions.— Details of Results Achieved.— Effective Addresses of Leading Delegates.— Permanent Court of Arbitration.—Second Conference Demanded by Interparliamentary Union.—President Roosevelt's Action.—Final Call of Czar of Russia for Conference to Meet June 15, 1907.—Delegates from United States.— Conditions Attending the Meeting.— Organization and Distribution of Work.— Notable Addresses.— Stubborn Fight to Perfect Permanent Court.— Magnificent Work of Mr. Choate.— All Provisions Made for Court, but no Judges.— Bitter Opposition of Smaller Nations.—"The World Desires Peace."— The International Prize Court.— Achievements of Second Conference.— Opinion of Elihu Root, then Secretary of State.— Real Significance of the Conferences.

"I once heard Mr. Root (Ex-Sec. of State of the United States) say 'there are no international controversies so serious that they cannot be settled peaceably if both parties really desire peaceable settlement. The matters in dispute between nations are nothing; the spirit which deals with them is everything.' This is perfectly true."— JAMES BRYCE.

IN the evolution of political and social life it has been the good fortune of the government and people of the United States, sometimes with clear vision and sometimes unconsciously, so to change the direction of forces active in a period that quite new and often unexpected results have been achieved. Though the Revolutionary War had been fought to a successful issue, the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Great Britain left many serious questions unsettled, which were constant sources of irritation to the government and to the people of both countries. So acute had the antagonism become during the early years of Washington's administration, that it was evident some mutual understanding must be reached, or the trial of battle again be made. To avert such a calamity, John Jay, one of the most enlightened, intelligent, and experienced statesmen of the period was sent to England in 1795 to negotiate, if possible, some treaty which should establish a basis for the continuance of peaceful relations between the two countries. Though he achieved reasonable success, so hostile was the Republican party,—the party of strong French proclivities,—to any negotiations with Great Britain, that

the reception given Jay and his treaty upon his return to the United States was most disheartening. Though dissatisfied with its provisions, Washington realized that it was the best that could be done under existing conditions, and his influence was powerful enough to secure its approval by the Senate. As the execution of the treaty involved an expenditure of money, however, which must be voted in the first instance in the House, the majority of whose members belonged to the Republican party, there seemed to be little possibility of its being approved. The crisis was one of the most desperate in the early history of the nation, as on the day of the final vote it was found that the opponents of the Treaty would have a majority of six votes. Then was delivered by Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, what has been declared to be the greatest speech heard in Congress down to the days of Daniel Webster. After years of faithful service to his country, Ames was rapidly approaching the end of life, and was in such a feeble condition when he



JOHN JAY.

arose to speak that his weak body and voice well-nigh failed him. But inspired by the supreme importance of the action of his fellow members, upon which he firmly believed even the continued existence of the nation depended, he spoke with such fervor and convincing power that the majority hostile to the Treaty was overcome, and it was approved by a majority of three votes. "For three hours," says the historian, "he held the House and the gallery in the spell of his burning eloquence, and closed with the pathetic words: 'Even the minutes I have spent in expostulating have their value, because they protract the crisis and the short period in which alone we may resolve to escape it. Yet I have, perhaps, as little personal interest in the event as anyone here. There is, I believe, no member who will not think his chance to be a witness of the consequences greater than mine. If, however, the vote should pass to reject,—even I, slender and almost broken as my life is, may outlive the government and the constitution of my country.'"

The highest significance of this treaty lies not alone in the fact that it served to avert war for the time, and postpone for twenty years what was probably an inevitable conflict, until the young nation was able to wage it successfully; but also in the great fact that it was the first agreement of this character entered into by the United States, and, perhaps, the first between any two independent nations, which made any provision for the settlement of political differences by peaceful measures, rather than by the arbitrament of the sword. *The Jay Treaty provided, among other things, for the settlement of three of the questions at issue between the two countries by mixed commissions, a form of tribunal which afterward developed into the temporary arbitration Court*, which has done so much in recent years to preserve and promote the peace of the world. Hundreds of treaties had been made before this, but their purpose had always been to define new relations and political or territorial rights, *after war;* but the Jay Treaty, unconsciously, perhaps, to all the parties concerned, "blazed a better way," which it is to the eternal honor of the American government it has been well disposed to follow. "Peace hath her victories, no less renowned than war;" and it is these blood-

less victories, all of them the legitimate successors of the Jay Treaty, that are detailed in the pages of the more than two hundred arbitration treaties that have been negotiated between independent nations during the past century, as recorded by Professor John Bassett Moore, in his work entitled "International Arbitrations."

Early in the nineteenth century the popular conscience began to be aroused as to the horrors of both public and private war, as well as to realize its futility in the settlement of misunderstandings in accordance with the principles of justice. There was awakening a glimmering consciousness that "might does not make right." The duel between Burr and Hamilton shocked the better sentiment of the American people as no similar event had ever done; and the horrible slaughter which had been going on throughout Europe during the quarter of a century prior to 1815, as a result of which it was claimed over 6,000,000 had lost their lives, aroused in the popular mind a conviction that both individual and international wars were relics of barbarism, and that enlightened and civilized peoples could and should work out some better method of settling disputed questions. One has only to read, even superficially, the story of the political and social development of the last hundred years, and the trend of the popular thought as reflected in our best literature, to discover the continual growth of more humane impulses as to the conduct of international strifes, as well as the constantly increasing strength of peace sentiments and of organizations founded to promote its interests; while the duel has come to be held in abhorrence, if not legally forbidden, in all civilized countries. Though the *tangible* results achieved previous to 1870 may seem meagre, yet it was everywhere manifest to even the casual observer that the Angel of Peace was troubling the waters, and that all civilized peoples were more and more realizing the sublime fact that there was healing in his wings.

The Treaty of Washington, of 1871, however, placed the arbitration of international differences on a more secure basis, and established principles of incalculable benefit to mankind. The conflict of opinion between Great Britain and the United States regarding the Alabama Claims had been long continued and bitter, and several times war seemed the only outcome; but wiser councils prevailed eventually, and the representatives of the two countries were able to provide for the amicable settlement of these most serious questions. Of far greater importance, however, than the immediate results to either people of the arbitration proceedings at Geneva, was the *precedent then established,* which has ever since been recognized as of vital importance by the statesmen of both countries. As the distinguished British statesman and writer, John Morley, has said: "The Treaty of Washington and the Geneva Arbitration stand out as the most notable victory in the nineteenth century of the noble art of preventive diplomacy, and the most significant exhibition in their history of self-command in two of the three chief democratic powers of the western world." With constantly growing unanimity the leaders of opinion in both countries have made *Peace* and *Arbitration* their watchwords; and it may be safely asserted that such relations have now been reached between the two most powerful English-speaking peoples of the world that war between them is no longer regarded as even a possibility whatever their differences. So dominant had become the spirit of conciliation in the conduct of international affairs that when the Congress of the United States, in 1890, adopted a resolution "that the President be requested to invite from time to time, as fit occasion may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration, and be peacefully adjusted by such means," a sympathetic response came almost immediately

from the British House of Commons, in the form of a resolution, approving of this Act of the Congress of the United States, and expressing the "hope that Her Majesty's government will lend their ready co-operation to the government of the United States for the accomplishment of the object had in view." Thus had these two great and influential nations, before the close of the nineteenth century, placed themselves on record, officially, as favoring the most complete submission of differences between them to peaceful arbitration. But notwithstanding these signal achievements looking toward the reign of Peace on Earth, it appeared as if the nineteenth century was to pass into history with its latter years darkened by the hideous system of militarism. While making treaties of arbitration, the great Powers had with increased ardor enlarged their fighting forces. The military and naval budgets of Great Britain were more than doubled during the last ten years of the century, while those of the United States were more than trebled in the same period; and under the influence of the "Jingo" spirit it was the avowed purpose of both nations to continue the same policy. Arbitration was magnificent in its way and within its limitations; but the very existence and continuance of the great military establishments of all the leading powers showed only too clearly that its ultimate effectiveness was doubted. Restriction and reduction of armaments, and a lightening of the terrible burdens of taxation which the great military establishments entailed, were the ends sought by the peacemakers; and of such tendencies there appeared no signs.

But it was the darkness that precedes the dawn. On the 24th of August, 1898, Count Mouravieff, the Russian Foreign Minister, presented to each of the diplomatic representatives at the Court of St. Petersburg a lithographic communication, which read as follows: "The maintenance of the general peace and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations present themselves, in the existing condition of the whole world, as the ideal toward which the endeavors of all governments should be directed. The humanitarian and magnanimous ideas of His Majesty the Emperor, my August Master, have been won over to this view. In the conviction that this lofty aim is in conformity with the most essential interests and the legitimate views of all the Powers, the Imperial Government thinks that the present moment would be very favorable for seeking, by means of international discussion, the most effectual means of insuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and durable peace, and, above all, of putting an end to the progressive development of the present armaments. In the course of the last twenty years the longings for a general appeasement have become especially pronounced in the consciences of civilized nations. The preservation of Peace has been put forward as the object of international policy; in its name great states have concluded between themselves powerful alliances; it is the better to guarantee peace that they have developed, in proportions hitherto unprecedented, their military forces and still continue to increase them without shrinking from any sacrifice. All these efforts, nevertheless, have not as yet been able to bring about the beneficent results of the desired pacification. The financial charges following an upward march strike at the public prosperity at its very source. The intellectual and physical strength of the nations, labor and capital, are for the major part diverted from their natural application, and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are devoted to acquiring terrible engines of destruction which, though to-day regarded as the last word of science, are destined to-morrow to lose all value in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field. National culture, economic progress, and the production of wealth are either paralyzed, or checked in their development. Moreover, in proportion as the armaments of each power increase, so do they less fulfill the object which the governments have set before

themselves. The economic crisis, due in great part to the system of armaments *à l'outrance,* and the continual danger which lies in this massing of war material, are transforming the assured peace of our days into a crushing burden, which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It appears evident, then, that if this state of things were prolonged, it will inevitably lead to the very cataclysm which it is desired to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking man shudder in advance. *To put an end to these incessant armaments and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which are threatening the whole world, such is the supreme duty which is to-day imposed on all states.* Filled with this idea His Majesty has been pleased to order me to propose to all the governments whose representatives are accredited to the Imperial Court the meeting of a conference which would have to occupy itself with this grave problem. This conference should be, by the help of God, a happy presage for the century which is about to open. It would converge in one powerful focus the efforts of all states which are sincerely seeking to make the great idea of universal peace triumph over the elements of trouble and discord. It would at the same time confirm their argument by the solemn establishment of the principles of justice and right, upon which repose the Security of States and the Welfare of Peoples."

No words can convey any idea of the astonishment with which this communication was received. To many earnest men on both Continents who had been working and praying for some signs of the advent of the "Prince of Peace," it carried joy unspeakable and strengthened their highest hopes. To the great majority, however, it seemed the proposal of a dreamer, and hardly worthy of serious consideration. In many of the leading journals of Europe and America the Czar was unmercifully lampooned, ridiculed, and caricatured. The general sentiment found expression in the ancient query, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" and the issuance of such a circular by the most autocratic and, in the popular esteem, the most heartless and cruel Power of the world seemed little short of monumental impudence. Nor did a much more favorable opinion obtain in diplomatic circles. The American representative at St. Petersburg reported to the government at Washington that "the general consensus of opinion among members of the diplomatic corps now present appears to be that the proposition is visionary and Utopian, if not partaking of Quixotism. Little value is expected to result from the Conference, and indeed every diplomatic officer with whom I have talked seems to regard the proposition with that technical skepticism which great measures of reform usually encounter." Happily there were wiser heads in the various home governments, and men of broader and more sympathetic political vision; and every American may take just pride in the fact that the United States decided at once to accept the proposal contained in the Russian circular, and instructed the Ambassador at St. Petersburg to do so, orally, in the most cordial terms.

Within a few months so many acceptances had been received by the Russian Government that on January 11, 1889, a second circular letter was delivered by Count Mouravieff to the same diplomatic representatives who had received the first, acknowledging with a lively appreciation the hearty responses from all the Powers, and their acceptance of the Czar's proposal for a Conference. In the same communication suggestions were offered as to topics that might be made the basis for discussions, and limits proposed beyond which they should not go.

The remarkable tact that had characterized every act of the Russian Government thus far, was further manifested in the last paragraph of this second circular which declared that "His Imperial Majesty considers it advisable that the Conference should not sit in the capital of one of the great powers, where so many political interests are centred which might, perhaps, impede the progress of a

work which all the countries of the universe are equally interested in." On February 9th, Count Mouravieff advised the representatives of the invited Powers that the Imperial Government had communicated with the government of Her Majesty, the Queen of the Netherlands, regarding the choice of The Hague as the eventual seat of the proposed conference and that, the Netherlands government having expressed its assent, the representatives were requested to inform their governments of this selection. The formal invitation of the Netherlands' government was sent to the invited Powers on the 7th of April, 1899. In this invitation the 18th of May following was named as the date for the opening session of the Conference. Thus were concluded the somewhat elaborate preliminaries for the assembling of the most notable body of men that ever came together to consider questions of the most vital interest to every inhabitant of the globe. As the proposition was absolutely unique in its inception, there were no precedents to guide the Russian Court in its procedure; and the manner in which it avoided jealousies by limiting its invitations to the Powers represented at its Court, and friction and undue influence of any nature by the selection of The Hague as the meeting place, was worthy of the highest admiration, as well as of the unreserved endorsement all the Powers gave to the entire procedure. As was well said by one of the most prominent delegates to the Conference this was "certainly one of the greatest achievements of modern Russian diplomacy."

The Hague is the interesting political capital of one of the most interesting and peculiar of the European states. Geographically, Holland, or, as it is officially known, The Netherlands, is one of the most insignificant of states, situated on the North Sea, and having an extreme length from north to south of 164 miles and a width from east to west of 140 miles. It is literally "made land," the result of the combined work of nature and man. As the name indicates, the Netherlands are low and flat, and form the delta of the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt rivers. So peculiar, too, is the configuration of the land, with the great Zuyder Zee cutting in from the North Sea to almost its southern boundary, that well-nigh its entire area is sea coast, and a large proportion of its towns are sea-ports. Along many parts of the coast, and along all the rivers, huge dikes have been constructed, thirty feet high and seventy feet broad at the base, for protection against inundation. The whole country, too, is intersected by a marvelous system of canals, which are to be found everywhere, and which have a total length of over 1,600,000 miles. These have been cut partly for the purpose of communication, but more particularly for drainage. One of the most interesting of travelers and writers, d'Amicis, has given this description of the country: "What sort of a country Holland is has been told by many in a few words. Napoleon said it was an alluvion of French rivers—the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt—and with this pretext he added it to the empire. One writer has defined it as a sort of transition between land and sea. Another, as an immense crust of earth floating in the water. Others, as an annex of the old continent, the China of Europe, the end of the earth and the beginning of the ocean, a measureless raft of mud and sand; and Phillip II. called it 'the country nearest to Hell.' But all agreed upon one point, and all expressed it in the same words; Holland is a conquest made by man over the sea—it is an artificial country—the Hollanders made it—it exists because the Hollanders preserve it—it will vanish whenever the Hollanders abandon it." In the Introduction to his "Rise of the Dutch Republic," Motley thus speaks of this remarkable country: "Geographically and ethnologically, the Low Countries belong both to Gaul and to Germany. It is even doubtful to which of the two the Batavian island, which is the core of the whole country, was reckoned by the Romans. Three great rivers—the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt—had

deposited their slime for ages among the dunes and sandbanks heaved up by the ocean around their mouths. A delta was thus formed habitable at last for man. It was by nature a wide morass, in which oozy islands and savage forests were interspersed among lagoons and shallows; a district lying partly below the level of the ocean at its higher tides, subject to constant overflow from the rivers, and to frequent and terrible inundations by the sea. . . . Here, within a half-submerged territory, a race of wretched ichthyophagi dwelt upon 'terpen,' or mounds, which they had raised, like beavers, above the almost fluid soil. Here, at a later day, the same race chained the tyrant Ocean and his mighty streams into subserviency, forcing them to fertilize, to render commodious, to cover with a beneficent network of veins and arteries, and to bind by watery highways with the farthest ends of the world, a country disinherited of its rights. A region, outcast of ocean and earth, wrested at last from both domains their richest treasures. A race, engaged for generations in stubborn conflict with the angry elements, was unconsciously educating itself for its great struggle with the still more savage despotism of man. The whole territory of the Netherlands was girt with forests. The groves of Haarlem and the Hague are relics of this ancient forest. The vast Hercynian forest, nine days journey in breadth, closed in the country on the German side. On the South, the famous groves of Ardennes, haunted by faun and satyr, embowered the country and separated it from Celtic Gaul. Thus inundated by mighty rivers, quaking beneath the level of the ocean, belted about by hirsute forests, this lowland, nether land, hollow land, or Holland, seemed hardly deserving the arms of the all-accomplished Roman."

THE VYVER, OR FISH POND, THE HAGUE.

But it is physically only that Holland is insignificant, few states having played a more important part in the history and development of modern Europe. All readers of Motley's works are familiar with the terrible sufferings the Dutch en-

dured to protect their civil and religious liberties, resisting successfully all the powers and arms of Spain, and surviving all the tortures of the Inquisition. Later the little state became practically the leading power in the industrial and commercial world, and mistress of the seas. After the battle of Goodwin Sands, in 1652, the Dutch Admiral Van Tromp paraded the English coast with a broom at the masthead of his vessel, proclaiming that he had swept the English channel; and in 1667 De Ruyter sailed up the Thames and blockaded London. The surplus energy of its people found vent in every form of commercial endeavor and maritime conquest. Thriving colonies were founded in both the East and West Indies, which are still a chief source of the wealth of the country. At home their manufacturing industries were probably more and better developed than those of any other state; and many a housewife

HUGO GROTIUS

still calls certain kinds of linens "Hollands." Nor were the achievements of this remarkable people less distinguished in literature, art, philosophy, and religion. For well-nigh a century Holland was the tolerant and peaceful haven in which "the persecuted for righteousness' sake" of other countries found refuge. From few, if any, other cities of the world have there gone forth such potent influences for the enlightenment of the whole earth, and for the humanizing and uplifting of its people, as from the little city of Delft, four miles east of The Hague. Here was born in 1583 the great Grotius, more than any other one man the father of all the tendencies that look toward "peace among men," the great apostle of toleration when it was a well-nigh unknown virtue, and the author of the great work which is the basis of the entire system of modern international law. Of Grotius and his work Hon Andrew D. White has said: "This debt (of gratitude) is that which, in common with the whole world, we owe to one of whom all civilized lands are justly proud,—the poet, the scholar, the historian, the statesman, the diplomat, the jurist, the author of the treatise *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*. Of all works not claiming divine inspiration that book, written by a man proscribed and hated both for his politics and his religion, has proved the greatest blessing to humanity. More than any other it has prevented unmerited suffering, misery, and sorrow; more than any other it has ennobled the military profession; more than any other it has promoted the blessings of peace and diminished the horrors of war." From this same little city of Delft, too, in 1620, sailed the "Mayflower," bearing the immortal Pilgrim Fathers to plant in the new world the seeds of religion and political liberty. What more fitting place could have been found, where else an historical atmosphere so congenial, for the assembling of the first International Peace Congress, the "first conference of the whole world," the sole object of whose existence was the uplifting of the people of every clime and race, and the opening of the doors that the Prince of Peace might come in.

The Hague, though far outstripped by Amsterdam and Rotterdam in commercial importance, is the most beautiful of the cities of the Netherlands. It has been described as "unlike other Dutch cities,—more like a French city strayed over into

Holland." Its broad streets are lined with trees, and there are many open spaces and parks. The centre of the city, where are the most historic buildings, is by the Vyver, or "fish pond," a lake of considerable size and beauty. Along the sides extend the principal streets and the fashionable promenades. The city was originally the hereditary seat of the Counts of Holland, and its Dutch name "Graven Hage," or "en Haag," signifies the Count's enclosure or hedge. Since the latter part of the sixteenth century it has been the political centre of the country, and there the nobles, the foreign ambassadors, and all the important officials of the realm have resided. In walking through its streets signs of wealth and fashion are everywhere visible. The two chief points of interest are the Art Gallery, which has been called the "Jewel of The Hague," and the famous "House in the Wood." The art gallery has about four hundred and fifty canvases, many of which are of the highest merit with, of course, a large representation of the Dutch masters. It is particularly rich in Rembrandts and includes his best known painting the "Lesson in Anatomy." Another of the famous works is Paul Potter's "Bull,"—"that Bull which," says d'Amicis, "at the time when there was a mania for classifying pictures in a sort of hierarchy of celebrity, hung in the gallery of the Louvre side by side with the 'Transfiguration' of Raphael, the 'St. Peter Martyr' of Titian, and the 'Communion of St. Jerome' of Domenicho; that Bull for which England would give a million francs, and with which Holland would not part for double that sum." The "House in the Wood" is situated about a mile east of the city, in the beautiful park known as the "Bosch." This is the summer palace of the Dutch royal family, and was built in 1647 in memory of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, by his wife. Uniting the qualities of beauty and simplicity in its exterior, the palace in its interior presents a series of magnificently ornamented rooms, the finest of which is the Orange Zaal,—the ballroom, which was most elaborately decorated by Jordaens and other pupils of Rubens. This room has now become historic as the assembling place of the first International Peace Conference.

In 1898, while the negotiations described above preliminary to the calling of

Photograph Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
QUEEN WILHELMINA.

the conference were pending, the interest of the whole world was for a time centred in The Hague because of the coming of age of the young and beautiful Queen, Wilhelmina. Born in 1880, she became legally the Queen on the death of her father in 1890, but could not ascend to the throne until she had reached her legal maturity. During the years of the regency of her mother, Queen Emma, many accounts appeared in the magazines and papers describing the beauty of character and person of the young Queen and her democratic, human, and lovable traits. When, therefore, she assumed the authority as well as title of Queen and was enthroned with great splendor and rejoicing in 1898, there was a spontaneous outburst

of affection and good will from the people of all nations; and it was certainly a happy omen that one of the earliest duties and privileges of her official life was to invite the delegates to the Peace Conference to become the honored guests of her government and later to receive them with a graciousness and sweetness that charmed even the hardest hearted and coolest headed of the world's diplomats; and her deep interest in the movement was manifested when she placed at the disposal of the Conference, for its meeting place, the most beautiful room of her favorite palace, the great Orange Zaal.

"On Thursday, the 18th of May," says Mr. F. W. Holls, a delegate from the United States and the historian of the Conference, "the beautiful Netherlands capital, The Hague, presented a stirring and picturesque spectacle. From all the public buildings, the principal hotels, the various embassies and legations, and also from many private houses, especially in the neighborhood of the public squares, the flags of nearly all civilized countries were thrown to the winds. The delegates of twenty-five powers had arrived to attend the opening of what has since been known as the International Peace Conference. It was a perfect spring day, and it had been chosen for this interesting ceremony because it was the birthday of the Emperor of Russia." At two o'clock in the afternoon the delegates assembled for their first meeting, and it was found that four rows of concentric, semi-circular tables, covered with green baize, had been provided, affording just one hundred seats,—the exact number of delegates expected. These had been assigned to the respective states in alphabetical order, the French language being used, and the United States having been classed as *Amérique* shared with Germany (*Allemagne*) the seats of honor along the centre of the room, and directly in front of the president's chair. Upon investigation it was found that every delegate was present at the first meeting. There was no room for spectators or for journalists, except in a narrow gallery in the cupola, to which a few invited guests were admitted on the opening and closing days of the Conference. At all other times all besides members were rigidly excluded, and visitors were not permitted even to inspect the palace during the sessions of the conference or any of its committees. Every guarantee was thus given for complete privacy and freedom of deliberations.

That this was indeed an assembly representing the world, a few facts selected from an array of statistics brought together by Dr. Trueblood, in his interesting volume on "The Federation of the World," will abundantly demonstrate. Twenty-four independent and two semi-independent nations were present by their delegates,—all the European nations, twenty in number, two from North America, and four from Asia. The twenty-six nations represented, with their dependencies, have a population of over twelve hundred millions of people, or more than four-fifths of the population of the globe. Territorially, close to five-sixths of the earth's surface was represented. The whole of Europe, the whole of North America, practically the whole of Asia, most of Africa, and of the islands of the sea participated by direct or indirect representation, in this unique gathering. Only South and Central America and a few small sections of territory had no share in it. Moreover no such array of tongues ever came together since the differentiation of human speech began. Though French was the official language of the deliberation of the Conference, the delegates spoke, as their native tongues, no less than twenty different languages. At the Hague one *might* have heard English, French, German, Spanish, Russian, Italian, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Greek, Turkish, Roumanian, Bulgarian, Servian, Hungarian, Polish, Prussian, Siamese, and possibly Arabic. The men of which the Conference was composed, too, were among the most eminent public men of the time. More than thirty were

actual ambassadors or ministers plenipotentiary of their governments to foreign courts, the men who constitute the most powerful political tie binding the nations together. Among the delegates also were the eminent educators from both hemispheres, distinguished students and expounders of international law, capable and experienced jurists, eminent cabinet officers, senators and representatives, and military and naval experts of the first rank. This body of public men might doubtless have been duplicated in ability, experience and fitness, but it could not probably have been surpassed by an equal number from among living statesmen and publicists.

The following distinguished gentlemen were named by the President to represent the United States at the Conference: Hon. Andrew D. White, Ambassador to Germany, elected President of the delegation; Hon. Seth Low, President of Columbia University; G. F. W. Holls, of New York, an eminent lawyer, and later the historian of the Conference; Captain A. S. Mahan of the United States Navy; and Captain W. Crozier of the Army.

The first meeting of the Conference was called to order by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, W. H. de Beaufort, who welcomed the delegates most cordially in behalf of his government, expressing the conviction that "the day of the meeting of this Conference will, beyond doubt, be one of the days which will mark the history of the century which is about to close;" and in conclusion he expressed the desire that the Presidency of the Assembly should be conferred upon his Excellency M. de Staal, the Ambassador of Russia. M. de Staal accepted the office in a very graceful address in which he declared that he "could not consider the election which has been conferred upon me otherwise than as a result of my being a plenipotentiary of the Emperor, my Master,—the August Initiator of the idea of this Conference." Following his address of acceptance the President proposed to send to Her Majesty, the Queen, "whose grateful guests we are," this message: "Assembled for the first time in this beautiful 'House in the Wood' the members of the Conference hasten to place their best wishes at the feet of your Majesty, begging the acceptance of the homage of their gratitude for the hospitality which you, Madam, have so graciously deigned to offer them." At the second session of the Conference the President had the pleasure of reading to the delegates the Queen's reply in these words: "In thanking your Excellency, as well as the members of the Peace Conference, for the sentiment expressed in your telegram, I take this occasion, with great pleasure, to repeat my welcome to my country. I wish most sincerely that, with the aid of God, the work of the Conference may realize the generous idea of your August Sovereign."

In his second letter to the Powers the

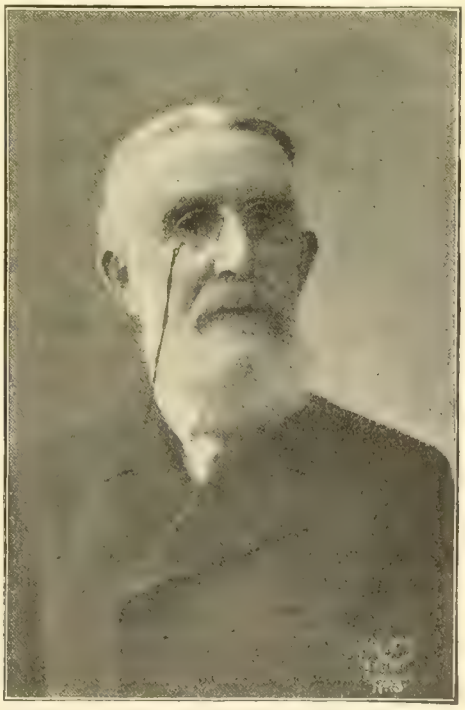


Photo. Copyrighted 1903 *by J. E. Purdy, Boston.*
ANDREW D. WHITE.

Emperor had suggested eight subjects which he deemed of such a character that they could be discussed without exciting individual national animosities. The first

four naturally grouped themselves under the general head of military affairs; the next three under the head of subjects that had been considered previously at the Geneva Convention of 1864; while the eighth covered the general proposition of mediation and arbitration. In outlining its work, therefore, the Conference divided itself into three great or chief committees and one of these general subjects enumerated was assigned to each. These Committees were subdivided, such sub-divisions considering individual subjects under the general head. The conclusions of these sub-committees were first approved or rejected, or varied, by its grand committee; and the approved findings of

THE HOUSE IN THE WOOD.

these general committees were then taken up and acted upon by the Conference as a whole. The work was thus greatly simplified and much friction and many stormy debates unquestionably avoided with the result that, though the Conference was in session from May 18 to July 29, seventy-two days,—it only met as a plenary body ten times. But the story of the routine activities of the members shows that constant and devoted work was being done by each, daily and nightly, in the sub- or general-committees.

All the delegates who have written upon the proceedings of the Conference bear testimony to the fact that in its earlier days a positive spirit of skepticism and doubt, even of contempt for the whole idea, possessed many of the representatives assembled; and it was only gradually that this spirit disappeared as members became better acquainted, and exchanged views and sentiments with each other. As soon as it became evident that tangible results could and would be secured, all worked together harmoniously and with unflagging zeal. Two things which contributed especially to this end were (1) the continuous round of social functions in the city, which brought the delegates together in a friendly way at teas, dinners, and receptions; and (2) the fine tact and generous and thoughtful hospitality that was everywhere in evidence on the part of the officers of the government who had the provision for the comforts and necessities of the delegates in charge. This was well illustrated in the assemblies at the "House in the Wood." All the meetings of the Conference as a whole or of its committees were held there; and on every occasion an elaborate luncheon was served, care being always taken by the master-of-ceremonies that the same delegates should not be grouped at the tables day after day, but new combinations made. Before the Conference had come to the point of considering any of the important subjects as a whole, therefore, all the members had become pleasantly and quite well acquainted. A community of interest and a mutual respect and regard had been established which worked as a potent factor in all their deliberations. After the formalities of the organization had been completed the Conference took up its routine work. The eight subjects suggested by the Czar were recognized by the delegates as constituting their programme. In his opening address Baron de Staal had limited the scope of discussion in these terms: "It is understood that outside of the topics mentioned above (the Czar's eight propositions), the Conference does not consider itself competent to consider any other question. In case of doubt the Conference shall have to decide whether any proposition originating in the commissions, is or is not within the scope of the topics

outlined." This ruling of the president turned the discussion into well defined channels and greatly simplified the work of the delegates. It also served frequently to dispose of some questions that arose which threatened to scatter the seeds of discord among the members. All acquiesced in the position taken by Baron de Staal; and in the instances where new propositions were suggested in the commissions, the Conference declined emphatically to consider them as within its jurisdiction.

In the review of prevailing conditions embraced in his first letter to the Powers the Czar especially emphasized the existing and growing evil of excessive armaments and the horrible expense of the great military establishments. It is evident that this was, in his view, the subject that should receive the especial attention of the delegates to the Conference. Unfortunately, too, the public interest all over the world had become fixed upon this particular feature of the movement, and had overlooked or minimized all other questions. It was also the subject first assigned to a general committee. When, therefore, early in the proceedings, it became evident that nothing whatever could be accomplished looking toward disarming nor even a limitation of armaments, public opinion was pronounced in its expression of disappointment and even disgust, and the whole scheme of such a Conference was declared a failure and its proceedings a farce. Very soon after the discussion of the question was begun in Committee the military representatives of Germany took such a position as to make further consideration useless. The evil of the situation was emphasized by the fact that throughout the world the opinion had gained foothold that the proposition of the Czar contemplated actual and immediate disarmament by the great military Powers. But such was never the idea. A limitation as to increase of armaments was all that was meditated at the time, with a hope for gradual disarmament in the future as a result. Immediately after the first suggestion of the Conference Count Mouravieff urged the British Ambassador to note "that this eloquent appeal, which I have drawn up at the dictation of the Emperor, does not invite a general disarmament, as such a proposal would not be likely to receive general acceptance at present, nor does His Imperial Majesty look for an immediate realization of the aims he has so much at heart, *but desires to initiate an effort,* the effects of which can only be gradual." In opening the consideration of the subject in committee Colonel Gilinsky introduced the Russian propositions, prefacing them with an eloquent and earnest address. "Gentlemen," said he, "will the peoples represented in this Conference be entirely satisfied if, in going hence, we take them *arbitration and the laws of warfare,* but nothing for the time of peace,—of this armed peace which is so heavy a burden on the nations, which crushes them to that point where it can be sometimes said that *open war would perhaps be better than this state of secret war,* this incessant competition in which all the world pushes forward larger and larger armies,—larger now in time of peace than they used to be in times of greatest warfare? The various countries have engaged in war only once in every twenty or thirty years; but this armed peace lasts for decades, it precedes war and follows it." At the close of his address Colonel Gilinsky submitted these propositions: 1. An international agreement for the term of five years, stipulating the non-increase of the present number of troops maintained in time of peace in each mother country. 2. The determination, in case of this agreement, of the troops to be maintained in time of peace by all the powers, not including Colonial troops. 3. The maintenance, for the same term of five years, of the size of the military budget in force at the present time.

A captain of the Russian Navy presented similar propositions to govern marine forces and budgets, after which the discussion became general. One of the earliest and most determined opponents of the whole Russian proposition was

Colonel von Schwarzhoff, of the German army, who entertained the Commission with a very *Kaiserish* speech, which aroused ill concealed irritation among the delegates. "As far as Germany is concerned," he said, "I can reassure her friends completely and dissipate all benevolent anxiety regarding her. The German people are not crushed beneath the weight of expenditures and taxes; they are not hanging on the edge of a precipice; they are not hastening towards exhaustion and ruin. Quite the contrary; public and private wealth is increasing; the general welfare and standard of life are rising from year to year. As for compulsory military service, which is intimately associated with these questions, the German does not regard it as a heavy burden, but as a sacred and patriotic duty, to the performance of which he owes his existence, his prosperity, his future." Strangely the bellicose Colonel did not buttress his arguments by reference to the fact of the emigration of some two or three millions of his countrymen to North and South America within the preceding twenty years that they might enjoy under less strenuous conditions the blessings which the German military system offers. Many earnest and eloquent protests were entered against Germany's attitude, and favoring the Russian proposals. Dr. Stancioff, of Bulgaria, presented the interest of the weaker nations, declaring that "armed peace is ruinous for small states, whose needs are numerous, and who have everything to gain by investing their means in the development of industry and agriculture, and in the requisites of progress." After considerable debate, however, it was decided to refer the subject to a military subcommittee, which was made up of Colonels Gilinsky and Schwarzhoff, and military representatives from five other large powers and two small powers. On June 30, this subcommittee reported as follows: "The members of the committee charged with the examination of the propositions of Colonel Gilinsky, relating to the first topic of Count Mouravieff's circular, have met twice. With the exception of Colonel Gilinsky they have decided unanimously; first, that it would be very difficult to fix, even for a term of five years, the number of troops, without at the same time regulating other elements of the national defense; second, that it would be no less difficult to regulate by an international agreement the elements of this defense, organized in each country upon very different principles. Hence, the Committee regrets its inability to accept the proposition made in the name of the Russian government. The majority of its members believe that a more thorough study of the question by the governments themselves would be desirable."

After this report had been presented to the General Committee and read the President invited members to discuss it; but as no one responded he declared that the complete silence of the assembly acted as an approval, and that under such circumstances it was unnecessary to take a vote. After the declaration of the President, however, several members seized the opportunity to explain their position. Baron de Bildt, of Sweden and Norway, in particular, feelingly voiced his opinion and that of his associates. Stating that the Russian propositions were disapproved by his country because of form only, not because of their object, he concluded an eloquent and feeling address as follows: "We have, therefore, not been able to vote for the Russian proposition, as it has been formulated, and I state this fact with sincere regret—I will say more—with genuine sorrow. For, gentlemen, we are about to terminate our labors, recognizing that we have been confronted with one of the most important problems of the century, and that we have accomplished very little towards its solution. Let us not indulge in illusions. When the results of our deliberations shall become known, there will arise, notwithstanding all that has been done for Arbitration, the Red Cross, etc., a great cry: 'It is not enough!' And this cry, 'it is not enough,' most of us must conscientiously

acknowledge to be just. Our consciences, it is true, may also tell us in consolation that we have done our duty, since we have faithfully followed our instructions. But I venture to say that this duty is not fulfilled and that there yet remains something else for us to accomplish. Permit me to explain. The Czar's proposal (as to armaments) has been strewn with all the flowers of rhetoric by men much more eloquent than I. It will suffice for me to say that, while his idea is grand and beautiful, and while it responds to a desire felt by thousands upon thousands of men, this also is true; *it can not die.* If the Czar will only add to the nobility of heart and generosity of spirit of which he has given proof the virtue of perseverance the triumph of his labors is assured. He has received from Providence not only the gift of power, but also that of Youth. If the generation to which we belong is not destined to accomplish the task, he may count upon that which is coming to take our places. The future belongs to him. But, meanwhile, all of us who desire to be, each in his little sphere of activity, his humble and faithful co-laborers, have the duty of seeking with tenacity the means of doing better and doing more, whether these means be found in new conferences, in direct negotiations, or, with all simplicity, in the setting of a good example. This is the duty that is left for us to fulfill!" This address is reported to have created "a profound impression" upon the delegates and under its spell M. Bourgeois, of France, followed with similar sentiments most forcefully expressed. In conclusion he said: "If sad necessity obliges us to renounce for the present a direct and positive agreement on this proposition, we should endeavor to prove to public opinion that we have at least sincerely examined the problem presented to us. We shall not have labored in vain if, in a formula of general scope, we indicate the goal towards which we desire, unanimously, I hope, to see all civilized people advance." In response to the President's request that he should present his proposition in writing for the consideration of the delegates, M. Bourgeois offered the following mild and inoffensive statement. "The Commission believes that a limitation of the military expenses which now burden the world is greatly to be desired in the interests of the progress of the material and moral well-being of mankind." This declaration was adopted by the Committee by acclamation; and the deliberations concerning the most impressive and important subject before the Conference were at an end. The completed work of the Conference, however, was expressed and published in the form of six "Wishes," three Conventions, and three Declarations. These "Wishes" give expression to the efforts of the Conference in distinction from its achievements. The fourth Wish supplemented the proposition of M. Bourgeois in these words: "The Conference expresses the wish that the Governments, taking into consideration the proposals made at the Conference, may examine the possibility of an agreement as to the limitation of armed forces by land and sea, and of war budgets." As this question of Armaments was, in the popular estimation, the imperative one before the Conference; and as no clear impression has possessed public opinion as to what was really done by the delegates, it has seemed desirable to go into the proceedings somewhat in detail. That no concrete results were achieved was deplored in every country. Peace-men and the common people on whose shoulders fall the burdens entailed by the enormous military budgets of the nations awoke from their dreams of the brighter days about to dawn with a shock, and a sense of wrong, if not of betrayal. But as Baron de Bildt said of the Czar's proposal,—"it can not die!" It was a great advance upon previously existing conditions even to have got the subject before a Conference of delegates representing the leading nations of the whole earth. To have "disarmament" and "limitation of military budgets" in the air bodes only good for the burdened nations and

suffering peoples,—and, most of all, for posterity.

The eighth of the subjects suggested by the Czar for consideration was expressed in these terms: "To accept in principle the employment of good offices, of mediation, and facultative arbitration in cases lending themselves thereto, with the object of preventing armed conflicts between nations; to come to an understanding with respect to the mode of applying these good offices, and to establish a uniform practice in using them." Public opinion and desire had been so centred upon the subject of disarmament that the possibilities suggested by this article had received but little thought and consideration. Yet it was in the field of arbitration that the most significant work of the conference was accomplished. The last became first. The third of the agreements formulated by the delegates was entitled a "Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," which has since been styled the "Magna Carta of International Law." Though even in this field the Conference failed to secure as definite and binding results as the lovers of Peace had hoped, yet forces were set in motion and principles accepted which would have been regarded as Quixotic six months before. A strong fight was made to have a convention adopted involving the *obligatory* submission of *all* disputed questions to arbitration by the Powers; but this was a step too far in advance at that time. Many provisions, however, were made for the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the united sentiment of the delegates favored their application. It is an unfortunate commentary upon the action of the delegates at the Hague that two horrible wars have occurred since the Conference adjourned. It is, however, equally true that two wars which threatened the most serious results have been averted by the application of the principles of the "Convention for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes," and that several important international differences have been settled by the Court of Arbitration established; while a great number of treaties looking toward the peaceful settlement of all disputed questions have been made between the leading nations of the earth. So that, had the Conference of 1899 done nothing more than to create this arbitral sentiment, it would have been one of the most successful and beneficent of all the international conventions of history. But it did achieve one positive result which has already served a most useful purpose. The crowning glory of The Hague meeting was the establishment of a "Permanent International Court of Arbitration," which is unquestionably destined to become the most august and influential tribunal of the civilized world. In reporting the work of his Committee to the Conference Chevalier Descamps said of this creation: "When one seeks through the history of international law, from the day when that law was placed upon a firm foundation by the man of genius (Grotius) to whom America has recently rendered brilliant homage on his native soil,—when one seeks some page comparable with that which the Conference of The Hague has just written, it seems difficult to find one more fruitful;" and President de Staal in his final address declared that the Convention which established the permanent Court of Arbitration, the rules which should govern it, and the general principles of Arbitration "opened a new era in the domain of international law" and established what "would be called by posterity 'the first international Code of Peace.'" Several cases have already been brought before this Court and acceptable decisions rendered. But many critics have attempted to minimize its importance by emphasizing the fact that so few causes have been referred to it. It should be considered, however, that its whole principle was novel and that it had no precedent; and in questions of such supreme moment great nations can hardly be expected to change all their course of thought and action in a decade. Even the Supreme Court of the United States had been established two years before a case was brought before it.

The true merit of the first Hague Conference is to be found not so much in its achievement as its prophecy. No civilized people since it adjourned has taken the same selfish views of its "rights" and its methods of maintaining them as it always before had done. A new principle is in the air, which has affected not only the plans and purposes of sovereigns and statesmen but which has mightily influenced and will continue to influence the thought of every intelligent man and woman on the globe. That this is not theory merely was well evidenced by the vast pressure of public opinion upon the thought of the Second Conference. Deputations waited upon its members, and addresses and petitions were laid before them, from every part of the world. Among the most important may be mentioned those from the International Council of Women, with the signatures of two million women living in twenty different countries; The Universal Alliance of Women for Peace by Education, representing about five million women of all civilized countries; the International Federation of Students; twenty-three colleges in the central west of the United States representing twenty-seven thousand professors and students; a petition for arbitration bearing two and a quarter million signatures collected through the efforts of a single Boston teacher and presented by her to the President of the Conference on the Fourth of July; fifteen thousand citizens of Sweden; and innumerable Peace Societies and organizations in every part of the world. That the delegates to the second Conference realized the importance of this influence and were moved as well as sustained by it was manifested in many ways. In the course of an impressive address M. Beernaert, of Belgium, reminded his fellow delegates of their responsibility to "that redoubtable Sovereign, public opinion," declaring that it "is listening to and watching us; and to-day there is no assembly which must not sit with open windows, listening to the voices from outside." One of the most interested and honored attendants upon the meetings of both Conferences was the Baroness von Suttner, author of that book which has worked mightily for Peace, "Lay Down Your Arms." Though engaged only as a correspondent for the Press her wide acquaintance among the delegates and familiarity with every phase of the subjects discussed gave her a unique position among those assembled at The Hague. Speaking of the members of the Second Conference she said: "That which impresses me most is their respectful obedience to the desires of public opinion. If they oppose a reform, it is only because they are persuaded that public opinion is indifferent to it. If public opinion should express itself with appropriate vigor, there is nothing the Conference would not try to do. The fact is that the delegates are only the hands on a watch; their movements are governed by a great invisible spring. This spring is public opinion; not the private opinion of individuals; but *public* opinion—opinion expressed, organized, made palpable and even disagreeable to those who oppose it. That is the master, and even the god, of the Conference." But the interesting fact regarding this influence of public opinion upon such a body of delegates is that previous to the Conference of 1899 it would hardly have been seriously considered by statesmen and diplomats in their consideration of international questions. The change in sentiment in this regard and the realization by the people of the power they actually possessed if it was concretely expressed, establish a significant measure of the real results achieved by that first Conference. Shakespeare marked "how use doth breed a habit in a man;" and another has well said: "Habit in the individual or custom in society is the dominant force in all action." If few direct concrete results can be traced to that act which history will establish as the most significant, far-reaching, and beneficent of all the royal acts of the present Emperor of Russia, the calling of the first Peace Conference, the fact that it has made it habitual and customary for all people of all lands to think and talk of disarmament and arbi-

tration as not only desirable but possible of attainment, is one of the most significant achievements of modern times. A seed was sown from which is growing a tree beneath whose branches all people shall enjoy peace and "whose leaves shall be for the healing of nations."

Photo. Copyrighted 1905 by Rockwood, N. Y.
HORACE PORTER.

One of the leading factors in the peace movement for several years has been the organization known as the Interparliamentary Union. This body is made up of the elected representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States, the Parliament of Great Britain, the Congresses of the American Republics, and, with two exceptions, the Parliaments of European States. Its object is stated to be "to promote the spirit of peace and friendliness among all the law-makers of the world, and, by holding its meetings in each of the countries in turn, to arouse among the people themselves a genuine love of international peace." At its meeting at St. Louis in 1904, Mr. Richard Bartholdt, of Missouri, founder of the American group of the Interparliamentary Union, offered a resolution requesting all the governments of the world to send delegates to a second International Peace Conference. The resolution was adopted unanimously, and a deputation of two hundred members of the Union waited upon President Roosevelt requesting him to issue the call for such a conference. In October, 1904, Secretary Hay sent out a circular note to the Powers embodying suggestions as to the work of such a Conference and suggesting The Hague as the place for its meeting. As the Russo-Japanese War was at its height, however, other nations advised postponing the meeting until it was ended. Early in 1906 the Czar conveyed to President Roosevelt, through the Russian Ambassador, his desire to call the second Conference as he had the first, provided it should be agreeable to the President. As the latter graciously yielded the honor to the Czar he soon after sent out the invitations for the meeting; but as the American Republics had planned to hold the third Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janiero in 1906, the assembling of the delegates to The Hague was postponed for the time, the date of meeting being fixed later for June 15, 1907.

The delegates appointed to represent the United States at the Second Hague Conference were the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, ex-Ambassador to Great Britain; General Horace Porter, ex-Ambassador to France; David Jayne Hill, the Minister to the Netherlands; J. B. Scott, Professor of International Law at Columbia University; General George B. Davis, Judge Advocate General of the United States Army; and Admiral Charles S. Sperry, of the United States Navy.

At the first Conference but twenty-six nations, with their dependencies were represented by one hundred delegates; at the second meeting two hundred and fifty-six representatives of forty-four independent powers assembled. This great increase in the number of delegates necessitated quite different arrangements from those which were made in 1899. "The House in the Wood" was not considered

large enough nor convenient for so numerous an assemblage. Consequently one of the most historic buildings of Europe was set apart for the meetings. This was the famous Ritter-zaal, the Hall of Knights, which stands within the "Binnenhof," the old fortress of the city. While, therefore, the first Conference met in the famous House in the Wood, the favorite residence of the young and beautiful Queen, the second and larger body assembled in a no less interesting building about which clustered the memories of many of the most noted and heroic events of the earlier modern history. This was the castle of the Counts of Holland, built in the thirteenth century. Its great banqueting hall, where the Counts with their Knights regaled themselves after their hunting expeditions, was restored in 1900, and has since been used as the meeting place of the States General of Holland.

As the work of the delegates in 1899 was facilitated by the hospitality and social functions arranged by the generous Netherlanders, so every effort was made to meet the convenience and add to the pleasure and comfort of the second body of delegates. The government did not on this occasion provide the agreeable lunches which in 1899 did so much to promote good fellowship among the delegates. But the Queen graciously received all the representatives at the palace in The Hague, and gave an elaborate state dinner to the delegates-in-chief at the palace in Amsterdam. Excursions to various points of interest were of frequent occurrence, all of which tended to cultivate a friendly spirit among the distinguished visitors from so many countries. One of the most elaborate and largest of the many receptions was that given by the American Minister and delegate, David Jayne Hill, at the Hotel des Indes on July 4. But the most notable event outside the range of official business was the laying of the corner stone of the new Temple of Peace, for which Mr. Carnegie had generously contributed a million and a quarter dollars. The Netherlands government had donated an attractive site for the building on the most imposing avenue of the city; and there is now approaching completion a superb house for, and worthy of, the sessions and library of the great International Court of Arbitration created by the first Conference. At the laying of the corner stone the distinguished Netherlands' statesman, Jonkheer van Karnebeek, delivered the principal address, as chairman of the building committee. M. Nelidow, of Russia, President of the Second Conference, laid the stone and also made an address. And to confirm the interest of all nations represented in this great work of establishing the principle of arbitration Baron d'Estournelles, of France, introduced a resolution at one of the meetings of the general Conference "that each

Photo Copyrighted 1902 by J. E. Purdy, Boston.
DAVID JAYNE HILL.

government represented at The Hague should contribute to the erection of the Palace of Peace by sending, after consultation with the architect, materials of construction and ornamentation representing the purest examples of its national production, so that this Palace, an expres-

sion of universal good will and hope, may be built of the very substance of all countries." This sentiment was received with marked enthusiasm and the resolution was at once unanimously adopted.

Of the delegates to the Conference of 1907 many had also represented their countries at The Hague in 1899, so that methods of procedure had not to be mapped out anew without precedents to follow. The general routine order of the previous Conference was followed, M. Nelidow, the ranking member of the Russian delegation, being chosen president of the body. The same plan was followed as before in reference to the assignment of subjects of discussion to committees and subcommittees. At the time the Czar issued his second invitation to the sovereign states to send delegates to The Hague, as in 1899, he suggested a list of topics for discussion; and in introducing the subject he said: "In taking the initiative in convoking a second Conference of the Peace, the Imperial Government has had in view the necessity of giving a new development to the humanitarian principles which served as the basis of work for the great international assembly of 1899." After further preliminary remarks the circular concluded in these terms: "Believing, then, that there is reason at present for proceeding with the examination of only those questions which are especially prominent, inasmuch as they have arisen from the experience of recent years, and without raising those which concern the restriction of military or naval forces, the Imperial Government proposes as the programme of the projected meeting the following principal points." These points were under four heads, with six subdivisions under the third whose general title was "The Elaboration of a convention relative to the laws and customs of Maritime warfare." It is of marked significance that from this programme the subject of armaments is expressly eliminated, though it held the first position in the Czar's previous scheme. Manifestly the results of the war with Japan had materially affected his Majesty's views upon this subject. On the other hand arbitration, which was the last of the eight subjects proposed for discussion in 1899, is found in the first place in 1907, and is introduced in these words: "I. Improvements in those provisions of the Convention relative to the settlement of international disputes which have to do with the Court of Arbitration and the International Commissions of Inquiry." As will be remembered, at the meetings of 1899 the Baron de Staal held the consideration of the Conference strictly within the limits established by the eight propositions set forth by his sovereign. Doubtless mindful of this fact several of the leading nations, in accepting the Czar's invitation to the Second Conference did so with the reservation that the subjects to be considered and the range of discussion should not be limited exclusively to the topics suggested in Russia's note. The United States, for example, reserved the right to submit at least two other questions, the reduction or limitation of armaments, and an agreement to observe certain limitations in the use of force for the collection of ordinary public debts arising from contracts. Great Britain declared that its government considered it of great importance that the subject of expenditures for armaments should be discussed, and reserved the right of introducing it. Spain took a similar position upon the question of armaments. Several countries also declared their intention of refraining from the discussion of any questions that did not tend towards a practical result. In this manner eleven countries reserved the right to insist upon a variance of the Czar's programme.

The Conference of 1907 was in session from June 15 to October 18, eight weeks longer than that of 1899, although it held but one more plenary meeting. At the first session which opened at three o'clock on the afternoon of June 15, the Netherlands Minister of Foreign affairs welcomed the delegates to The Hague, mentioning in his address the part played in their convocation by the Czar and the

Queen. He also courteously referred to the influence of the United States in these words: "But I think it would be improper to omit at this hour the tribute of our gratitude to the eminent statesman who presides over the destinies of the United States of America. President Roosevelt has powerfully contributed to the growth of the grain sowed by the august initiator of the solemn international assemblies convoked for the discussion and better definition of the rules of international law." As in 1899 M. de Staal the head of the Russian delegation was chosen president of the Conference, so in 1907 the same honor was conferred upon the leading representative of the Czar, M. Nelidow. After organization had been completed, committees were appointed, to each of which was assigned one of the topics suggested in the Czar's circular. These committees were variously subdivided for the consideration of minor divisions of the general committee's subject. In all, more than one hundred and sixty meetings of the delegates in plenary Conference or in committees were held; and as many of these meetings were protracted discussions of serious problems which covered several hours each, it is manifest that the delegates were not idle at any time.

It is impossible to follow the work of the Convention in detail. Several volumes have been written upon the subject, among the most valuable of which are Mr. Holls's, "History of the Hague Conference (1899); and W. I. Hull's, "The Two Hague Conferences," to the latter of which, particularly, we are indebted for much valuable material. The President of the American delegation to the first Conference, Andrew D. White, kept a careful private journal of his interests and movements during the sessions, which he has embodied in the second volume of his most interesting Autobiography, recently published. In this work, as nowhere else, one can get the view of a most intelligent observer of each day's proceedings, as well as familiar descriptions of many of the leading statesmen and diplomats assembled, and an entertaining account of the social life of the delegates while the guests of the most kindly and hospitable Netherlanders.

The discussion of the question of Armaments, however, deserves some attention, not because of concrete results obtained, but for the sentiments so eloquently expressed by Sir Edward Fry, Great Britain's first delegate. The British delegation was particularly spurred to action upon this subject by public opinion at home, as a lively agitation was being maintained by the members of the Interparliamentary Union and various peace societies. It was not until the plenary session of August 17, however, that Sir Edward introduced the subject, first quoting the notable warning as to increase of armaments contained in the Czar's first circular letter of 1898. Continuing, he said: "These words, so eloquent and so true when they were first written, are to-day still more real and true. For, Mr. President, since that time military expenses, alike for armies and navies, have considerably increased. Thus, according to the most exact information which I have received, these expenditures attained in 1898 (that is, the year immediately preceding the first Conference at The Hague) a total of more than two hundred and fifty-one millions of pounds sterling ($1,255,000,000) for the countries of Europe,—with the exception of Turkey and Montenegro, about which I have no information,—the United States, and Japan; whereas the same expenditures by the same countries in 1906 exceeded a total of three hundred and twenty million pounds sterling ($1,600,000,000). Such are the excessive expenditures which could be devoted to better purposes; such, Mr. President, is the burden under which our peoples groan; such is the Christian peace of the civilized world in the twentieth century. . . . In the older days of antiquity, Mr. President, men dreamed of a golden age which was said to have existed on earth in times long before. But in all centuries and among all nations, poets, sibyls, prophets, and all noble and inspired

souls have nourished the hope that that golden age would return in the form of the reign of universal peace.

"'Ultima Cumaei venit jam carminis ætas
Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo
Jam redit et virgo: redeunt Saturnia regna.'

"Such was the dream of the Latin poet of his age; but to-day the belief in the solidarity of the human race is spread, more than ever before, over all the earth. It is this belief which has made possible the convocation of the present Conference; and it is in the name of this belief that I beseech you *not to separate without having demanded that the governments of the world shall devote themselves very seriously to the question of military expenditures.* . . . In conclusion, then, Mr. President, I have the honor of proposing the adoption of the following resolution: 'The Conference confirms the resolution adopted by the Conference of 1899 in regard to the restriction of military expenditures; and, since military expenditures have increased considerably in nearly every country since the said year, the Conference declares that it is highly desirable to see the governments take up the serious study of this question.'" After the representatives of several states had indorsed the position advanced by Great Britain, the resolution was adopted by acclamation; and the Second Peace Conference had finished its consideration of this vexatious question.

Though much routine work was done by the delegates and many new measures of importance were inaugurated, a large proportion of the time of the Conference was spent in enlarging the scope and buttressing the foundations of principles which were established in 1899. As has already been stated the emphasis of the call for the second meeting was placed upon arbitration, and most of the delegates had high hopes of securing marked results. Even here, however, the results were disappointing to the delegates and to the public. Nothing less than *obligatory arbitration* was the goal at which the delegates from the United States and a few other countries aimed. But a recognition of the *worth of the principle* was all that could be secured. The subject was debated long and acrimoniously, with the result that the Conference finally voted with practical unanimity that certain differences, especially those relating to the interpretation and application of international treaties, may properly be subject to obligatory arbitration without any restriction whatever; while the delegates congratulated themselves "that the diversities of opinion revealed in the long debate did not exceed the bounds of juristic controversy." In its report to the home government the United States delegation said: "It may be admitted that the *establishment of the principle* of obligatory arbitration is an advance. It is, however, not the great advance so earnestly desired; for a concrete treaty embodying the principle would have been infinitely more valuable than the declaration of obligatory arbitration, however solemnly made." Doubtless this is the most reasonable view one can take; for much certainly was accomplished when, after long and thorough discussion, even the principle was accepted.

As is well known the Conference of 1899 established a Permanent Court of Arbitration, and adopted a Code of Procedure for the conduct of causes before it. Article XX. of the "Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes" read as follows: "With the object of facilitating an immediate recourse to arbitration for international differences, which it has not been possible to settle by diplomacy, the Signatory Powers undertake to organize a permanent Court of Arbitration, accessible at all times and operating, unless otherwise stipulated by the parties, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure inserted in the present Convention." Then follow the stipulations as to an "International Bureau, established at The Hague" which serves as the "record office of the Court," and is the "channel for communications relative to the meetings of the Court." Article XXVII.

of the same Convention reads: "The Signatory Powers consider it their duty, if a serious dispute threatens to break out between two or more of them, to remind these latter that the Permanent Court is open to them. Consequently, they declare that the fact of reminding the conflicting parties of the provisions of the present Convention, and the advice given to them, in the highest interests of Peace, to have recourse to the Permanent Court, can only be regarded as friendly action." The establishment of this Court was a marked advance upon any community of interest among the nations of the world that had ever existed before; but it was far from being an ideal measure. To avail themselves of its beneficent action the parties to a dispute must first agree together to submit their grievances to its judgment, and to be bound by its award. Then would follow the somewhat troublesome, tedious, and expensive process of selecting the judges from a large number to be named. The Conference decided that in making up a list of permanent judges "each signatory power shall select not more than four persons of recognized competence in questions of international law, enjoying the highest moral reputation, and disposed to accept the duties of arbitration." When two contending powers agree to arbitrate, each must choose two arbitrators from the permanent list of judges, and these four shall choose a fifth. It will be readily seen that this measure did not provide a *"Permanent Court"* in any proper sense. As the membership of the Court was finally established in 1901, upward of fifty judges were named, representing fifteen of the great nations of the world. Those appointed by the United States were ex-President Benjamin Harrison, Chief Justice Fuller of the Supreme Court, ex-Attorney-General John W. Griggs, and Judge George Gray of the United States Circuit Court. The usefulness of this Court was increased by one of the additional articles relating to its procedure which were determined upon by the Conference of 1907. By its provisions either disputant, if an agreement to arbitrate with its opponent cannot be reached, and without waiting for the reminder from the Powers, may of its own initiative report its willingness to arbitrate to The Hague Bureau, which shall then inform all the Powers of the fact, leaving them to perform their duty in the premises.

The Court as thus established, however, was not satisfactory to the Powers, notwithstanding the fact that it did notable service to the world in four important cases; and to cure its defects and weaknesses was the high purpose which the United States delegation to the Conference of 1907 set before itself. Without disturbing the Permanent Court established in 1899, and leaving its use open to all the Powers if they preferred its procedure, it was proposed in 1907 to establish a "Permanent Court of Arbitral Justice." When the Conference came to the consideration of the question both the United States and Russia presented plans for its organization; but the American plan was taken as the basis for discussion. Before the question went to its special Committee a preliminary discussion took place which was opened by the eminent jurist of the Netherlands, M. Asser. "Instead of a Permanent Court," he said, "the Convention of 1899 gave only the phantom of a Court, an impalpable specter, or, to speak more precisely, it gave a secretariat and a list. And when two powers, having a difference to settle. . . demand that the doors of the Court at The Hague be opened to them, the Secretary-General, thanks to the munificence of Mr. Carnegie, can show them a splendid hall, but instead of a Court he can only present to them a list on which they may find a large number of names of persons of a recognized competence, etc. . . . You remember, gentlemen, how a great monarch,—who was not only a famous general but a philosopher as well, trained in the French school of the eighteenth century,—on the point of committing an injustice, was struck by the exclamation of a simple miller, who reminded him that 'There are Judges at Berlin;' and

how, 'charmed that beneath his sway justice was believed in,' he submitted to the simple miller's suit. Then, gentlemen, when some day a tribunal truly permanent shall sit here . . . it will not be without practical result that the nations shall invoke the famous article inspired by France—the article of *Duty*.—and shall say to a state on the point of committing an injustice, 'There are judges at The Hague.'" Other delegates followed in the same sentiment; but the address of Mr. Choate, outlining and explaining the plan of the United States, was the most effective and received the most marked attention. Referring to the defects of the existing Court he said: "The fact that there was nothing permanent or continuous or connected in the sessions of the Court, or in the adjudication of the

Photo. Copyrighted 1902 by Rockwood, N. Y.
JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

cases submitted to it, has been an obvious source of weakness and want of prestige in the tribunal. Each trial it had before it has been wholly independent of every other, and its occasional utterances, widely distant in point of time and disconnected in subject-matter, have not gone far toward constituting a consistent body of international law or valuable contribution to international law, which ought to emanate from an international tribunal representing the power and might of all nations. In fact it has thus far been a Court only in name, a framework for the selection of referees for each particular case, never consisting of the same judges. It has done great good as far as it has been permitted to work at all, but our effort should be to try to make it the medium of vastly greater and constantly increasing benefit to the nations and to mankind at large. Let us, then, seek to develop out of it a Permanent Court which shall hold regular and continuous sessions, which shall consist of the same judges, which shall pay due heed to its own decisions, which shall speak with the authority of the united voice of the nations and gradually build up a system of international law, definite and precise, which shall command the approval and regulate the conduct of the nations." Mr. Choate then outlined in detail the American plan, taking pains to declare that the proposed Court was not intended to destroy, but only to supplement the existing Court, and that any nations which desired to do so might still resort to the method of selecting arbitrators provided in 1899.

In closing his address Mr. Choate made a most earnest appeal for united and determined action. "Mr. President," he said, "with all the earnestness of which we are capable, and with a solemn sense of the obligations and responsibilities resting upon us as members of this Conference, which in a certain sense holds in its hand the fate and fortunes of the nations, we commend the scheme which we have thus proposed to the careful consideration of our sister nations. We cherish no pride of opinion as to any point or feature that we have suggested in regard to the constitution and powers of the court. We are ready to yield any or all of them for the sake of harmony; but we do insist that this great gathering of all the nations will be false to its work if it

does not strain every nerve to bring about the establishment of some such great and permanent tribunal which shall, by its supreme authority, compel the attention and deference of the nations that we represent, and bring to adjudication before it differences of an international character. Let us then, Mr. President, make a supreme effort to attain, not harmony only, but complete unanimity in the accomplishment of this great measure, which shall contribute more than anything else we can do to establish justice and peace on everlasting foundations. . . . Gentlemen, it is now six weeks since we first assembled. There is certainly no time to lose. *We have done much to regulate war, but very little to prevent it.* Let us unite on this great pacific measure and satisfy the world that this second Conference really intends that hereafter peace and not war shall be the normal condition of civilized nations."

When, however, the proposition got before its sub-committee the opposition began to develop. It was first voiced by M. Beernaert, of Belgium, who replied to the criticism of the existing Court, which he prized highly and unhesitatingly expressed his preference for. "The question at issue," he said, "is the same as that long debated in 1899, namely: Is it better to establish a truly permanent tribunal, in which judges few in number and immovable or nearly so, will have to decide the disputes of the various states of the whole civilized world?" To answer this question in the affirmative he considered in line with those "vast projects, according to which the reorganized world shall form henceforth a single state, or at least a federation of states, having a single parliament, a single executive, a single superior court of justice. . . . In my opinion, this is lamentable exaggeration of ideas which are true in themselves and which do honor to our century. *They are moving across the world at this moment in great waves of fraternity and solidarity.* Men of different races know each other now, and are no longer enemies. An assembly like this, of which our fathers did not even dream, astonishes no one. This is the result of the enormous progress of all the sciences, which have annihilated distance, intertwined interests, and mingled the races. *But,* on the other hand, never has the feeling of nationality been more alive, and old nations and old tongues, which were believed to be asleep, have been seen to arise and demand again their place in the sunshine. None of us would wish to renounce his country,—his country fond and dear; and none of us would consent to be governed from a great distance. We must, then, I believe, discard as a mere Utopia the dream of a world-state or a universal federation, of a single parliament and a Court of justice superior to the nations." M. Beernaert then considered the method of selecting judges, introducing the question about which all hostility to the measure centred. "The larger number of nations would not have a judge of their own on the tribunal," he said, "and how can it command their confidence?"

M. Beernaert thus set up the issue which proved to be the rock upon which the Committee split. All the smaller nations rallied about his position and made unanimity of action impossible. M. Ruy Barbosa, of Brazil, became the champion of the cause of the smaller states, maintaining his position with earnestness, eloquence, and great learning. He argued forcibly against the establishment of a Court which should supersede all others, and especially insisted upon the principle of international equality in the constitution of the new Court. M. Bourgeois, of France, earnestly supported the United States delegation in its contentions. In concluding an impressive argument he said: "We shall hope for, and we shall greet with joy, the day when, beside the Court of 1899, or better, at its own fireside and perhaps created by itself, there shall exist a permanent tribunal for affairs of a judicial kind, under such conditions that the smallest as well as the largest states shall find in it equal guarantees for the definition and security of their rights. *The world desires peace.*

For centuries it clung solely to the motto, 'If you desire peace, prepare for war;' that is to say, it confined itself to *the military organization of peace.* We are no longer at that stage of progress; but we must not be content with promoting the more humane organization, *the peaceful organization of war.* The words which have been uttered here have showed us the progress of education in this respect, the feeling, now and each day more urgent, of *the solidarity of men and nations,* in the struggle with the fatalities of nature. We have confidence in the growing activity of these great moral forces, and we hope that the Conference of 1907 will take a decisive step beyond the work undertaken in 1899 *by insuring practically and really the judicial organization of peace.*"

The sub-committee to which the consideration of this question was referred consisted of twenty-three members, representing sixteen nations. M. Bourgeois, of France, was its president, and Dr. Scott, of the United States delegation, acted as its reporter. The subject was earnestly discussed for five weeks and Mr. Choate, particularly, exhausted every resource of argument and diplomacy to secure practical results. Thirty-five articles were agreed upon, and were adopted by the Committee and Conference. Provisions were made for the term of office, privileges, and salary of the judges; for the name, place of meeting, sessions, reports, jurisdiction, and procedure of the Court. As Dr. Scott said: "We have not only wished to erect the fine facade of the Palace of International Justice; we have built and even furnished the structure in such fashion that the judges have only to take their seats." But the supreme question of how the judges should be selected or determined upon could not be settled. The smaller states with their insistence upon the claims of their nations balked every attempt to solve it. Every provision was made for a Court without judges. "For the number and method of selection of the judges could not be agreed upon; and these features of the proposed Court both its advocates and opponents agreed in calling its capital, its fundamental, its essential ones."

A distinct achievement, however, of the Conference of 1907 was the establishment of an "International Prize Court." Though this partakes largely of the character of the other actual achievements of the two Conferences, which serve chiefly to regulate the conduct of wars rather than establish precedents for peace, it was an accomplishment worthy of note. It is hoped and believed, too, that its methods of selecting judges and conducting its functions will make easier the completion in a satisfactory and harmonious manner of the unfinished work of the Conference in establishing the Court of Arbitral Justice.

Before its final adjournment the Conference considered a resolution, proposed by the United States delegation, providing for the convening of a third Conference in 1914. After considerable deliberation the delegates adopted a "wish," which was incorporated in the Final Act, in these words: "The Conference recommends to the Powers the reunion of a third Peace Conference, which shall take place within a period analogous to that which has elapsed since the preceding Conference, at a date to be fixed by common agreement among the Powers, and it calls their attention to the necessity of preparing for the work of this third Conference long enough in advance to insure the pursuit of its deliberations with the requisite authority and rapidity. To attain this end, the Conference considers it very desirable that about two years before the probable date of the reunion a preparatory committee be charged by the governments with the duty of collecting the various propositions to be submitted to the Conference, of investigating matters susceptible of future international regulation, and of preparing a programme to be approved by the governments soon enough to permit its serious study in each country. This Committee shall also be charged with the duty of proposing a

mode of organization and procedure for the Conference itself."

In his instructions to the delegation to the Second Conference from the United States, our distinguished ex-Secretary of State, Elihu Root, referred to this proposition in these words: "The immediate results of such a Conference must always be limited to a small part of the field which the more sanguine have hoped to see covered; but each successive Conference will make the positions reached in the preceding Conference its point of departure, and will bring to the consideration of further advances toward international agreement opinions affected by the acceptance and application of the previous agreements. Each Conference will inevitably make further progress and, by successive steps, results may be accomplished which have formerly appeared impossible. . . . *The most valuable result of the Conference of* 1899 *was that it made the work of the Conference of* 1907 *possible. The achievements of the two Conferences justify the belief that the world has entered upon an orderly process through which, step by step, in successive conferences, each taking the work of its predecessor as its point of departure, there may be continual progress toward making the practice of civilized nations conform to their peaceful professions.*"

An effort has been made to give an outline sketch of the foundation, meetings, and transactions of the two Hague Conferences. It has been popular with a large portion of the press and with many alleged statesmen to decry the usefulness of these meetings and thereby to discredit the whole theory of a world peace. No one will claim that either Conference achieved what was hoped would result from its deliberations. But no reasonable person can study the subject, even superficially, without being convinced that a mighty advance has been made toward the unifying of the hopes and aspirations of all mankind. Extended quotations have been made from some of the notable addresses made at the meetings, not only to give the reader an idea of the sincerity of purpose and earnestness of the delegates, but also to demonstrate how emphatically these delegates,—easily the foremost men of each of the nations represented,—recognized the imperative demands of the *people* that *wars shall cease.* Not in a single address was the ultimate success of this crusade for peace questioned.

Photo. Copyrighted by J. E. Purdy, Boston.
ELIHU ROOT.

Vested and special interests, politicians, and greedy seekers for wealth may decry all peace movements and the futility of all demands for disarmament and obligatory arbitration of disputes between nations; shouting old and discredited cries such as "in peace, prepare for war," congresses and parliaments may vote to increase the military strength of their respective countries and add to the burdens of debt and taxation that the people must bear. But no great conception like that of universal peace has ever yet taken possession of the minds of the people of a single state, not to speak of the world, without ultimate and not long-deferred realization. The "Mills of God" may

grind slowly, but they grind. And no more encouraging proof of the approaching fulfillment of the prophesy of the Angels near two thousand years ago—"Peace on Earth; good will to men"—has ever been vouchsafed the weary watchers for that consummation than was furnished by the untiring, intelligent, exalted purposes and labors of the distinguished delegates to the two Hague Conferences, and by their constantly expressed conviction that the utmost they could achieve would not reach the measure of what they conceived the universal popular sentiment demanded.

One of the most earnest and intelligent of the delegates at both Conferences was M. Martens, of Russia, also one of the highest authorities of the world on international law. In concluding an earnest appeal for harmony at the last Conference he said: "Allow me a few words more from the bottom of my heart. There have always been in history epochs when *grand ideals* have dominated and enthralled the souls of men; sometimes it was religion, sometimes a system of philosophy, sometimes a political theory. The most shining example of this kind was the Crusades. From all countries arose the cry, 'To Jerusalem! God wills it!' *Today the great ideal which dominates our time is arbitration;* we hear the unanimous cry, ever since the year 1899, 'To The Hague! To The Hague!' If we are all agreed that this ideal shall take body and soul, we may leave The Hague with uplifted head and peaceful conscience; and History will inscribe within her annals: 'The members of the Second Peace Conference have deserved well of humanity.'"

"Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new;
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do;
For I dipt into the future far as human eye could see,
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be,—

. . . . . .

Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

(Tennyson.)

XLIX.

THE DESTRUCTION OF GALVESTON — 1900.

Sublime Faith and Heroism of Stricken Peoples.— Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, San Francisco.— Peculiar Location of Galveston.— Importance as Sea Port.— Converging Point of Fifty-three Steamship Lines.— The "Oleander City."— The Terrible Hurricane of September 8, 1900.— Winds Began to Rise Early in Forenoon.— Constantly Changing Direction They Covered Every Point of Compass.— Rapidly Increasing Velocity.— "Every Building on Island Trembled, Many Rocking Like Boats."— Velocity of Wind One Hundred and Ten Miles an Hour in Evening.— Whole City Prepares for Death.—At Convent the Sacrament Administered to All.—At Orphan Asylum Nuns Tied Little Charges in Bunches, Each Sister Fastening Bunch to Herself.—All Perished Together.— Great Rafts of Wreckage Hurled in Every Direction by Wind and Waves.— Veritable Battering Rams.— After Nine P. M., Began to Subside.— Pastor and Family and Three Quarters of Entire Congregation Drowned.— Within a Week Six Thousand Bodies Recovered.— Probably Another Thousand Washed Out to Sea.— Wonderful Recuperative Powers of People.— Committee of Safety.— The Deep-water Commission.— New City Charter.— Mammoth Sea Wall.— Total Surface Level of City Raised from Five to Eighteen Feet.— The New Government By Commission; "The Galveston Plan."— Result of Its Work in Rebuilding and Redeeming Galveston.— Adopted in Many Other Cities.

"Great things thro' greatest hazards are achiev'd,
And then they shine."— BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

THERE is nothing in all history more splendid and inspiring than the record of the sublime faith and courage that has been manifested by the people of American cities which have by fire, or earthquake, or flood been practically destroyed, only to rise again within a few months or years more beautiful than before, and better equipped in every way for the conduct of the business of great commercial centres. The story of the rise of Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, San Francisco from wide-spread ruin and devastation to greater eminence and opulence savors of the tales of the Arabian Nights, or the fertile imagination of Jules Verne. The American people, engrossed in the struggle for commercial supremacy and wealth, have too often been oblivious of the high moral and civic virtues whose constant exercise can alone insure good government. But when brought face to face with dire calamity, the grosser nature has at once given place to such superb exhibitions of self-denial and moral and physical heroism as to make every American proud that he is of one blood with men and women capable of such exalted faith and endeavor. In all the cases referred to, however, many elements of stability were untouched, so that courageously facing the situation an immediate determination to rebuild on broader and better lines seemed the natural course. In nearly all cases great aggregates of insurance promised immediate working capital; the residence sections of the cities were largely intact, the *homes* remained, and the loss of life

had been proportionately small; while the peculiar physical conditions that originally marked such localities for centres of trade and commerce,—all these things remained to give courage to the people and to nerve them to endure, with the best cheer possible, the temporary hardships and suffering. But when on Sunday morning, September 9, 1900, the survivors of the terrible hurricane that destroyed Galveston, Texas, began to awake from the dazed condition in which the horrors of the previous night had left them, they faced infinitely more disheartening conditions. The Sand-Spit on which the city had been built did not seem to offer any such natural advantages for rebuilding as to warrant the reinvestment of capital there; the total of insurance was comparatively slight, while a corrupt municipal government had already plunged the city deeply into debt; and one in every six of the entire population of the city had been killed or drowned during the previous twelve hours, while *homes* as well as business blocks were totally destroyed. One must have a vivid imagination, indeed, to conceive of a more heartrending and absolutely hopeless condition than that which stared these survivors in the face. Homeless, hungry, poverty-stricken, heart-broken, and crushed, they could not even communicate with the outside world to make known their terrible fate and receive the assurances of the sympathy and aid of their fellowmen. Yet before the gentler winds and receding waves had made a single street passable plans were being formulated to raise a greater and better Galveston on the very ground where six thousand of their own people were then lying unburied, and where vast piles of wreckage on every hand bore sad evidence of the destruction of homes and the ruin of business.

Built on the easterly end of a long, low-lying island of sand, Galveston seemed literally to rise from the waves. The surface of the island, which is about thirty miles long and from one to three miles wide, rose nowhere above twelve to fifteen feet, while its average elevation was only about six feet above the sea. On the southerly, or Gulf side, the coast line is quite regular, and offers one of the finest beaches of the world, about thirty miles long. About two miles in an easterly direction from the city lies Point Bolivar, a part of the main land; and the channel between this and the island is the entrance to Galveston Bay,—which cuts into the mainland to the north for a distance of nearly thirty miles, with irregular width and depth,—and to Galveston harbor. During the early part of the nineteenth century this protected harbor offered a safe refuge for the bands of pirates that infested the Gulf of Mexico, who established a regular headquarters there, under the leadership of the notorious Lafitte. At the battle of New Orleans in 1815 these men under Lafitte were of great service to General Jackson; and for some years they were not molested in their retreat at Galveston. Between 1820 and 1825, however, they were driven farther south, and eventually cleared from the Gulf. The first permanent settlement on Galveston island was in 1838; but, owing to the undeveloped state of the country back of it, the growth of the settlement was slow, though the importance of its harbor was recognized. During the Civil War it was first seized by Union troops, but was captured by Confederate forces in 1863. The growth of the city has naturally followed the settlement and the industrial and commercial development of Texas and the great southwest country, until now it has a population of about 35,000 people, and has in turn passed Baltimore and Boston and become the third port of export in the United States. Galveston is now the converging point of fifty-three different steamship lines, twenty-six of which are engaged in foreign trade alone; and railway systems, with fifty miles of terminal tracks. It has six miles of docks and five great grain elevators, exporting about one-third of all the wheat shipped abroad from the United States; and even during 1903, shipped 465,000 more bales of cotton than

did New Orleans. The census of 1890 gave the city a population of 30,000, which had increased to 38,000 in 1900. It was during that decade that railroad after railroad bridged the wide, shallow bay, and so gained entrance to the city. Wealth increased and millionaires became common. They were, too, men who took pride in their home city, and spent their money freely in its improvement and adornment. Fine college and school buildings, churches, and hospitals were built; and it was, to an unusual degree, a city of homes. Its thirty-eight thousand people had accumulated property valued at upward of seventy-five millions of dollars. Moreover it was an attractive and beautiful city. A walk of twenty minutes took one from the bay shore to the Gulf front, with its magnificent beach. Orange and myrtle trees, delicate roses and all the rich-hued blossoms of the tropics charmed the eye on every hand; while the Oleander was to be seen everywhere, and gave to Galveston its designation of the "Oleander City."

Its people rose on the morning of Saturday, September 8, 1900, to pursue their ordinary avocations with no premonition of the terrible fate that was awaiting them. Though the busy season had hardly yet set in, there were ready for transfer from the elevators and warehouses to ocean steamers two and a half million bushels of wheat, and more than 1,500 bales of cotton. Early in the forenoon, however, high winds began to rise, the gale coming from the northwest. Gradually a shift of the wind to the north occurred, and then toward the east; and at two o'clock in the afternoon it had reached a velocity of thirty-six miles an hour. The bay water was being driven over the city front, and soon rising over the wharves it flooded the Strand, as the wide front occupied by the railroads and docks is called, and crept up the streets among the business blocks. By this time the surf on the Gulf side was breaking over its front with tremendous fury, and with a deafening roar, and the crests of foam were carried far in among the cottages. Although those who had never experienced similar visitations began to be greatly alarmed, the older settlers felt no anxiety as they had weathered several similar storms. The poorer whites and negroes living in the frailer tenements, however, began to desert them, and flee to more secure buildings in the business section. In the middle of the afternoon there was a general cessation of business, as the water was constantly growing deeper in the streets and men waded home to be with their families. By three o'clock the wind had increased to forty-five miles an hour, and was still rapidly rising and piling higher and higher the waves that were battering the city. At five o'clock a velocity of seventy-four miles an hour was recorded by the official anemometer, and all began to realize that the situation was becoming desperate. The air was filled with pieces of tin-roofing, signs, cornices, everything that the gale could wrench away. Every building on the island trembled, many rocking like boats. The mild climate had encouraged a frail form of architecture and the less securely fastened buildings were being torn from

THE ROSENBERG LIBRARY (NEW).

their foundations. One who visited the island just after the hurricane has said that if one hundred survivors were asked what was the most terrifying period of the storm, ninety would say without hesitation that it was from five to seven in the evening, when people really awoke to their terrible danger. Then thousands who were in their homes anxiously waiting for the hurricane to pass became terror-

stricken, and rushed forth to seek companionship in their distress, or some promising refuge. Wading, swimming, floating, cut and bruised by the hail of wood and slate and glass, many reached places of shelter, but many more were drowned. Toward seven o'clock the wind again shifted to the southeast, all the time increasing in fury. At six o'clock it had reached a velocity of eighty-four miles an hour, when the anemometer was carried away. While no further record could be kept, it was certain that the velocity constantly increased until a rate of from one hundred and ten to one hundred and twenty miles had been attained. The conditions that prevailed during those two fateful hours admit of no description. Wild despair gradually yielded to a more or less calm resignation to inevitable death. Members of families bade each other tender farewells, expecting each moment would be the last. The whole city was preparing for death. At the Convent the Sacrament was administered to all in anticipation of the end. At the Catholic Orphan Asylum the nuns tied their little charges in bunches, each sister fastening a bunch to herself. And so they were engulfed together. As the waters rose families went to the upper story, or attic, and in darkness and silence waited the end. Sometimes a cry from without would gain attention, and willing hands would draw in through the window a floating waif. Just before seven a huge wave rolled in from the gulf bringing in its wake a solid wall of water more than four feet high. This mighty flood swept whole blocks of cottages from their foundations; and in houses that withstood its force the water rose from two to four feet. Every foot of ground on which the city stood was now under water, with the terrible hurricane from the Gulf side piling up the waves higher and higher, and battering every object in its path. In the rotunda of the Tremont Hotel, in the centre of the business section, the water was waist deep. Great rafts of débris were constantly accumulating which were hurled upon the east, north, and west sides of the city with a force that defied resistance. At seven o'clock when the wind had reached the highest velocity, and the flood had gained its greatest depth, the greater part of the buildings of the city were still standing. By ten o'clock hundreds of acres of the residence district had been swept of buildings, and more than six thousand bodies of men, women, and children had been mingled with the ruins which were heaped up in vast hills on the island, in the waters, and on the mainland. As has been said: "Galveston's visitation was not merely the sweep of a cyclone, nor the sudden engulfing work of a flood; it was the irresistible attack of hurricane waves laden with wreckage, which became enormous battering rams,"—huge engines of destruction impelled with terrific speed and resistless force.

After nine o'clock the wind shifted to the south and southwest, and began to fall. Since early morning it had very nearly covered the whole round of the compass. About ten o'clock the flood began to subside, and the wind continued to decrease; and early dawn showed the higher streets above the surface of the water. Not until then were the naked survivors able to leave their shelter and seek clothing and nourishment. All the clothing had been torn from the bodies of those who had been exposed to the horrible conditions that prevailed through the night; and in nearly every case the bodies of the dead were found naked and badly cut and scarred. Everywhere, floating and driven by the wind and waves, were splintered and jagged pieces of board and timbers with sharp protruding nails, and every conceivable kind of wreckage with points that would pierce and edges that would cut ugly wounds. Many survivors told how, while their houses went to pieces, they were hurled hither and thither by the currents, some remaining in the water among the ruins for hours; and all came out with their clothes literally torn from their bodies, and covered with cuts and bruises.

Investigation proved that it was not

among the poorest classes that the greatest loss of life occurred, but among the middle class, those who had incomes from salaries or good wages, professional people, and store-keepers,—people who owned the more modest homes. A large part of the congregation of every church was destroyed. Of one church the pastor and his entire family and more than three-quarters of the congregation were drowned, while its parish was left a barren wilderness of sand and ruins, not a house remaining. That survivors could have endured what these did and have remained sane seems well-nigh incredible. Momentarily expecting death, in total darkness, cut off from all the rest of the world, with the hurricane raging and the waves roaring around them, and subject to a continuous bombardment by the storm-driven wreckage, their situation was more horrible and terrifying than any words can ever hint. Happily the survivors did not at first realize the extent of their loss, either of life or property; and when on Sunday morning a committee put off in a sailboat for the mainland, to acquaint the outside world with their calamity and to appeal for aid, the number of dead was reported as one thousand. But before Monday noon more than one thousand bodies had been collected from the streets and exposed places, and taken to temporary morgues; and two days later when the mountains of ruins had been only partially inspected, nearly two thousand more bodies had been uncovered; while before the week was over five thousand in all had been found in the city alone, which number continued investigations raised to above six thousand; but the exact number, of course, will never be known, as a great many bodies must have been carried out to sea by receding waves. More intolerable really than the terrors of the hurricane itself, were the heartrending sights that met survivors on every hand. Some orderly course of burial was attempted at first; but the vast number of corpses exposed to the hot rays of a tropical sun made more hasty methods of disposition imperative. Piles of wreckage were at last turned into funeral pyres, and thus thousands of bodies were cremated.

Hunger and thirst, too, assailed the living, and pestilence threatened worse destruction than the storm had wrought. But as soon as communication with the outside world was re-established aid of every kind began to reach the sufferers; and the sympathy of the whole world poured in like another flood upon the stricken people. Their response was quick and emphatic; courage revived, and a mighty recuperative power became manifest. On that never-to-be-forgotten Sunday everybody was dazed, and all faculties were benumbed. There was only water-soaked food to eat, and a mixture of rain water and salt spray to drink; hardly a whole roof was left on any building in the city, while a very large proportion, including many of the best and most prominent buildings, churches, schools, etc., were a mass of ruins. But within twenty-four hours order began to emerge from the chaos. A Committee of Safety was organized; guns and ammunition were taken from the hardware stores; martial law was proclaimed; citizens sworn to stand together for the common good patrolled the streets; and on Tuesday the restoration of law and order was an assured fact. On Wednesday the banks opened for business; and merchants began ordering new stocks of goods as soon as the wires were in operation. As an eye-witness of the scene has said: "One week from the night when Galveston was smitten the people,—some limping, many with arms in slings and heads bandaged, all haggard from the strain but with the fire of an indomitable spirit in their eyes—were looking confidently forward." Within a week after the hurricane vessels were loading with grain, while carpenters worked above to repair the shattered roofs of the elevators; and within twelve days trains were running regularly to and from the mainland, though it had been declared it would take two months to rebuild the bridge. Homeless, half-crazed by the loss of those dear

to them and of property, without capital, the people rose in the might of their invincible courage and faith, determined that from the ruins of the old, a greater and more beautiful Galveston should rise.

But the problem that faced the people was not a simple one. The established government had for years been the same as that of most American cities,—a mayor, with a council composed of members chosen from each ward. For a long time the administration of the city's affairs had been reckless and corrupt, political rings and bosses being in control. At the time of the flood, the city was burdened with a floating debt of $200,000; there were no funds in the treasury; from eighteen to twenty million dollars' worth of property had been destroyed; of the more than six thousand lives that had been lost many were taxpayers, while many more than that number had been left penniless; and, worst of all, confidence in the city as a place for home-seekers and for the investment of capital had been destroyed. As a rule the Press and the leading Scientific authorities through the country, in discussing the hurricane and its results, had taken the position that Galveston island was not a fit place for the location of a city. The leading men of Galveston, therefore, recognized that they must work out their own salvation, and not count upon outside aid for the accomplishment of their plans. Fortunately there had been in existence in the city for some years a "Deep-water Commission" of seventeen men, made up of the very foremost citizens regardless of party or political considerations, and men of independent means. As its name indicates, the Commission had been organized to secure harbor improvements. It had been represented at Washington and at the State capital for years, and had secured from the national government the construction of a series of stone jetties at a cost of nine million dollars, which insured a deep water channel into the harbor, and prevented its being filled up by the shifting sands of the Gulf bottom. This Commission at once took quiet control of the situation. Its members realized that the first step in any scheme looking toward the rebuilding of the city must be the establishment of a municipal government which should be capable of conducting great undertakings, and should be morally above reproach. Without taking the public into their confidence the Commission requested a committee of leading lawyers to draw up a new city charter, whose distinctive feature should be the abolition of the old form of city government, and the establishment in its place of a form of government by Commission. Accordingly the new Charter provided for a Board of five Commissioners, one of whom should act as mayor; two of these commissioners were to be elected by the city, and three, including the mayor, were to be appointed by the governor of the State. When the scheme was fully worked out, the Commission went before the people with their Charter. The old political leaders and bosses fought hard; but a plain statement of the facts to all the people, in the light of their present situation and recent sufferings, prevailed; and at an election more than six-sevenths of the voters supported the new movement. No time was lost in getting the charter before the Legislature, which quickly approved it; and at the first meeting of the Commission government on September 24, 1901, the Deep-water Commission urged immediate action on certain plans for the improvement of the city. Resolutions were passed providing for the employment of an expert Board of Engineers who should report a definite plan for the protection of the city, and the cost of the work. Three of the best-known engineers of the country were employed; and on January 25, 1902, they reported a plan calling for the erection of a solid concrete wall along the entire Gulf front, and the raising of the entire city's surface to a level above the highest point reached by the waters during the flood. The total cost of the undertaking was estimated at $3,505,000. This was the first step.

Next it was requested through the Commission's Court that the County should undertake the building of the Sea Wall, at a cost of $1,500,000, the city to bear the burden of raising the grade, at an estimated cost of $2,000,000. As nearly all the taxpayers of the County were residents of the city, they had to assume the double burden. The proposition to issue bonds by the County had to be voted on by the people, and three thousand votes were cast for the issue with only twenty-two against it,—a most positive expression of the unanimity of public opinion, and conclusive proof that the people were back of the movement, heart and soul.

THE SEA WALL

The contract for the building of the sea wall was awarded September 19, 1902. It called for a solid concrete wall sixteen feet high, sixteen feet thick at the base, and five feet at the top, and was to skirt the Gulf for a distance of three and a quarter miles. For the foundation creosoted timbers were driven through the shifting sands from forty to fifty feet until the clay bottom was reached. These piers extended in four parallel lines, three and one-half feet apart, each being four feet from its nearest neighbor. On this basis the solid concrete wall has been built. During the building of the wall the outer protection called for by the contract was put in place. This consists of a continuous breakwater along the sea side of the wall twenty-seven feet wide, made of rough blocks of stone, many of them weighing a ton apiece, which protects the concrete wall from the full force of the waves. So admirably was the whole work conducted that on July 29, 1904, the entire wall was completed,—a colossal structure resembling a huge fortress, and a triumph of engineering skill. The second part of the scheme was hardly less formidable. It called for the filling in with earth or sand of the entire city's surface area, from a height of seventeen feet at the sea wall to eight feet at the bay front. To accomplish this stupendous work the first step was to excavate a canal two hundred feet wide and twenty-one feet deep just inside the wall and extending the full length of the city front. Four immense suction dredges were brought from Germany, each with a capacity of 1,500 cubic yards. These dredges steamed out into the Gulf and dropped their suction mains to the bottom. The engines were then set to work, and the semi-liquid sand sucked into the immense hoppers of the steamers. The heavy-laden dredge

then steamed back within the wall and entered the canal. As the canal had been advanced, pipe stations were established at the head of each street ending on it. At these stations the dredges discharged their loads forcing the liquid sand through forty-two inch mains, extending through each street. At the end of the mains sand and water gushed out, the sand settling, and the water flowing off. After the filling in was completed to the required grade, the dredges filled in the canal in the same manner, backing out as the work advanced. What this great work involved may be partially realized if one considers that every building in the city had to be raised from six to fifteen or eighteen feet; that all arrangements for sewerage, lighting, water supply, etc., had to be readjusted; that tracks for the car lines were relaid, and streets repaved; and scores of incidental changes and improvements had to be provided for, which only the participation in such a revolutionary undertaking could develop. But the rehabilitation of the city was not even then complete in the minds of the far-seeing directors of its great improvements. A great causeway, to be constructed of cement and to be five hundred feet wide, to connect the city with the mainland was planned, and is now about completed, forming an enduring and permanent connection with the mainland.

But what of Government by Commission? As has been said, the new city charter provided for a Board of five Commissioners, two of whom were to be elected by the city, and three, including the commissioner who should act as mayor, were to be appointed by the governor of the State. In 1903 such appointment of Commissioners was declared unconstitutional by the State Courts, since which time all five members of the body have been elected by the people. The mayor acts as a general manager, and the four other commissioners head respectively the departments of Finance, of Water-works and Sewerage, of Streets and Public Buildings, and of Fire and Police. All power resides in the Commission, and a majority vote of the body is final. Previous to the great catastrophe of 1900, Galveston had been, in the broadest sense of the term, a "wide-open" town; and only one who is familiar with such conditions in a place which is at once the seaside resort for all classes of excursionists from a wide stretch of not too highly civilized country, and the meeting place of thousands of sailors and adventurers from every part of the world, can understand in some degree what that term means. Saloons of the vilest character were open seven days in the week and twenty-four hours of every day; gambling and lottery devices of every kind were openly conducted; dance-halls and brothels were everywhere in evidence. As one has said: "Formerly Galveston was a slattern, and a southern slattern at that,—which is as far as language can go." But a critical observer who recently studied the situation on the ground summed up his impressions as follows: "Galveston is now beginning to reap the results of five years of clean, able city government. She was desperate and bankrupt; now her credit is good. She was unclean but now she is clean; she was a town of vice and license; now she is orderly. Unpaved streets are well paved, there are good sewers where formerly there were none, there is an ample water-supply in increasing use. The city is protected from future danger from flood. But good government has meant more than its direct service to the city. It has meant indirectly industrial and commercial prosperity. Property which fell dead, with no buyers, after the storm, has regained its former value, and in sections has exceeded it. When the grade raising is cleaned up, a much larger increase will undoubtedly take place. The city is prospering in a business way as it never did before. But most important of all, the shipping from the port is increasing tremendously. It has trebled since 1900. The government of the town did not, of course, cause all this growth; but the conditions it brought about were a great factor."

But the working of the Commission

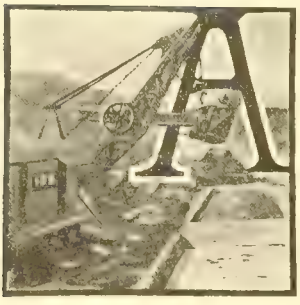
plan of government is not to be measured alone by its results in rebuilding and redeeming Galveston. The "Galveston Plan" has now become one of the three or four most considered and admired forms of municipal government by all who are elsewhere seeking to overthrow corrupt political administrations, and make their further existence impossible. The plan has already been copied in several of the largest cities of Texas, and in other places, and its workings have everywhere proved most effective and salutary. Surely the little band of earnest and heroic men who faced the direst adversity in Galveston in 1900, and undertook to conquer circumstances, builded better than they knew. And we know of no story of intelligent and determined effort to achieve great ends under the most adverse conditions which may better inspire all workers for the public good with a glorious confidence, nor which more truly merits the reverent admiration of all worthy citizens of the whole country, than the narrative of the arduous labors and of the sublime achievements of the "Deep-water Commission" of Galveston.

L.

THE PANAMA CANAL — 1903.

Early Search for Strait Connecting Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.— Efforts of Cortez, Saavedra, and Others. — Interest of Charles V. and Philip II.— Latter Decides, "Contrary to Divine Will to Unite Two Oceans Which the Creator of World Had Separated."— English Become Interested in Nicaragua in Seventeenth Century.— Visit of Humboldt to United States and Central America.— Outlines Nine Routes for Waterway from Atlantic to Pacific.— Views of Goethe.— Remarkable Predictions as to Development of United States; Also as to Canals. — The Treaty of 1846 with New Granada (Colombia).— The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.— French Interference Under Napoleon III.— American Position Asserted by President Grant in 1869.—"Only American Canal, under Control of Americans Should be Built Between Atlantic and Pacific Oceans."— DeLesseps and the French Concession.—Appointment of Commission to Investigate Merits of All Leading Routes.— Commission Reports in Favor of Nicaragua.— Debate in Congress and Spooner Amendment.— Clayton-Bulwer Treaty Abrogated by Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 1901.— The Remarkable Panama Revolution.— M. Bunau-Varilla.— Treaty with Panama Republic.— President Roosevelt's Attitude.—His Letter to Dr. Shaw.— Transfer of All Rights and Property of French Canal Company for $40,000,000. — Canal Commission Appointed.— Repeated Changes in It.— Whole Work Finally Placed in Hands of Board of Army Engineers.— Great Improvement in Its Prosecution.— Statistics as to Present Conditions.— Original Estimates and Probably Final Cost of the Canal.

"Dids't thou never hear
That things ill got had ever bad success?"
SHAKESPEARE.



S one finds the most illuminating accounts of nearly all subjects of human knowledge, of all ages and all races, in the writings of that prince of story tellers, John Fiske, we naturally get from the first volume of his "Discovery of America" the clearest statement of some of the causes that first led men to search, unconsciously then, for a passage from the Atlantic Ocean into the Pacific. Down to the thirteenth century Ptolemy's geographical dictum that Eastern Asia shaded off into an unknown land of illimitable extent, "full of reedy and impenetrable swamps," was universally accepted in Europe. In the first quarter of that century occurred the wonderful conquests of Genghis Khan, as a result of which China became more accessible to western adventurers and explorers than it ever was before or has been since. In northern China they came in contact with a dynasty called the Khitai; and when this name became known to Europeans it assumed the form of Cathay, the term by which China and the far East was best known for centuries. About the year 1250 two Franciscan monks were sent on missionary errands to the Grand Khan. Both are described as men of "shrewd, and cultivated minds," especially one Rubru-

guis, whose narrative we are told "in its rich details, its vivid pictures, its acuteness of observations, and strong good sense has few superiors in the whole library of travel." Though neither of these men visited China, at the Court of the Grand Khan they met many Chinese and acquired much information regarding the geography of Asia, learning, among other things, that it did not terminate in a land of "reedy and impenetrable swamps," but bordered upon an Eastern ocean. "Here," says Fiske, "we arrive at a notable landmark in the history of the discovery of America. Here from the camp of bustling heathen at Karakorum there is brought to Europe the first announcement of a geographical fact from which the poetic mind of Christopher Columbus will hereafter reap a wonderful harvest. Since there is an ocean east of Cathay and an ocean west of Spain how natural the inference,—and albeit quite wrong, how amazingly fruitful—that these oceans are one and the same, so that by sailing westward from Spain one might go straight to Cathay."

It was in this century also that the discovery of the Mariner's Compass was made, or, rather, a knowledge of it became somewhat common among European navigators. Though tradition credits the Chinese with a knowledge and use of the compass for more than two thousand years before this period, it is apparent that the virtues of the needle were first disclosed in Europe by some of the returned Crusaders who had learned of it from the Arabs, who, in turn, had gained their knowledge from the Chinese in the course of their eastern voyages. That its use was not common knowledge even among the learned at the middle of the thirteenth century the following extract from a letter will abundantly prove. In 1258, Brunetto Latini, the tutor of Dante, made a visit to Friar Roger Bacon at Oxford, an account of which he sent to his friend, the poet Cavalcanti. He says: "The Parliament summoned to assemble at Oxford, I did not fail to see Friar Bacon as soon as I arrived, and among other things, he showed me a black ugly stone called a magnet, which has the surprising property of drawing iron to it; and upon which if a needle is rubbed, and afterward fastened to a straw so that it will swim upon the water, the needle will instantly turn towards the Pole star; therefore, be the night ever so dark, so that neither moon nor star be visible, yet shall the mariner be able by the help of this needle to steer his vessel aright. *This discovery* which appears useful to all who travel by sea must remain concealed until other times; because no master mariner dares to use it lest he should fall under the imputation of being a magician; nor would the sailors venture themselves out to sea under his command if he took with him an instrument which carries so great an appearance of being constructed under the influence of some infernal spirit,"—a sentiment that draws from the historian this philosophical comment: "Is it not a curious instance of human perversity that while customary usage from time immemorial has characterized as 'Acts of God' such horrible events as famines, pestilences, and earthquakes, on the other hand, when some purely beneficent invention has appeared, such as the mariner's compass or the printing press, it has commonly been accredited to the Devil?"

Though more accurate information regarding the situation of Cathay had been obtained and the mariner's compass had come into somewhat general use by the end of the thirteenth century, yet for two hundred years Europeans made little practical use of such knowledge. Nor is this wholly remarkable, as it was during this period that the overland routes to the east were more open than they ever have been since. But when the "Unspeakable Turk," whose career had been checked by the Crusades, again began his descents upon Eastern Europe and, in 1365, establishing himself in the Balkan peninsula, began slowly to close in upon Constantinople, the main channels of trade with the Orient, which were through the Volga country or Armenia, were little

by little closed, and by the middle of the fifteenth century were effectually cut off by the capture of Constantinople. Then the demand for another route to the Orient became imperative, and it was to be sought by sea, and not by land. As is well known all the voyages of discovery, both down the coast of Africa by the Portuguese and later to the west by the Spaniards, had the Indies and China as their objective points; and the earliest Spanish navigators naturally believed when they discovered the Caribbean islands and later the mainland, that the object of their quest had been gained. But when in 1512 Balboa crossed the Isthmus and

"With eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific, and all his men
Looked at each other with a wild surmise,—
Silent, upon a peak in Darien,"

it was realized that another barrier lay between this newly discovered country and the land of spices, of silks, and of gold;

CORTEZ

and from that day,—the first quarter of the sixteenth century, to this,—the first quarter of the twentieth century, the problem has been the same, to discover or cut a short and safe route through the Isthmus to the ancient and longed for realm of Cathay.

What has generally come to be known as the Isthmus of Panama is the long, narrow neck of land connecting North and South America, and extending from Costa Rica in an easterly direction about 450 miles to the Atrato river, whose course practically coincides with the westerly boundary of South America. The general form of the country is that of a somewhat flattened letter "S" lying on its face; and the average width is about seventy miles. The bays of Panama and San Miguel on the south and of Chiriqui and Urabá on the north form three minor constrictions, having distinctive names. Beginning at the west the Isthmus of Chiriqui, opposite the bay of that name, has a minimum width of about forty-five miles; beyond this the neck is broadened to about one hundred and twenty miles by the Azuero peninsula on the south. The bay of Panama reduces it to about thirty miles opposite the bay of San Blas, or about thirty-five miles between Panama and Colon; this is known as the Isthmus of Panama proper, or San Blas. The Isthmus of Darien is properly the portion between the Gulfs of Urabá and San Miguel, and has a minimum width of thirty-five miles. An irregular mountain chain runs the entire length of the Isthmus, generally near the northern coast; to the westward it has volcanic peaks reaching the height of seven thousand feet; but in the easterly part it subsides to a range of hills with passes less than four hundred feet above sea level. The coasts are generally low, swampy, hot, and unhealthful. Rains are very abundant during nine months of the year, with frequent violent thunder storms. The dry months are February, March, and April; while from August to October the heat is intense, except in the mountains. The latitude of Panama is about 10° north, and it lies due south of the centre of Cuba, the east coast of Florida, and but a little west of south of New York.

The early Spanish explorers on the mainland all learned from the natives of a fabled strait connecting the two oceans, and for the first twenty-five years a large share of their energy was expended in a search for it, though they were not negligent of pearls and gold which they found in abundance. One of the most indefatigable of these searchers was Cortez, already distinguished as the Conqueror of Mexico. In a letter to the King in 1524 he says "if the strait is found, I shall hold it to be the greatest deed I have yet rendered. It would make the King of Spain master of so many lands that he might call himself Lord of the whole world." He sent out fleets on both oceans, one ordered to search to the south, on the Pacific, until it should come to the newly discovered Straits of Magellan; and the other to follow the east coast of North America as far as Labrador, if necessary. "Thus," said he in another letter to the King in 1525, "on the one side or the other I shall not fail to solve the secret of the Strait." And after referring to his wish to explore California and other Pacific coast lands, which he believed to be of great value, he further says: "but being well aware of the great desire of your Majesty to know the secret of this strait and of the advantage the crown would derive from its discovery I postpone all other schemes and interests, some of them of the highest moment, to pursue this object alone." Toward 1530, however, these earnest servants of the King began to doubt the existence of any Strait, and to consider the feasibility of making one. One of the most intelligent and determined of these men, a companion of Balboa when he crossed Darien, was Alvaro de Saavedra. Recalling the narrowness and low elevation of the Isthmus of Panama he prepared plans for a canal at that point; and an early Spanish historian laments his death on a voyage across the Pacific from the Moluccas, because "if he had lived he meant to have opened the land of Castilla del Oro and New Spain from Sea to Sea, which might have been done in four places." He then proceeds to describe the Darien, Panama, Nicaragua, and Tehuantepec routes, showing that, even at that early date, the Spanish explorers had decided upon

PHILIP II.

the possible canal sites that have maintained precedence down to the present day. Charles V. manifested the deepest interest in these propositions, as did Philip II. during the earlier years of his reign. But upon receiving an unfavorable report from an engineer he sent out he changed his attitude; and a little later, his superstition getting the better of his avarice, *he decided that it would be contrary to the Divine will to unite two oceans which the Creator of the World had separated, and that such an impious undertaking would surely call down the vengeance of Heaven.*

During the greater part of the next century the Spanish were engaged in conquest and in search for treasure, though the canal project was never wholly abandoned. Toward the middle of the seventeenth century the English, who had for many years been scouring the Atlantic

and Pacific Oceans for Spanish treasure ships, became an important factor in the canal problem. In 1655 they seized the island of Jamaica, and made attempts to establish themselves in Central America. Settlements were made on the coasts of

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT

Honduras and Nicaragua, and a party of adventurers went up the San Juan river and explored the shores of Lake Nicaragua. Thus for the first time the English realized the magnitude of that lake and its immense value as a part of a canal route. From that period date their determined efforts to get control of Nicaragua, while forces were set in motion which should only find their end in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty two hundred years later. The space at our command does not admit of detailed reference to the many canal schemes and propositions of the next one hundred and fifty years; but the visit of Alexander Humboldt to this country and Central America at the opening of the nineteenth century, and his conclusions regarding the canal proposition, are of so much interest that they must be briefly noticed. In his work "Four Centuries of the Panama Canal," Mr. W. F. Johnson has given a full account of Humboldt's investigations and opinions, and it is to that work that we are indebted for much information on this particular subject. As a result of his observations, Humboldt outlined nine different routes for waterways between the Atlantic and the Pacific, the first of which is especially interesting and amusing. It was to enter the Mississippi river from the Gulf of Mexico, and then reach the Pacific by that river, the Missouri, the Peace, and the Columbia rivers. He admits, however, that this route might be impracticable because of the barrier presented by the "Stony," or Rocky Mountains, which, he was told, in some places reached a height of 3,500 feet above the sea level. Each of the four routes that have received favorable consideration from the earliest times were fully indorsed by him, and he was convinced that the building of such a canal was *"calculated to immortalize a government occupied with the true interests of humanity."* Not the least notable result of his observations, however, was the remarkable comment and prophetic utterance of the great Goethe, inspired by reading Humboldt's account of his travels and investigations. In the "Conversations with Eckermann and Soret," under date of February 21, 1827, it is stated that Goethe spoke much of Humboldt and of his views as to the importance of water communication between the two oceans. "Humboldt," he said, "has with a great knowledge of his subject given other points where, by making use of some streams which flow into the Gulf of Mexico, the end may be better attained perhaps than at Panama. All this is reserved for the future and for an enterprising spirit. So much, however, is certain, that if they succeed in cutting such a canal that ships of any size can be navigated through it from the Mexican Gulf to the Pacific Ocean, innumerable benefits will result to the whole human race, civilized and uncivilized. *But I should wonder if the United States were to let an opportunity escape of getting such a work into their own hands.* It may be foreseen that this young state, with its

decided predilection to the West, will, in thirty or forty years, have occupied and peopled the large tract of land beyond the Rocky Mountains. It may furthermore be foreseen that along the whole coast of the Pacific Ocean, where nature has already formed the most capacious and secure harbors, important commercial towns will gradually arise for the furtherance of a great intercourse between China and the East Indies, and the United States. In such a case it would be not only desirable but almost necessary that a more rapid communication should be maintained between the Eastern and the Western Shores of North America, both by merchant ships and men-of-war, than has hitherto been possible with the tedious, disagreeable, and expensive voyage around Cape Horn. *I therefore repeat that it is absolutely indispensable for the United States to effect a passage from the Mexican Gulf to the Pacific Ocean; and I am certain that they will do so.* . . . I should like to see another thing,—a junction of the Danube and the Rhine; but this undertaking is so gigantic that I have grave doubts of its completion, particularly when I consider our German resources. And thirdly, and lastly, I should wish to see England in possession of a canal through the Isthmus of Suez. Would I could live to see these three works. It would be well worth the trouble to last some fifty years or more for the very purpose."

During the period between 1810 and 1825 the Spanish possessions bordering on the Caribbean Sea achieved their independence, assuming Republican forms of government. Immediately upon the establishment of these governments, canal projects were almost daily broached. In 1826 Henry Clay, then Secretary of State of the United States, ordered an official survey of the Nicaragua route, and many other canal schemes were advanced in this country without results; while for the next sixty years, hardly a year passed without some real or pretended representatives of foreign interests securing concessions and rights of way across the Isthmus, or from Nicaragua. The first pronounced advance towards definite action by this country came in 1846, when the now famous treaty of that year was made with New Granada (now Colombia), by which the United States secured the exclusive right of transit across the entire Isthmus of Panama, from Costa Rica to the Atrato river, guaranteeing in return "the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over said territory." This Treaty became of great importance when in 1903 it seemed necessary to justify the Administration's course regarding the alleged revolution in Panama. It was not long before American capitalists under its protection built the Panama railroad, which was opened for public service in 1855. The famous, or infamous, Clayton-Bulwer Treaty between Great Britain and the United States was concluded in 1850. The necessary limits of this article preclude the possibility of an effort to make clear the many intri-

GOETHE.

cate and perplexing political considerations which determined the character of this most short-sighted and ill-advised agreement. Suffice it to say that its general purpose was to bind the respective governments never to obtain any exclu-

sive control over an Isthmian Canal, nor to maintain fortifications commanding the same, nor to make any use of an alliance or agreement with any Central American state to obtain unequal advantages in regard to commerce or navigation through any such canal. It is hardly necessary to say that the treaty has been a bone of contention and a prolific source of misunderstandings and strife from the day of its enactment until it was superseded by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901.

Between 1860 and 1870 the Emperor Napoleon III. became a somewhat active factor in canal matters, and not at all to the satisfaction of the American people. These movements, in connection with his attempt to establish Maximilian as king in Mexico, in 1864, gave birth to a strong anti-French sentiment in this country. And so many were the threatened foreign complications that in 1869 President Grant was moved to announce in no uncertain tones, for the first time, what has come to be the attitude of the United States, that only an American canal, under the control of Americans, should be anywhere built between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

In 1878, however, Lt. Wyse of the French Navy secured from the Colombian government a concession for the construction of a canal anywhere on the Isthmus, provided he could make terms with the Panama railroad. This he succeeded in doing, and returning to France, disposed of his concession to the *Societé Civile International du Canal Interoceanique,* with Ferdinand de Lesseps, the builder of the Suez Canal, as its president. This company was organized under a charter guaranteed by the French Government. It had a capital stock of 600,000,000 francs. Books were opened for a popular subscription at fifty francs a share, and so great was the enthusiasm over the project that the number of subscribers quickly reached 600,000. Although there was no evidence that the French Government had any interest whatever in the undertaking, yet so unpleasant were the recollections of Napoleon's attempt to get a foothold in Central America that people came to regard that as a part of French policy; and it was persistently rumored that the French Government was backing de Lesseps. Even if this were not true, it was easily seen that the Government had only to take advantage of some of the political disturbances which are constantly arising among the Central American states, and make of it an excuse for assuming control over any canal that the Company should have constructed. The whole proposition was, therefore, regarded with very unfriendly sentiments by both the government and the people of this country. To overcome this opposition and to encourage American subscriptions to the Company's stock de Lesseps came to the United States in 1880. He appeared before a House Committee, addressed public assemblies, occupied a great deal of space in magazines and papers, and in every way endeavored to remove the misapprehensions of the people; and in that campaign he was remarkably successful. Unfortunately, however, the change of attitude of many prominent papers and influential business men and bankers was so complete and sudden that their conversion was viewed with considerable skepticism. The net results, however, of his efforts were extremely satisfactory to de Lesseps and his company, notwithstanding the fact that his visit was the occasion of President Hayes sending a message to the Senate in which he announced in the most emphatic terms the attitude of the American people towards every movement of that nature. "The policy of this Country," he said, "is a canal under American control. The United States cannot consent to the surrender of this control to any European Power or to any combination of European Powers. . . . No European Power can intervene for such protection without adopting measures on this continent which the United States would deem wholly inadmissible. An interoceanic Canal across the American Isthmus will essentially change the geograph-

ical relations between the United States, and between the United States and the rest of the world. It will be the great ocean thoroughfare between our Atlantic and our Pacific shores, and virtually a part of the coast line of the United States. . . . No other great power would under similar circumstances fail to assert a rightful control over a work so closely and vitally affecting its interest and its welfare."

In the face of this warning, however, the French Company actively continued its preliminary work, and its stock was largely sought for. The plan which had been adopted provided for a sea-level canal, 29 1-2 feet deep, 72 feet wide at the bottom, involving the excavation of 157,000,000 cubic yards of earth and rock at an estimated cost of $127,000,000. The canal was to be completed in eight years. Work was begun in 1881 in the most spectacular manner, Sara Bernhardt even going to the Isthmus to give a performance in honor of the event. The subsequent history of the Company is scandalous in the extreme, though it was not until 1888 that the day of reckoning came. The Company then suspended payments, and went into bankruptcy, a receiver being appointed shortly after. Instead of the $127,000,000 which it had been estimated would be ample to complete the work, it was found that nearly $400,000,000 had already been expended, and only about two-fifths of the work had been completed. Legal investigations followed, which disclosed the most shocking extravagance, misuse of funds, and bribery. More than one hundred members of the French legislature had received liberal bribes, as had also several members of the Executive Government, the bureau of police, and others; while the press had been richly subsidized to prevent exposures. As a result of the investigations the two leading financial agents of the Company committed suicide, and de Lesseps himself became a mental wreck. Notwithstanding the conditions which existed, however, the public in France and throughout the world believed that he was only technically guilty, and was not cognizant of the rascality of his associates. He was, nevertheless, fined and sentenced to imprisonment for two years,—but the sentence was never executed. He died in 1894, fortunately, perhaps, never having rallied from his mental collapse and so probably not conscious of the disgrace that had fallen upon a great and honored name.

FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.

The Receiver appointed by the Courts was authorized to cede to any new company all or part of the old company's assets, to borrow money and to make new contracts looking toward the completion of the work. Three different extensions of the time-limit on the concessions were obtained from the Colombian Government, the last carrying the term over to 1910. In October, 1894, the Receiver succeeded in forming a new company, and assigned to it all the rights, property, and assets of every nature of the old company. This company secured the services of an international technical commission, composed of ten eminent engineers from the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and France, which proceeded to the Isthmus and carefully studied every feature of the work done and to be done; and in 1899 the Commissioners reported unani-

mously in favor of the feasibility and practicability of completing the canal. It was estimated that $102,500,000 would be needed for the work, and that it would take ten years. The Company resumed operations on a small scale; and up to 1900 had spent about $8,000,000, when the work practically ceased. The subsequent efforts of representatives of the company were confined to schemes to centre the interest of the United States on a canal at Panama and to prevent, so far as possible, the consideration of any other route, in the hope that a sale of assets of the company might be made to Americans. *To this end an active lobby was maintained in Washington and no opportunity was lost to keep public attention directed towards Panama.*

In the meantime the Maritime Canal Company, which was an organization of private capitalists, had secured a concession from Nicaragua, and in 1890 began work in a small way by making surveys, dredging the harbor of Greytown, etc. This company became a most persistent suitor for popular and government support; and for eight or nine years the discussions of the relative claims of the Nicaragua and Panama supporters were well-nigh continuous,—Senator Morgan especially doing notable service in behalf of the Nicaragua Company. Towards the close of the last century public opinion was considerably aroused upon the subject by the failure of the Panama Company, but more especially by the outbreak of the Cuban War, and the immediate necessity of getting one of the newest and best of the battleships, the *Oregon*, from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic. Her spectacular race around the Horn against time and the enemy was observed by the people with breathless interest; and no greater object lesson could have been presented of the need of an Isthmian canal; while the sentiment first forcibly voiced by President Grant,—"an American Canal under the control of the Americans,"—became the universal popular cry.

In 1899 President McKinley was authorized by Congress to appoint yet another Commission to investigate thoroughly the characteristics and merits of all the leading routes, and $1,000,000, was appropriated to cover all the expenses of the commission. After visiting Nicaragua, Panama, and Paris, as the powers of the French Company and its disposition to sell were important factors in reaching conclusions, *the Commissioners reported November 16, 1901, in favor of the Nicaragua route.* They estimated the cost of a canal at that place at $189,864,062, while the cost of completing the Panama Canal was placed at $144,233,358. To this latter sum, however, must be added the cost of acquiring the rights and assets of the French Company, which had been offered to the United States Government for $109,141,500, which would make the total cost of the Panama Canal $253,374,858. The commission also expressed its opinion that the United States should not pay over $40,000,000 for the interests and rights of the new Panama Canal Company, and its report closed with these words: "After considering all the facts developed in the investigations made by the Commission and the actual situation as it now stands, and having in view the terms offered by the new Panama Canal Company, *this Commission is of the opinion that the most practicable and feasible route for an Isthmian Canal, to be under the control, management, and ownership of the United States, is that known as the Nicaragua route.*" This decision created the greatest consternation in the Panama Company's councils; and at a general meeting of the stockholders it was decided to negotiate for a sale to the United States on the best terms to be secured. Accordingly on January 4, 1902, a definite offer to sell for forty millions was cabled to the United States Commission; and upon the receipt of the message that body at once proceeded to reverse itself, in a supplementary report, dated January 18th, recommending to the President the adoption of the Panama route instead of the Nicaragua. In the meantime a bill had been

introduced in the House providing for the construction of a canal through Nicaragua as recommended by the Commission; and on January 9, 1902, *more than a week before the Commission made its supplementary report,* the bill was passed by an almost unanimous vote of 308 to 2. When the House bill came before the Senate, Mr. Morgan labored strenuously in its behalf. In a speech in its favor, however, he made a declaration that the Panama Company could not make a valid transfer of its properties; whereupon Senator Spooner moved an amendment to the bill, which was practically a substitute, authorizing the President to acquire the rights and property of the Panama Canal Company at a cost not to exceed $40,000,000; to secure from the Republic of Colombia perpetual control of a strip of land, not less than six miles wide, extending from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific, upon such terms as he might deem reasonable; to proceed, upon acquiring these rights, to construct a canal through the Isthmian Canal Commission created by this act. *But should it not be possible to obtain a satisfactory title to the property of the French Company, and the control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia, "within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms," then the President was instructed to secure control of the necessary strip through Nicaragua and proceed to construct a canal there.* The bill as amended passed the Senate June 19, 1902, by a vote of 67 to 6. The House at first refused to concur in the Senate amendment; but after a conference the Spooner measure was adopted by a vote of 260 to 8 and the act was signed by the President June 28th. Probably no other act of Congress has ever settled a question that had been studied, discussed, investigated and worked over for four centuries; for this "Spooner Amendment" simply put in a form destined to receive practical development the plans that Saavedra and Cortez first laid before their King in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

During the previous year the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty had been ratified by the Senate (December 16, 1901). By this second draft of that treaty, the first having proved objectionable to the Senate, the old Clayton-Bulwer treaty was explicitly abrogated, and it was provided that the United States might construct a canal which should be under its exclusive control and management. The principle of neutralization was nominally retained but under the sole guarantee of the United States, with power to police the canal; and the clause of the first draft, forbidding fortifications, was omitted. As a distinguished authority has well said, "a unilateral guarantee amounts to nothing; the effect, therefore, of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty is to place the canal politically, as well as commercially, under the absolute control of the United States."

Photo. copyrighted 1902 by J. E. Purdy, Boston.
JOHN C. SPOONER.

Nothing seemed therefore to stand in the way of a clear field for immediate action. The Spooner Amendment had distinctly outlined an alternate course for

the president to pursue, if he could not "within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms" secure the necessary right of way from Colombia. An investigation of the title of the French Canal Company, and of its powers to deliver all its interests and assets on the Isthmus to the

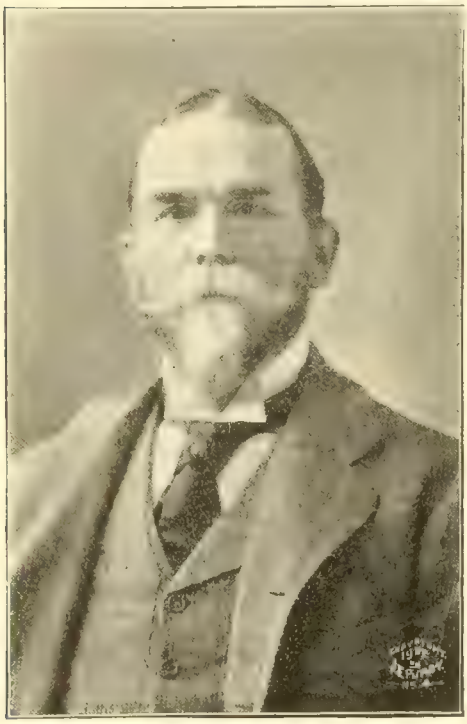


Photo. copyrighted 1903 by J. E. Purdy, Boston.
JOHN HAY.

United States, made by the law department of the Government, had revealed no flaw. Secretary Hay, therefore, at once began negotiations with Mr. Herran, the representative of the Colombian Government at Washington, which resulted in the completion of the Hay-Herran treaty and its signature on January 22, 1903. By it the United States agreed to pay to Colombia ten million dollars cash, and an annuity of $250,000 for the perpetual lease of a strip of land six miles wide extending entirely across the Isthmus of Panama. But the Colombian Senate which met in extra session June 20th for the purpose of considering the Treaty developed a spirit adverse to ratification, and by a final vote taken August 12th, it was rejected by the unanimous vote of all the Senators present. Then followed another of the unfortunate affairs that have been too common in our history. A made-to-order revolution was started, clearly with the knowledge of the officials of the United States Government, although, *as a government,* it had no part in its inception. This movement belongs in the same category with the acquisition of Texas, of Hawaii, and the Philippines. In all these cases all the rights of a weaker power were ignored by the strong one which wished to acquire territory belonging to the weaker power, and determined to dictate the method of acquisition, as well as the terms. It is not a chapter of history that any lover of his country and of fair play, not to speak of common morality, can contemplate with any pride.

In consideration of this subject, three points, should be kept in view. 1st—That Colombia was an independent, sovereign state with which the American government was, and had for a long time been, at peace. 2nd—That under the constitution of Colombia, just as under ours, the sole power of accepting or rejecting treaties lay with its Senate. 3rd—That under the Treaty of 1846, this government bound itself to protect the rights of Colombia on the Isthmus, in these words: "And in order to secure to themselves the tranquil and constant enjoyment of these advantages (previously named) *and as an especial compensation for the said advantages,* and for favors they have acquired by the 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of this Treaty, the United States guarantees positively and efficaciously to New Granada (now Colombia), by the present stipulation, the perfect neutralization of the before-mentioned Isthmus, with view that the free transit from one sea to the other may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while the treaty exists; *and in consequence of which the United States also guarantees in the same manner the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory.*"

Our space is too limited to go into all the details of this peculiar proceeding, and they are of so recent occurrence that it is hardly necessary. Suffice it to say that on November 3rd, 1903, a revolution was set down for Panama; that all its details were so well known in Washington some days before that on the 2nd of November despatches were sent to the commanders of the naval vessels at Colon and Panama, as follows: "Maintain free and uninterrupted transit. If interruption threatened by armed force, occupy line of railroad. *Prevent landing of any armed force with hostile intent, either government or insurgent, either at Colon, Porto Bello, or other point.*" As no one knew better than the authorities at Washington that the "insurgents" had no forces to land, the order was simply that the United States naval vessels should prevent the State of Colombia from landing troops in its own territory to protect its own rights and maintain its own authority. The opera-bouffe character of the whole proceeding is illustrated by the despatches sent out from Washington. Although it had been arranged that the "uprising" should occur on the 3rd, there was a hitch in the proceedings, the two or three leaders losing their nerve. Consequently our State Department got impatient, and at 3:40 P. M. on that day telegraphed to the American Consuls at Panama and Colon as follows: "Uprising on Isthmus reported. Keep Department promptly and fully informed. Loomis, Acting." At 8:15 P. M. the following reply was received from Consul Ehrman at Panama: "No uprising yet. Reported will be in night. Situation is critical." As nothing was known of the "Uprising" at either Colon or Panama, it certainly seems mysterious how Asst. Sec. Loomis got the information which he wired from Washington in the afternoon.

The form of a revolution, however, was later gone through with, as well as that of establishing a "Republican" form of government; and a most interesting and interested actor in the events, M. Bunau-Varilla, very quickly appeared at Washington as the "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary" of what Senator Teller aptly termed "The twenty minute Republic of Panama." It was the work of but a few days to draw up a treaty such as the United States wanted, which was at once executed. By its provisions the Republic of Panama granted to the United States, "in perpetuity, the use, occupation, and control of a zone" ten miles wide across the Isthmus, with a long enumeration of other privileges which amounted to a virtual cession of the entire territory; and in return this government agreed to pay to the Republic of Panama $10,000,000 in gold coin upon the execution and ratification of this Convention, and an annuity of $250,000 in gold coin after seven years from the same date.

Copyrighted 1909 by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

To the great surprise, apparently, of the Administration this proceeding did not furnish unalloyed pleasure to all the citizens of the United States. A tremendous storm of adverse criticism burst forth as there were, happily, a very large number of the people who thought it

would have been far better to have gone without the Isthmus site, or at least to have made its acquisition the subject of future negotiation, than to have secured it in what the President had himself, only a short time before, declared to be an "underhand way." For while the Revolution was "fomenting" in New York, he had evidently been "sounded" to see how far he would sanction the course that was being planned; and on October 10th, about twenty-five days before the uprising, he wrote the following letter to the Editor of the Review of Reviews:

"My dear Dr. Shaw: I inclose you, purely for your own information, a copy of a letter of September 5th from our Minister to Colombia. I think it might interest you to see that there was absoluely not the slightest chance of securing by treaty any more than we endeavored to secure. The alternatives were to go to Nicaragua, against the advice of the majority of competent engineers, some of the most competent saying that we had better have *no canal at this time* than to go there, *—or else to take the territory by force,* without any attempt at getting a treaty. I cast aside the proposition *at this time to foment the secession of Panama.* Whatever other governments can do, the United States cannot go into the securing, by *such underhand means,* the cession. *Privately I freely say to you that I should be delighted if Panama were an independent State or if it made itself so at this moment; but to say so publicly would amount to an instigation of a revolt, and, therefore, I cannot say it.*"

With great regard, Sincerely yours,

Theodore Roosevelt."

At first this criticism was treated very cavalierly by the Administration; but as its volume rapidly increased, and even many Administration papers found the transaction more than they could support and so joined the opponents of the Administration's course, various efforts were made to justify its action. A message was sent to Congress endeavoring to explain the circumstances satisfactorily, and inspired utterances appeared in leading papers, but the strained construction put upon precedents, and international law, and treaties only made the whole transaction more unpalatable. Just what considerations led the President to determine upon the Panama route at all hazards have never been made clear. Under the Constitution, as executive officer of the Government, his course had been clearly marked out for him by the legislative department in the Spooner Amendment; and its provisions were carefully framed to meet just the emergency that did arise. Under it the President was directed, if it was impossible to obtain the "control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms," to drop further consideration of the Panama route, and proceed to build a canal at Nicaragua. More surveys of that route by the most competent engineers had been made than of any other, and one has only to read their reports covering a period of more than fifty years, to see that it had been repeatedly declared to be the most practicable and feasible of the four great routes. The reason that it had received less favorable attention than the Panama route was that heretofore the Clayton-Bulwer treaty had presented almost insuperable obstacles to the building of an American canal at that point, as it was in Honduras and Nicaragua that Great Britain claimed extensive rights of sovereignty. But with the abrogation of that treaty by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty all such obstacles had been removed; and it would seem that under such conditions the duty of the President was clear. Had he gone to Nicaragua, or deferred action at Panama for further negotiations, the honor of the nation would not have been smirched, and the opposition of those who still believe that "righteousness exalteth a nation" would not have been aroused.

The transfer of its rights and property to the United States by the French Canal Company was completed in May, 1904. Already the Commission of construction

provided for by the Spooner Amendment had been appointed, with Admiral J. G. Walker, who had already served on two Commissions, as Chairman. On June 1st, an important change in plan was made by the appointment of John F. Wallace as Engineer-in-Chief of the whole enterprise. Before the year was over much dissatisfaction with the work of the Commission was manifested, and in March, 1905, all its members resigned. On April 1st, a new Commission was appointed, of which T. P. Shonts was made Chairman, with Judge C. E. Magoon, as Governor of the Canal Zone, and Minister to Panama. Mr. Wallace retained his office of Engineer-in-Chief. In mid-summer, however, another trouble arose, and Mr. Wallace resigned. The circumstances attending his resignation were very unpleasant, coming as a shock to the public, as well as revealing a disagreeable lack of harmony among the officials on the Isthmus. In February, 1906, a committee of Congress which had been appointed to investigate the Canal affairs examined Mr. Wallace as to his reasons for resigning. He stated that it was the result of his failure to get along with two men,—Mr. Shonts and Mr. Cromwell. The latter has not appeared in this narrative before, but as the New York attorney for the French Canal Company and of M. Bunau-Varilla, he has had a great deal to do with developments that have been recorded. In his testimony Mr. Wallace complained in a general way that Mr. Cromwell had too much influence with the President and Secretary of War, and was interested in too many things. "I thought about him," he said, "as being the *man who brought about the sale of the Canal to the government; who brought about the revolution in Panama; who assisted the government of Panama in making its investments;* who is carried on the diplomatic list of that government; and who is interested in public utilities in the Isthmus. I felt that a man mixed up in so many things might have his mind perverted, and at some time he might give the wrong advice, and the result would be a scandal."

On May 15th, 1905, Secretary Taft announced that all supplies of every kind for the Canal Zone would be bought in open market,—where they could be bought cheapest. But as soon as Congress took this matter up, such a course was condemned and abandoned. Of course the retirement of Mr. Wallace involved other changes, and he was succeeded by Mr. John F. Stevens. About the same time a board of consulting or advisory engineers was appointed, chiefly to determine the character of canal that

Copyrighted by Clinedinst, Washington, D. C.
SIR JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

should be built. Five of the thirteen members of this Board were, at the request of the President, appointed by foreign governments; and it would have been difficult to select a more distinguished and experienced body. In their report, which was made public January 10th, 1906, eight favored a sea-level, and five a lock, canal. In submitting the report to Congress, however, the President urged a lock-canal, and, after considerable discussion, that plan was approved. In the early part of 1907 still another change of plan was made. It was announced that

it had been decided to build the Canal by private contract, and bids were called for. Three contracting firms sent bids; but upon investigation and further consideration it was determined to cancel all bids, and the announcement was made

Photo. Copyrighted by Clinedinst, Washington, D. C.
COLONEL G. W. GOETHALS.

that the canal would be completed under direction of engineers of the United States Army. On January 29th, Mr. Shonts had resigned from the Commission, and was succeeded by Mr. Stevens, who, in turn, resigned on March 4th; and on April 1st, Lt. Colonel Goethals became Chairman of the Board, now composed of officers of the army, and engineer-in-chief.

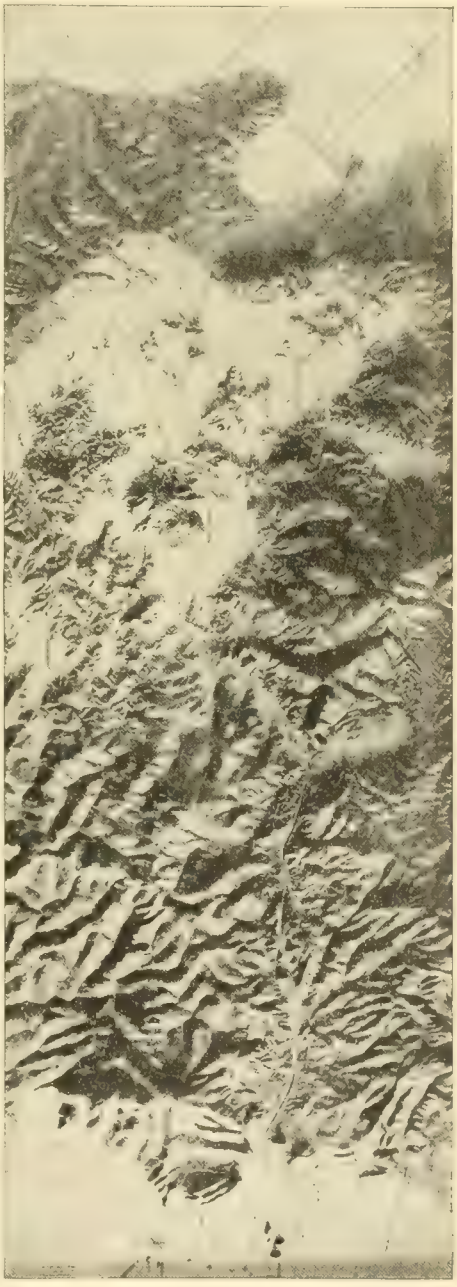
The decision to place the construction work in the hands of army officers seems to have been a fortunate one. As constituted at the opening of the year 1909 the Board consisted of Lt. Colonel G. W. Goethals, Chairman and Engineer-in-chief, with a salary of $15,000 per annum; Major W. L. Sibert, in charge of Department of Locks and Dam Construction; Major D. D. Gaillard, Department of Excavation and Dredging; H. H. Rousseau, Engineer in the Navy, Department of Municipal Engineering, Motive Power, and Machinery; Hon. J. C. S. Blackburn (the only civilian retained on the Board), Department of Civil Administration; Colonel W. C. Gorgas, Department of Labor, Quarters, and Subsistence. All members of the Board, except the chairman, receive a salary of $14,000 a year, The Secretary, Joseph Bucklin Bishop, is paid $10,000 a year. In addition to these amounts each member of the Commission is provided with a furnished house, and is allowed all expenses while in the United States on official business. As soon as the new commission became thoroughly familiar with the work a marked improvement was manifest in the results obtained. From May 1, 1904, to November 1, 1907, the total excavation amounted to only 18,714,931 cubic yards; while from November 1, 1907, to November 1, 1908, the amount excavated was 35,016,-024 cubic yards. This vast increase of speed in the conduct of the enterprise gave rise to very optimistic conclusions as to the date of completion of the canal; many writers and press correspondents declaring that it would be open by the close of the year 1910. While in Washington in July, 1908, Colonel Goethals took pains to correct these too hopeful prophecies, unofficially predicting that ships would pass through the great waterway on January 1, 1915. It is, however, believed by those familiar with the work that the Chief was too conservative in his estimates and that the canal will be opened at a considerably earlier date.

The labor problem has, of course, been a most serious one. The force employed in the Canal zone is divided into two classes,—the first composed of all officials, clerks, skilled laborers, mechanics, etc., who are on the "gold roll"—that is, are paid in the money of the United States; the second class is made up of the laborers, who are almost entirely Europeans or West Indians, and are on the "silver roll,"—that is, are paid in the currency of Panama, or its equivalent. According to official reports on September 1, 1908, there were actually at work on the Canal 25,985 men,—4,377 of whom be-

longed to the first class, and the remainder to the second.

As in the majority of such undertakings, it is evident that the original estimated cost of the work will have little relation to the ultimate cost of the completed canal. By the Spooner Amendment the limit of expenditure for the Panama route was fixed at $135,000,000, exclusive of the $40,000,000 paid for the French rights and properties and the $10,000,000 paid Panama. As early as January, 1908, Colonel Goethals had expressed the opinion that the total cost would be more than double the amount named in the Amendment; while the present indications are that it will be nearer three times that amount, or more. The total amount appropriated by Congress for construction purposes alone down to June 30, 1908, was $120,964,468, that is, of course, exclusive of the amounts paid the French Company and Panama. When work was begun on May 1, 1904, it was estimated that a total of 174,666,595 cubic yards of earth must be excavated. Down to February 1, 1909, the whole amount taken out was 62,751,925 cubic yards, leaving 111,914,670 yards yet to be removed. With these figures before him anyone can form his own estimate as to the date of completion of the great work and its ultimate cost.

In accordance with the present plans the canal will be of the lock type and will be about fifty miles in length, from deep water in the Caribbean sea to deep water in the Pacific Ocean. As the distance, however, from deep water in the Caribbean sea to the shore line is about four and a half miles, and it is five miles from the Pacific coast line to deep water, the canal proper will be about forty miles in length. Its summit elevation will be eighty-five feet above the sea, and will be reached by a flight of three locks located at Gatun on the Atlantic side, and one at Pedro Miguel and two at Miraflores on the Pacific side. These locks will all be in duplicate, having two chambers side by side, each one thousand feet long and one hundred and ten feet wide. The summit level is to be maintained by a great lake at Gatun which will have an area of about one hundred and sixty-five square miles. The



From The Independent, April 22, 1909, by permission.
RELIEF MAP OF THE CANAL ZONE.

bottom width of the canal will vary from two hundred feet in the famous Culebra cut to an indefinite width in the deep

waters of the lake. The approaches on either side from the deep waters of the ocean are to be five hundred feet wide. The canal will have a minimum depth of forty-one feet. That the reader may compare this great undertaking with similar completed works, general statistics regarding other great canals of the world are given. The most famous of these is, of course, the Suez Canal, connecting the Mediterranean and Red Seas. This has a total length of about one hundred miles, with a width at the bottom of one hundred and eight feet, and a depth of thirty-one feet. Its total cost was about $100,000,000. The Manchester Ship Canal, between the cities of Manchester and Liverpool in England, is thirty-five miles long, one hundred and twenty feet wide at the bottom and twenty-six feet deep. This great work cost $75,000,000. The Kaiser Wilhelm Canal, connecting the Baltic and North Seas, is sixty-one miles long, seventy-two feet wide at the bottom, and has a depth of twenty-nine and a half feet. Its cost was $40,000,000.

Though serious opposition to the lock-canal was manifested in Congress during the winter of 1908-9, it seems probable that the present plans will be adhered to. The in-coming Taft administration seems as determined in its adherence to the lock plan as is that of President Roosevelt. It will be remembered that of the Expert Commission of thirteen members, appointed by the President in 1905, five of whom were distinguished foreign engineers, eight reported in favor of a sea-level, and five in favor of a lock, canal. The chief argument with the Senators, at least, was that the sea level canal would be so much more costly, something like $270,000,000 against $140,000,000, for which sum the minority engineers "pledged their reputations" that the lock canal could be built. But already nearly their total estimate has been covered and the work is hardly one-third done. In view of the fact that the lock type was evidently going to cost so much more than the estimated cost of the sea level, much discussion was given to the subject in Congress, many of the leading senators declaring their decided preference for the sea level plan, and that they had originally been led to vote for the other only because of the assured difference in cost. Early in February another selected body of engineers accompanied President-elect Taft to Panama to make an exhaustive investigation of conditions there, especially regarding the projected Gatun dam. As three of the engineers chosen for this expert work were of the minority who "pledged their reputations" upon their report of 1905, in much of which succeeding events have proved them so entirely wrong that their "reputations" should need repairing, it was well understood before they went to the Isthmus what their conclusions would be. Their report to the President, which he embodied in a message to Congress, was, therefore, largely perfunctory. The crucial question is the possible stability of the proposed Gatun dam. According to press reports the Engineers spent eight hours in studying the situation there,—an undertaking which competent engineers the world over have declared to be the most complicated and serious engineering proposition of the age. The manner in which the whole subject has been treated by those having the work in charge has created wide-spread doubt and suspicion. It is generally conceded at the present time that the canal will cost at least $400,000,000; and a bill has been introduced in Congress asking for authority to issue $500,000,000—one-half billion dollars—of canal bonds, in addition to $140,000,000 already voted and available. This is certainly most amazing trifling with public confidence. But when many of the most experienced authorities in the world declare that it is utterly impossible to secure a safe foundation for the Gatun dam, and that to construct a canal of which that dam will be a vital feature is to "invite the most dramatic catastrophe in the history of public works," it would certainly seem the part of political wisdom as well as sound business judgment to delay further action until more un-

questionable and less partisan advice is secured. The disgust with the muddled manner in which the whole undertaking has been managed from the start which dominates many thoughtful Americans was voiced in an editorial of the New York Herald of February 26, which said: "If it should be decided to neither go ahead on present lines nor dig the sea level canal as advocated, but to abandon the whole enterprise, that might be the wisest way out of the difficulty." So many have been the peculiar transactions connected with the undertaking from its inception, so numerous the changes of management and plans, and so doubtful even now the ultimate success of the work that one needs hardly be superstitious to agree with Philip II. who four hundred years ago, after various investigations by his engineers, gave the whole scheme up as impracticable, declaring that it was impious and opposed to the Divine will to attempt to join oceans that God had put asunder.

LI.

THE TREATY OF PORTSMOUTH — 1905.

The Interests of Russia and Japan in Manchuria — Position and Importance of the Province — Position of Korea.— The Building of the Siberian Railroad.— Japan's Vital Need of Manchurian and Korean Markets and Products.— The Chinese-Japanese War of 1894–5.— Japan Robbed of the Fruits of Victory by European Powers.— Russia's Agreement of 1902 to Evacuate Manchuria — Not Only Fails to Evacuate but Strengthens Forces.— Russia's Interests on the Yalu.— Dignified but Forcible Protest of Japan in 1903.— Russia's Dilatory Tactics.— Diplomatic Relations Severed February 5, 1904.— The Battles of Chemulpo Bay and Port Arthur.— Unprecedented Successes of Japan on Sea and Land for Fifteen Months. — Final Battles of Mukden and Korean Straits.— Movements Looking Toward Peace.— The Influence of the Hague Conference.— President Roosevelt's Identical Notes to Czar and Mikado of June 7, 1905.— Conference Agreed Upon.—Ambassadors Named by Both Powers. — Reception of Ambassadors on the *Mayflower*. — President Roosevelt's Tact, and Amicable Toast.— Reasons for Choosing Portsmouth as the Treaty City.— First Meeting of Envoys August 9, 1905.—Account of Deliberations.— Dark Days.— Final Agreement.— Result of Compromises.— Treaty Signed September 5.— Interesting Interchange of Courtesies Between Envoys.— Notable *Te Deum* Service in Episcopal Church at Portsmouth.— Reception of News Throughout United States.— Cannons Roar, Bells Ring, Bonfires Everywhere.— Hostile Reception by Japanese People.— Results Achieved.— Happy and Proud Position of President Roosevelt.

"A peace is of the nature of a conquest;
For then both parties nobly are subdued,
And neither party loser."

SHAKESPEARE

FOR nearly half a century the eastern extremity of the great territory under the dominion of China known as Manchuria has been a bone of contention and a constant source of friction between the surrounding nations who have wished to obtain a foothold, or zone of supremacy, within its borders. During the last fifteen years these contests have become more acute, Russia having been constant and unscrupulous in her aggressive efforts to dominate the situation, while Japan, in proportion to her growing strength and influence, has been as determined to block the advance of Russia, and to preserve at least the "open door" policy for all the territory in question. China, of whose acknowledged sovereign possessions Manchuria forms a part, has been an apparently disinterested observer, yielding to either disputant concessions and territorial privileges in proportion to the strength of the influence with which they have been demanded. And the peculiar spectacle has recently been presented of two powerful nations conducting the greatest war, all things considered, of all history, for the control of, and within the confines

of, a country to which and within which neither had any territorial or political rights that would bear scrutiny in law, and certainly none that had any foundation in justice. The physical situation is, however, a most peculiar one and must necessarily lead to political complications. Manchuria is a country of about 365,000 square miles area, or about three times the size of Great Britain and Ireland combined. For more than four thousand miles the great empire of the Czar of Russia borders on the Chinese empire; but the former only reaches the ocean in a latitude where the bays and harbors are frozen over for more than half the year. Manchuria covers all the eastern part of this territory from the Russian line and east of the great Gobe desert to the Yellow sea, with the exception of the important peninsula of Korea, which puts out from the southeastern extremity of this great Manchurian province, from which it is separated politically by the Yalu river. From the Russian border in a generally southern direction to the Yellow sea is about one thousand miles; and from the Khingan mountains on the west to the Yalu river and Russian boundary on the northeast averages about four hundred miles. Manchuria is divided politically into three provinces, of which the southerly, Fing-tien or Shen-King province, whose capital is Mukden, is the most important; while the distinctive feature of this Shen-King province is the important Liao-tung peninsula, extending far out into the Yellow sea, culminating in the headlands and bay about which Port Arthur was built. The estimated population of Manchuria has been placed at from ten to twenty-five millions; and there are at present about sixteen thousand square miles of the country under cultivation, an area that may be vastly increased. This is one of the principal features that make at least free trade communication of vital importance to Japan.

Korea, so long known as the "Hermit" nation, extends for about five hundred miles as a long peninsula from the southeastern limit of Manchuria, averaging about one hundred and eighty miles in width,—an almost exact reproduction, physically, of Italy, in Europe, and having about two-thirds of its area. Between its west coast and the Chinese mainland is the Yellow sea, while its easterly shores make, with the curve of the Japanese Archipelago, the great circular sea of Japan. From its southern extremity to the Japanese mainland, across the straits of Korea, is less than one hundred miles. The country has been but little developed though known to possess very rich natural resources; and it was the immense and valuable tracts of timber lands along the banks of the Yalu that appealed so strongly to Russian avarice that Treaty rights were ignored and trampled upon, giving rise to one of the immediate causes of the great war. Just how important a part these timber lands played in promoting hostilities between Russia and Japan has been well shown in the first chapters of "The Military and Political Memoirs of General Kuropatkin," as published in McClure's Magazine for September, 1908.

Such are the physical conditions of the countries the control of which, or at least the neutralizing of which, has been the prize for which Japan has fought twice during the past fifteen years, ultimately winning the cause, and at the same time raising herself from an insignificant position among the powers of the world to one of the foremost positions as an intelligent, intensely patriotic, and fearless nation. Let us try to determine what the interest of the two great contesting powers in this territory really were.

About 1890 the Russian government decided to build the great Siberian railroad, whose eastern terminus should be at Vladivostock, on the Japan sea. With this determination new and most important elements were at once injected into the far eastern question, as Vladivostock was wholly unfitted in every way to serve as the terminal port of such a trans-continental road, especially as its harbor was ice-bound for more than half the year. The very announcement of the purpose

to build such a road was, therefore, a virtual notice to the various interests of eastern Asia that other terminal arrangements must eventually be secured; and nature had made it possible that these advantages could be acquired only through concessions from China to construct a branch of the road south through Manchuria to an open harbor on the Yellow sea. These concessions were secured, as will be shown later, by diplomatic processes familiar to Russia for many years, but which were so "peculiar" that even Bret Harte's "Heathen Chinee" would have blushed at his simplicity. By a secret treaty with China made in 1896 Russia gained all the privileges necessary; and by 1903 had invested more than

Photograph Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

$300,000,000 in the railroad project, a large proportion of which went into Manchuria, where the enormous expenses were incurred in the establishment of new cities like Dalny and Harbin, the latter at the junction of the main line with the side line through Manchuria to Port Arthur. Harbin, about six hundred miles from Port Arthur, and called the Moscow of Asia, is said to have had but a single Chinese house in 1898, with a population of 50,000 in 1903. Russia's interest naturally centred in the development of this railroad and in making the entire country tributary to it, which must result in its becoming politically tributary to itself. More than eighty so-called "depots" had been established along the lines of the Manchurian railway before the outbreak of the war, of which Harbin was originally one, each covering several square miles, within which only Russians and Chinese had the right of permanent settlement. Russia's whole policy was that of the "closed door;" to exploit the country and its people solely for her own aggrandizement. A natural result, too, of the increased means of communication was the influx of Russian speculators and adventurers of every class, who were constantly demanding protection from the home government for real or alleged property and property rights. Particularly was this true of the great lumber companies that were beginning to operate extensively on the Yalu river, among whose members were the highest officials of the Empire, even the Czar himself being a heavy stockholder. *The impelling interests of Russia, therefore, were the common ones of territorial expansion, increase of the Empire, and opening up of new spheres of influence.*

Quite other considerations directed the course of Japan. During recent years the increase of population in the Island Empire has been very rapid, resulting in a change from an agricultural development to an industrial. The population, which in 1828 was estimated at twenty-seven millions had only risen to thirty-four millions in 1875; while between the latter date and 1904 it rose to upwards of forty-seven millions, exclusive of more than three millions in Formosa and the Pescadores. At that time the average annual crop of rice was estimated to be two hundred and ten million bushels and of

other cereals ninety-five million bushels, while the average consumption was respectively two hundred and twenty-eight and one hundred and ten million bushels, showing an average shortage of eighteen million bushels of rice and fifteen million bushels of other grains,—in other words, of the actual necessities of life. In 1904 less than thirteen million acres of the country were under cultivation, and expert investigation proved that not above ten million more could be made arable, which gives, at the best, an average of but one-half acre of land *per capita*. In its great problem of existence even, it becomes evident, therefore, how important a factor the control or neutralization of Korea and Manchuria becomes to Japan, as they together receive a large portion of the cotton yarn and cotton textiles exported from the country, besides several other manufactured goods and coal, and in return supply Japan with much of the wheat and rice, and practically all of the millet, beans, and oil cakes imported. The imports for 1903 were valued at eighty-five million dollars, about fifty-five per cent of which came from Korea and Manchuria in the form of cotton, wool, rice, flour, beans, etc. Moreover, as has been said, the exports of manufactured articles from Japan has been constantly increasing. Between 1890 and 1903 the volume of business transacted between Japan and Eastern Asia increased 643 per cent,—from about $23,000,000 to upwards of $148,000,000, while the American trade increased 161 per cent, and the European 190 per cent, for the same period. Of these exported goods a large proportion went to Korea and Manchuria; as nearly as can be estimated those countries taking for the year 1903 about 36 per cent of the total export of cotton yarn, and about 70 per cent of the total of cotton textiles exported. Such statistics are uninteresting for the general reader, but they serve to show, as nothing else can, the vital interest Japan has had in all the insidious and aggressive attacks upon the integrity and control of Korea and Manchuria,—countries which supply her so largely with the very necessaries of life, and take in return so large a proportion of her manufactured products; and they demonstrate why she was forced to act, and to act quickly, when affairs came to a crisis in 1904, and not wait further upon Russia's dilatory tactics, which simply meant the tightening of the alien grasp upon the very sources of her national life and whose control by a hostile power meant paralysis and ruin for the Empire.

For some time prior to 1894 internal dissensions were constant in Korea, and Japan, claiming that they were prejudicial to her interests, sent a large force into the country, taking steps which were equivalent to a declaration of war against China, which still claimed suzerainty over Korea. Our space does not admit of reference to the events of that war, which was formally declared by Japan August 1, 1894, during which, by a series of brilliant engagements on land and sea, the Japanese overthrew the power of China in the eastern province and in Korea. Early in the next year China began to sue for peace, with the result that on April 17, 1895, the Treaty of Shimonoseki was concluded and signed, by which China recognized the complete independence of Korea and ceded to Japan "in perpetuity and full sovereignty" the Liao-Tung peninsula, which embraced the important fortifications at Port Arthur, etc. This cession to Japan of territory on the mainland, however, greatly exercised the leading Powers of Europe; and Germany, France, and Russia at once made vigorous protest to the Japanese Emperor against his taking such territory, a course that would "endanger the peace of Europe." Accordingly on May 10, 1895, the Emperor yielded to the demand of the Powers, and in "the interests of peace" re-ceded to China the Liao-Tung peninsula, contenting himself with the cession of Formosa and the Pescadores islands, and the payment of an indemnity. But even while these negotiations were pending and the noble Emperor of Japan was yielding to the influence of the Powers, Russia was working secretly with

the Chinese government to secure unrestricted rights and privileges in the same territory she had just forced the Japanese to abandon; with the result that a secret treaty was made granting to Russia for thirty years exclusive rights to build railroads in Manchuria and well-nigh exclusive privileges of trade; also allowing them to build up fortified towns, and rebuild and greatly strengthen Port Arthur. In other words the entire territory of Manchuria was virtually made a province of Russia, to develop and exploit as she would. The effect of this action upon the Japanese mind can be more easily imagined than described. Under this Treaty the Russians at once proceeded to establish their long coveted railroad connections with the Yellow sea, and, strengthened in their position by the formal lease of Port Arthur and Talienwan in 1898, to rebuild and strongly fortify that port. In fact, all things seemed to work together for the advantage of Russia, her Ambassador at Peking having the most favorable attention of the Chinese government, and securing practically all the concessions and privileges demanded. The "Boxer" troubles in Peking naturally afforded an opportunity and excuse for Russia's pouring troops into Manchuria, through which she, of course, approached the scene of action. But toward the close of the long negotiations following the attack of the Allies on Peking influences were brought to bear on China to force her to demand that Russia should withdraw her troops from Manchuria; and the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the agreement for which was signed at London on January 30, 1902, boded no good to Russia's advance. The result was a somewhat remarkable agreement between Russia and China, "done in Peking in duplicate, March 26, 1902," in accordance with whose terms the former government agreed to evacuate certain districts within certain periods, the whole movement to be accomplished within eighteen months. Events made it evident, however, that this Convention was made solely to mislead the Powers, as but few troops were withdrawn, the majority being only shifted from one place to another, while many new troops were introduced as laborers, who settled in the "depots" along the lines, which were referred to above. Fifteen months of action under the agreement to evacuate seemed to have left the Russians more firmly intrenched than ever in Manchuria, and Japan's patience was fast becoming exhausted and her righteous indignation aroused. Accordingly on June 23, 1903, the four principal members of the Japanese Cabinet and five Privy Councilors "met before the Throne" and decided on the principles upon which negotiations with Russia should be opened; and having formulated a policy to be pursued, Baron Komura telegraphed to the Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg on July 28, in substance as follows: "The Imperial Government have observed with close attention the development of affairs in Manchuria, and its present situation causes them to view it with grave concern. So long as it was hoped that Russia would carry out, on the one hand, the engagement that she made with China, and, on the other hand, the assurances she had given to other Powers, regarding the subject of the evacuation of Manchuria, the Imperial Government maintained an attitude of watchful reserve. But the recent conduct of Russia has been, at Peking, to propose new demands, and, in Manchuria, to tighten her hold upon it until the Imperial Government is led to believe that Russia must have abandoned the intention of retiring from Manchuria. At the same time her increased activity upon the Korean frontier is such as to raise doubts as to the limits of her ambition. The unconditioned and permanent occupation of Manchuria by Russia would create a state of things prejudicial to the security and interest of Japan. The principle of equal opportunity would thereby be annulled, and the territorial integrity of China impaired. There is, however, a still more serious consideration for the Japanese government. That is to say,

if Russia was established on the flank of Korea, it would be a constant menace to the separate existence of that Empire, or at least would make Russia the dominant Power in Korea. Korea is an important outpost in Japan's line of defense, and Japan consequently considers her independence absolutely essential to her own repose and safety. The Imperial Government, after the most serious consideration, have resolved to consult the Russian Government, *in a spirit of conciliation and frankness*, with a view to the conclusion of an understanding designed to compose questions which are at this time the cause of their anxiety. . . . You are accordingly instructed to open the question by presenting to Count Lamsdorff, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, *a note verbale* to the following effect:

"'The Japanese Government desire to remove from the relations of the two empires every cause of future misunderstanding, and believe that the Russian Government share the same desire. The Japanese Government would therefore be glad to enter with the Imperial Russian Government upon an examination of the condition of affairs in the regions of the extreme East, where their interests meet, with a view of defining their respective interests in those regions. If this suggestion fortunately meets with the approval, in principle, of the Russian Government, the Japanese Government will be prepared to present to the Russian Government their views as to the nature and scope of the proposed undertaking.'

"In presenting the foregoing note to the Russian Foreign Minister you will be careful to make him understand that our purposes are entirely friendly, but that we attach great importance to the subject."

We have quoted quite fully these instructions of the Japanese Government to its representative at St. Petersburg, covering also the note to be delivered to the Russian foreign minister, because they seem to illustrate so well the mental and political attitude of the Japanese Government as it enters upon the last ante-bellum period, and begins the long-drawn-out negotiations, exasperatingly dilatory and conducted too often on the part of Russia only to gain time, which ended with the ultimatum of Japan presented to the Russian Government early in 1904. Not only were the scarcely courteous and frequently long-delayed replies of the Russian Government to the messages of the Japanese Government such as would excite the ire of any self-respecting people, but evidences were accumulating every day that the Russian Government was taking advantage of the time they were gaining by their dilatory tactics to strengthen their various positions along the Korean frontier. Early in January large numbers of troops were moved from Port Arthur and Liao-Yung to the Yalu; and on January 28th Viceroy Alexeieff ordered the troops on the Yalu to be placed upon a war-footing; while on the 3d of February all the war vessels located at Port Arthur steamed out of the harbor.

The Japanese Government now considered that a crisis had been reached. The Cabinet members and Privy Councilors held a conference "before the Throne" on February 3d, and again the next day, and on February 5th, at 2 P. M., two decisive notes were telegraphed to Mr. Kurius at St. Petersburg,—one communicating Japan's decision to break off negotiations which had received scant attention and had become useless; and the other severing diplomatic relations with the Russian Government. These notes were transmitted by the Japanese Minister to Count Lamsdorff, on February 6th at 4 P. M.,—Baron Rosen, the Russian Minister at Tokio, having already been informed by Baron Komura of the severance of the negotiations and general diplomatic relations betwen the two Powers.

As the news of Japan's unexpected action was transmitted over the world blank astonishment was everywhere manifested. Public feeling was beyond question strongly and warmly favorable to Japan; and while there was an enthusias-

tic outburst of admiration for her pluck, it was accompanied by a general sentiment of regret at what seemed to be her hasty action, which, it was generally considered, could only result in her total defeat and humiliation. Russia's military resources had long been considered as unlimited; while the general "*bigness*" of

Photograph Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

THE CZAR OF RUSSIA.

everything Russian had so impressed itself upon the popular imagination that "little" Japan's action seemed foolhardy and rash. But the world was to receive many surprises before the struggle was over; and that the public attention should not become wearied by waiting for the drama to begin, almost before the press had published through the land the facts of the severance of friendly relations between the two countries, Japan had attacked and destroyed the Russian vessels in Chemulpo harbor, and followed that little affair up with the naval battle at Port Arthur on the night of the second day after; furnishing, as it were, an exciting and interesting "curtain raiser" for the tragedy which was to follow, whose beginning was formally announced by the official declarations of war made by both Emperors on the 10th of February, 1904.

Neither our space nor our purpose admit of a detailed recital of the events of the Russian-Japanese war, probably the greatest conflict between nations, considered in all its aspects, that history records; and it is not least remarkable in the fact that from the attack on Port Arthur on the night of February 8, 1904, down to the destruction of the Russian Baltic Fleet in the Korean straits on May 27, 1905, the war was, during its entire course of fourteen months, one complete uninterrupted victory for one of the combatants alone. Japan lost no engagement either on sea or land, while Russia at the close found her entire navy annihilated and had not a single victory worthy of mention to her credit. It has been authoritatively stated that Russia sent to Manchuria about 900,000 men, of whom, 375,000 were killed or incapacitated; while the Japanese forces were not much fewer in number though their loss in killed and wounded was much smaller, probably about 250,000. The Official Gazette of St. Petersburg placed the approximate cost of the war to Russia at one thousand million dollars; and the Japanese expenditure has been estimated at about one-half that amount. An official statement showed that the Russian naval loss was seventeen battleships, twelve cruisers, and many torpedo boats and destroyers, all valued at $113,000,000. On the other hand, notwithstanding her loss of nine battleships, cruisers, and destroyers valued at $20,000,000, Japan came out of the contest with a gain of $30,000,000 value in war vessels. Of officers of high rank Japan lost but two generals while Russia lost six generals and four admirals. But far beyond the value of these military gains of the Japanese was the worth of the moral and commercial position secured. As was well said: "The prestige in both Europe and Asia has been quietly but absolutely transferred from Russia to Japan. The 'Land of the Rising Sun' is now the first nation of the East, and

Russia's Manchurian venture is ended for generations, if not forever."

There was hardly a month from the first success of the Japanese forces on the Yalu and the investment of Port Arthur during which proposals looking toward Peace did not emanate from some more or less distinguished source. That this was the case was doubtless largely the result of the influence of the first Hague Conference, though that was, perhaps, at that time never recognized as the promoting cause. It would, however, be idle to deny that the attitude of all civilized rulers and peoples had been affected by the atmosphere of that Conference, though tangible results of its deliberations and conclusions were not at first apparent. It is certainly doubtful whether previous to its meeting any sovereign or ruler would have had the presumption to attempt to intervene between two great contending forces, unless on an intimation from the contestants that such interference would be agreeable. But the "Convention for the Peaceful Adjustment of International Differences," concurred in by the representatives of all the Powers assembled at The Hague, contained the following provisions:

"Title II. Art. II. In case of serious disagreement or conflict, before an appeal to arms the Signatory Powers agree to have recourse, as far as circumstances will allow, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly Powers.

"Title II. Art. III. Independently of this recourse, the Signatory Powers consider it to be useful that one or more Powers who are strangers to the dispute should, *on their own initiative and as far as circumstances will allow,* offer their good offices or mediation to the states at variance. The right to offer good offices or mediation belongs to Powers who are strangers to the dispute, *even during the course of hostilities. The exercise of this right shall never be considered by one or the other of the parties to the contest as an unfriendly act.*"

The way was thus paved for just such humane and Christian efforts as President Roosevelt undertook; and what ten years before would have been a gross impertinence assumed rather the air of gracious concern for the welfare of one's fellow men,—not the least of the blessings for which the world owes thanks to the much abused and frequently ridiculed "Peace Conference." As early as September, 1904, the great body of representatives and distinguished men from all parts of the world assembled at St. Louis,—The Interparliamentary Union,—uttered a formal and urgent call upon the Powers Signatory to the Hague Conference to intervene at the earliest possible proper moment, and seek to end the horrible war in the East. The great Peace Congress held at Boston in the following October voiced the same sentiment; and the question of the offer of friendly offices had been frequently the subject of consideration by the leading rulers of the world, through the usual diplomatic channels. But however much the nations and their peoples, shocked by the frightful slaughter occurring in Manchuria, may have been looking for and working toward a peaceful solution of the great contest, it will be a matter of gratification and honorable pride to every true lover of the United States that to our own President fell the lot of speaking the first word directly tending toward peace; and that it was to our own friendly shores, consecrated to the holiest rights of man, that the envoys of the great contesting Powers chose to turn their steps that they might in quiet conference seek for some common ground on which their sovereigns could meet, and so end all the terrible struggle that had been sucking the very life-blood out of two great peoples for a year and a half, and of which no end was in sight unless through mutual concessions at such a conference some friendly agreement could be reached.

Happily, too, may the people of this nation reflect that the exercise of the good offices of the United States were not confined to the close of the war. Nothing seemed more certain than if such a struggle began the integrity of China would

be seriously menaced. Ever since the outbreak of the Powers on China in 1897 the future of that great empire had seemed precarious, and the hostile attitude of the most powerful nations of the West was only aggravated by the "Boxer" outrages of 1900. Like hungry wolves the Powers debated the question of the partition of the Empire, jealousy of each other rather than any regard for China only restraining them from hostile action. At that time it was largely the result of the efforts of that prince of diplomats and christian gentleman, Secretary John Hay, that the vultures did not seize upon their prey. So, too, when it became evident that Manchuria was to be the seat of a vast war which, with the impulses of the contestants unchecked, must have led to the violation of the rights of China and probably a general invasion of all her eastern territory, it was the circular note sent by Secretary Hay on the day following the outbreak of hostilities that led to the determination of the strict neutrality of China, and the agreement of the belligerent governments to confine all land actions to the territory in Manchuria actually in the hands of Russia at the outbreak of the war.

After the terrible defeat and slaughter of the Russians at Mukden at the end of February 1905 the faith and hope of Russia were centred in the movements of the Baltic fleet, which was then nearing Japanese waters. But when that fleet was completely annihilated in the Straits of Korea at the end of May by Admiral Togo in command of the Japanese fleet, it seemed that the time for the injection of "friendly offices" had certainly arrived. Accordingly on the 7th of June identical notes from President Roosevelt were presented to the Czar personally by Ambassador Meyer, and to the Mikado, at Tokio. After referring to the terms of the Hague Conference which looked toward such action, the notes continued: "The President feels that the time has come when, in the interest of all mankind, he must endeavor to see if it is not possible to bring to an end the terrible and lamentable conflict now being waged. With both Russia and Japan the United States has inherited ties of friendship and good will. It hopes for the prosperity and welfare of each, and it feels that the progress of the world is set back by the war between these two great nations. The President accordingly urges the Russian and Japanese Governments not only for their own sakes, but in the interest of the whole civilized world, to open direct negotiations for peace with each other. The President suggests that these peace negotiations be conducted directly and exclusively between the belligerents; in other words that there be a meeting of Russian and Japanese plenipotentiaries or delegates without any intermediary, in order to see if it is not possible for these representatives of the two Powers to agree to terms of peace. The President earnestly asks that the (Japanese) (Russian) government do now agree to such meeting; and is now asking the (Russian) (Japanese) government likewise to agree. While the President does not feel that any intermediary should be called in in respect to peace negotiations themselves, he is entirely willing to do what he properly can if the two powers concerned feel that his services will be of aid in arranging the preliminaries as to time and place of meeting. But even if these preliminaries can be arranged directly between the two Powers or in any other way the President will be glad, as his sole purpose is to bring about a meeting which the whole civilized world will pray may result in peace."

This proposal was received with more or less cordiality by both Powers, and after some consideration of preliminaries it was agreed that the Conference should be held at Washington during August, though in view of the fact that the heat is often so oppressive at that season the President suggested the possibility of holding the sessions at some cooler northern port. The Envoys Plenipotentiary finally selected to represent the two Powers were for Russia Count Sergius Witte and Baron Rosen, the then newly

appointed Ambassador from Russia to the United States; and for Japan the Baron Komura, and Mr. Takahira, the Japanese Ambassador at Washington. Late in July and early in August the distinguished representatives, with their suites, arrived in this country, and were at once accorded a most generous and hospitable reception by the Government as well as the general public. The official receptions were delicate affairs as all suspicions of favoritism or of granting precedence to envoys or individuals must be carefully avoided; and in this regard it has been universally agreed that President Roosevelt showed marvelous tact and good judgment. On Saturday August 5th, the first formal meeting of the Envoys with the President took place on board the latter's yacht, the *Mayflower*, to which the Japanese delegates were brought on the cruiser *Tacoma* and the *Russian*, on her sister-ship, the *Chattanooga*. The flag of each nation received the regulation salute of nineteen guns as the vessels approached the *Mayflower*.

From Stereograph, Copyright 1905, *by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.*
THE PRESIDENT AND ENVOYS ON THE MAYFLOWER.

After formal introductions had been made and the ceremonies demanded by official etiquette had been concluded, an informal lunch was served, during which the President proposed the only toast. Requesting that there should be no response, he said: "Gentlemen, I propose a toast to which there will be no answer, and which I ask you to drink in silence, standing. I drink to the welfare and prosperity of the Sovereigns and peoples of the two great nations whose representatives have met one another on this ship. It is my most earnest hope and prayer in the interest not only of those two great Powers, but of all civilized mankind, that a just and lasting peace may speedily be concluded between them."

After this reception the President left the *Mayflower*, the Russian Envoys proceeding on her to Portsmouth, N. H., while the Japanese Ambassadors were transported to the same city on the Navy Department Yacht, the *Dolphin*, both parties arriving at the Treaty City August 8th. Portsmouth had been selected as the place for holding the Conference because of its seclusion and the generally more comfortable conditions that prevail there during the summer months. The great Hotel Wentworth, one of the finest of the summer hotels on the north coast, afforded comfortable and convenient accommodations for each Embassy and its suite, as well as for the large number of press correspondents that had assembled from all parts of the world. The government had recently finished a fine naval building on the island at the mouth of the river, and in it the sessions of the Conference were held. On Wednesday, August 9, 1905, the first meeting took place, at which the details of procedure were determined and credentials were exchanged. At subsequent meetings, after some discussion as to the method of considering Japan's proposals, which were put in the form of twelve distinct propositions, it was finally decided to discuss each one separately; and the wise course was taken of eliminating those to whose terms Russia could assent without serious discussion. In this way after six days eight of the twelve articles had been agreed upon; the other four were those about which the Russian opposition centred, all of them touching upon, or embracing, the questions of the payment of indemnity or of cessions of territory. Early in the proceedings Count Witte had advanced the broad principle that Russia would not "pay one dollar of indemnity, nor cede one acre of ground." The discussion of these matters was most earnest and uncompromising, neither party being disposed to yield; and the whole civilized world was in anxious suspense, fearful that after all the war must go on. But at the darkest moment influences were brought to bear which led the Envoys to take a recess for a few days, during which time the wires were kept busy between Washington and St. Petersburg and Tokio, the Envoys also going over the whole matter with their respective home governments. Representatives of each Embassy were also invited to meet the President at his summer home at Oyster Bay. At the same time he held direct, personal communications through our ambassadors with the Emperors of each country; so that it is the general belief that it was due to his hearty and active interest and personal solicitations and influence that the Mikado was led to yield the point of an indemnity, and the Czar to yield as to the cession of a part of Saghalien island, which brought the parties once more within the sphere of friendly relations. Upon the reconvening of the Conference occurred what has been declared to have been the most dramatic moment of the meetings, when upon Count Witte's reiteration of Russia's position that not one cent would be paid for indemnity, Baron Komura quietly interposed that he should withdraw the demand for an indemnity; "it was the Mikado's wish." Then in turn, Russia yielded the point as to the cession of the Southern half of Saghalien, which almost touches Japanese territory; and peace once more reigned in Portsmouth and the

Envoys were in a position to proclaim the good news to all the world.

During the proceedings protocols covering the conclusions under each of the twelve heads of Japan's propositions had been made; and at the close of the Conference these protocols, each of which, as concluded, had been signed by the Envoys, were placed in the hands of Professor Martens for Russia, and of H. W. Denison, Japan's legal adviser, for the preparation of the treaty itself. The completed Treaty, of which four copies were required, one in English and one in French for each Embassy, was then signed by the Envoys. This function took place at 3.40 on the afternoon of September 5, and was the occasion for the other principal dramatic event of the sessions. On this occasion there were present in addition to the principals the Asst. Sec. of State, H. D. Pierce, representing the President; Admiral Mead, Commandant at the Navy Yard; Capt. Winslow of the *Mayflower;* Gov. McLane of New Hampshire; and the mayor of Portsmouth. According to the account of those present the scene was a most impressive one. Without a word the four plenipotentiaries in turn signed each of the four copies of the treaty, a proceeding that covered more or less ten minutes of absolute silence. When his signature had been affixed to the last copy, Count Witte threw his pen aside impetuously and reaching across the table at which all their business had been conducted he grasped Baron Komura by the hand. This movement was followed by all his associates, all hands being warmly joined across the table, but without a spoken word. Then Baron Rosen, the junior Russian Envoy, arose and said in French, in behalf of his senior and himself: "As plenipotentiaries of Russia we fulfill a most agreeable duty in acknowledging that in negotiations with our hitherto adversaries, and from this hour our friends, we have been dealing with true and thorough gentlemen, to whom we are happy to express our high esteem and personal regard. We earnestly hope that henceforth friendly relations between both Empires will be firmly established, and we trust that his excellency Baron Komura, as minister of foreign affairs and one of the leading statesmen of his country, will apply to the strengthening of these relations the wide experience and wise statesmanship which he so conspicuously displayed during these negotiations which have been auspiciously concluded." To this Baron Komura replied in English reciprocating all the sentiments expressed by Baron Rosen, and declaring that it would always be pleasant to recall that throughout their long and serious negotiations he and his colleague had invariably received from the Russian plenipotentiaries the highest courtesy and consideration; and he begged to assure their Excellencies that it would be his duty as well as his great pleasure to do everything in his power to make the Treaty "in fact what it professed to be in words,—a treaty of peace and amity."

At the close of the ceremony of signing the Treaty announcement of the fact was at once made to the world over telephone and telegraph wires, and joy and rejoicing everywhere were manifested. Bells were rung and cannons fired, for the people of the United States had made the questions at issue their own, and were truly jubilant that success had crowned the efforts of their President and of the Envoys to end the horrible strife that had disturbed the peace of the world and disgraced civilization for so long a time. One of the interesting incidents of the general rejoicing was the *Te Deum* service in the Episcopal Church at Portsmouth, attended by the Russian visitors, which was conducted in part by Bishop Potter and in part by Father Hotoviski of the orthodox Greek Church in New York, which is said to have been the first union since the days of the early church of the Eastern and Western Communions in a single service on an international occasion.

Thus were concluded in the sleepy old town of Portsmouth negotiations that were as momentous, probably, as any of a political character that were ever considered by any representatives of the

Great Powers. Limits were set, and direction given, to the energies of great and jealous forces which will determine for many years their course of development, and remove the causes of friction and unrest that were a constant menace to the peace and prosperity of a great and rapidly advancing part of the world; while the swords of a million men in arms were sheathed, joy and gladness were made to brighten hundreds of thousands of weary hearts and lonely homes, and the energies of probably a half million men, outside the regular armies, were diverted from the evil and base uses of slaughter and devastation to the pursuit, in their homes, of the ennobling and civilizing arts of Peace.

That the Treaty was unsatisfactory to both the Japanese and Russian people counts for little, as they were in no position to gain broad views of the situation, or comprehend the larger issues. The Japanese, in particular, were riotously mad because the indemnity feature was abandoned, not realizing what the rest of the civilized world as well as their own Envoys saw, that if Japan should have refused to make terms simply because Russia refused to indemnify her for her losses and should thus have forced a renewal of the war, she would have placed herself in the position of a nation fighting for money considerations alone, and so would have merited and received the abhorrent regard of the whole civilized world. Shortly after the signing of the Treaty Baron Kaneko remarked, "Militant Japan passes, and industrial Japan takes its place with the coming of peace." And as a result of the treaty, and as a basis for more successful prosecution of the arts of peace, she secured far more than any indemnity that Russia ever could have paid. Not to speak of the great prestige achieved as a result of the proved valor and vigor of her people, of their devotion to high principles and their intense patriotism, of their superb mechanical and industrial genius, of their keen wit and quick intelligence, all of which had been manifested in every way and continually through the war, and which, though recognized and appreciated by a few, then first became patent to the whole world,—Japan gained immense material advantages under the Treaty and as a result of the war which were hardly realized at first. At the commencement of the war she was obliged to pay 8 1-2% for her first foreign loan; she made her last at 5%. Mr. Denison, the legal adviser of Japan and her respresentative in framing the Treaty, and also one of the best living authorities on the far Eastern Question, declared unequivocally that Japan had gained much more then she went to war for and much more than any indemnity she could have exacted, as illustrations only, estimating the value of the railroads transferred by Russia to Japan at $150,000,000, and of coal mines at upwards of $300,000,000; while the single item of fishing rights along the Siberian Coast secured to Japan by the Treaty were estimated to be worth more than $10,000,000 annually.

The Treaty of Portsmouth marks a red letter day in the history of the American people. They had achieved glory and honor in war, in commerce and industry, in literature, in science, in art, in all things that make for material and intellectual advancement and uplifting; and then was added the crowning honor and privilege, through the humane impulse and wise and earnest persistence of President Roosevelt, of being able to say to a million men ready to jump at each others throats, "Peace, be still." Rarely have the people of this country ever become so deeply interested in a proposition or question which in fact concerned them only in the most general and indirect way; and the sentiment everywhere manifested was the best possible evidence that the people, as a whole, are sound at heart. What the Treaty meant to the people of the great contesting nations no imagination can picture, much less any words even suggest. Seven hundred thousand men, hardened to the brutality and savagery of war, stood ready again to close at once in deadly battle should the Envoys fail in their efforts to arrive at a basis for

peace. It is generally conceded that Mukden was the most fiercely contested, the bloodiest, and in all respects the most terrible battle recorded in history; and the next must have been even more horrible, as both armies had been re-enforced, and the demon spirit of war was more aroused. Unquestionably hundreds of thousands of lives and millions of treasure were saved, and untold mental suffering and sorrow were averted, by that simple conference of a few days at Portsmouth. There has been no more emphatic evidence of the folly of war, nor nobler illustration of the value of arbitration,—of reasoning together; and though the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war so soon after the meeting of the Hague Conference served as a fruitful source for ridicule of the whole conception of Peace movements, yet, taken as a whole, the war in its various phases and ending has demonstrated conclusively the wisdom and value of every principle for which the representatives of the nations contended at The Hague. There has been much of the "Jingo" and military spirit manifested in our country during the last decade, of which Mr. Roosevelt has been a leading apostle; and many, weary of its insistence, have been prone to cry "O Lord, how long!" But the noble course taken by the President in regard to the settlement of the great war we have been considering excites the highest enthusiasm and admiration of his friends and his critics alike, and savors of nothing but cheer and encouragement. Certainly he must be esteemed supremely happy to whom is given the opportunity to serve his fellow-men so royally, and the tact and wisdom to direct so truly movements that make for righteousness and the betterment of all mankind. A recent writer has raised the question whether President Roosevelt will go down in history as the hero of San Juan hill, or of the Treaty of Portsmouth. We believe better things of historians and of the intelligent American people than that they will ever doubt for a moment on which pedestal to place their hero. One is of the earth, very earthy; the other has the atmosphere of the divine. Surely the Master Teacher of mankind had little regard for military honors as a measure of glory when he declared "Blessed are the Peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God."

"In the years that have been I have bound man closer to man,
And closer woman to woman;
And the stranger hath seen in a stranger his brother at last,
And a sister in eyes that were strange.
In the years that shall be I will bind me nation to nation,
And shore unto shore," saith our God.
"Lo! I am the burster of bonds and the breaker of barriers,
I am He that shall free," saith the Lord.
"For the lingering battle, the contest of ages is ending,
And victory followeth me."

(Stephen Phillips.)

LII.

THE EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE AT SAN FRANCISCO — DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY — 1906.

The Long Chain of San Franciscan Missions in California.— The Mission Dolores On the Site of San Francisco.—Took Present Name in 1847, with Population of 450.—Discovery of Gold on Sutter Ranch.—The Early Vigilance Leagues.—Character of Early City.— "A Free and Easy City, Bohemian to the Core."— Early "Baptisms of Fire."— Peculiar Location of City. —Market Street and Van Ness Avenue.— The Fateful 18th of April, 1906.— Small Loss of Life and Property from Earthquake.— The Starting of the Fire and Causes.— No Water, The City at the Mercy of the Flames.— Dynamite the Only Weapon with Which to Fight the Fire.— "Shoot at Sight Anyone Caught Pilfering or Looting."— Sorrowful Flight of Refugees to Suburban Towns, or The Presidio and Golden Gate Park.—Wonderful Fortitude of Sufferers.— Progress of the Fire on the 19th.— Final Stand of Fire Fighters at Van Ness Avenue.— Sudden Change of Wind Saves the Rest of the City.— Three Quarters of a Mile of Mansions Blown Up.— Region Destroyed Covered About Four Square Miles.— 498 City Blocks.— Month Following Fire Most Orderly City Had Ever Known.— The Bread Lines.— "Neither Markets nor Money with Which to Buy."— Glorious Outburst of Sympathy Throughout the Country.— More than $20,000,000 Contributed in Thirty Days.—Hon. J. D. Phelan's Review of the Situation.—Character of New Buildings.— Systematic Plans for Rebuilding.—The Burnham Plans.— Labor Troubles and Municipal Rottenness.—The Case of Mayor Schmitz.—Widespread Sympathy With the Stricken People.

"Wise men ne'er sit and wail their loss,
But cheerly seek how to redress their harms."— SHAKESPEARE.

ONE of the objects of especial interest to tourists in Southern California is the long chain of Missions which extends from the Mexican border to the Golden Gate, and *El Camino Réal*, the Royal road, or King's highway, which connects them. Originally discovered by Cabrillo, a Portugese navigator in the Spanish service,—an enlarged reproduction of whose vessel made fast to the long pier at Venice, one of the seaside resorts of Los Angeles, now serves as a restaurant and hotel,—California was again visited by Sir Francis Drake in 1578, and by the Spaniard Viscayno, in 1602. But those explorers made only brief visits to conspicuous coast points, without penetrating the interior. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, however, the Spanish governors of Mexico began to take an interest in the immense territory lying to the north, which was as yet an unknown country, and interested the Franciscan Fathers in the work of exploration and establishing missions among the native people. Accordingly, in 1769 the first mission was founded at San Diego; and during the next seven years six others were established. The last of these, the Mission Dolores, was planted on the present

site of the city of San Francisco, in 1776, the very year in which the original thirteen states declared their independence of the British crown. Gradually intermediate Missions were established with the result that early in the nineteenth century they numbered twenty-six. They were from twenty to twenty-five miles apart; and the King's Highway was laid out to connect them, and formed the only road from Mexico to the entrance to the great bay which the Franciscans had named the Bay of San Francisco, in honor of the holy founder of their Order, St. Francis. These missions became thriving agricultural centres, and the Fathers rapidly accumulated great wealth in cattle, sheep, and the products of the olive orchards and vineyards, as well as from desultory mining ventures. All the native Indians were brought under their influence, and were taught the principles of agriculture as well as, in a rough way, the rudimentary arts of civilized life. The Mission centres being established just about one day's journey apart, and on the only highway, they were the natural stopping places for all travelers; and open-hearted and open-handed hospitality was generously offered by the Fathers. Though most of these mission buildings are now in ruins, a few are still in a fair state of preservation, notably those at Monterey, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and San Diego; while through the active interest of the Historical Society of California the King's Highway has been made a state road, all points of interest connected with the Franciscan possessions have been marked in an interesting and appropriate manner, and to-day hundreds of automobiles are constantly traversing the road, covering the distance from San Diego to San Francisco by such stages as their owners wish, the finest hotels of the world now extending to the tourists the hospitality that a century ago was rendered by the missions and the Fathers,—but not now, as then, gratuitously.

When Mexico achieved her independence of Spain in the first quarter of the last century the wealth of the California Missions excited the cupidity of the new Government, and they were soon nearly all abandoned and their wealth in cattle and lands was confiscated.

THE DOLORES MISSION.

Then in 1836 the little settlement of Yerba Buena succeeded the Dolores Mission, and in 1847 its name was changed to San Francisco, which then boasted of a population of 450 men, women, and children. The next year, however, gold was discovered on the Sutter ranch, and the face of every adventurer and restless man or youth of the East was set toward the golden West. By 1852 it was estimated that 250,000 men were in the State of California, nearly all of whom had entered through San Francisco. There were among them many men of sterling integrity, possessed of all the virtues of the best pioneers; but these were greatly outnumbered by a lawless crowd, who rebelled against any restraint. Licentiousness of every kind prevailed and crime was rampant. Twice, in 1851 and 1856, when the ascendency of the criminal classes made life in the settlement intol-

erable, vigilance leagues were formed, which took the administration of law into their own hands, and by hanging or driving from the state the leaders of the lawless element, re-established decent government. And it is interesting to trace back many of the characteristics that have made the modern city of San Francisco both famous and infamous to the seeds which were planted in the earliest days of its history, and to note that advancing civilization has been unable to root out the tares, or keep them wholly in restraint. It is unquestionably true that the city cast a spell over those familiar with it which was not approached by the influence of any other locality. But it was largely the result of a freedom bordering on license which existed nowhere else. It was a free-and-easy city, bohemian to the core. Tourists went there expecting to see

SAN FRANCISCO IN 1855.

phases of life that were not to be seen elsewhere, and they were not disappointed. For weeks, of course, after the great earthquake and fire, it was the chief topic of conversation among all men who were traveling West of the Rocky Mountains; and the most common expression one heard was, "Dear Old Frisco! She will never be the same again." Even so dignified and conservative a citizen as Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California, cannot picture the fairer city he sees about to rise on the ashes of the old, without a touch of regret that old things have probably forever passed away. He says: "The New San Francisco will be far stancher and nobler than the old, but we shall always miss the old nooks and localisms and bohemianisms, and the variegated flavors of many nationalities, mingled with glimpses and odors of Cathay, which blended in old California's grace of freedom and love of elbow room to make the dear old town so inexhaustible a spring of human interest."

Naturally the early city was constructed entirely of wood, and its "baptisms of fire" were many and costly. As has been well said: "No other city in the world has ever suffered a comparable loss by conflagration." Its first great fire occurred December 24, 1849, with a loss of over $1,000,000 in a town hardly a year old. The second, May 4, 1850, destroyed property valued at $4,000,000, and the loss

from the third, June 14, 1850, was placed at the same figure. On May 4, 1851, occurred the most destructive conflagration of all, consuming $12,000,000 of property, and on June 22 of the same year $3,000,000 went up in flames. Nor was the city less familiar with earthquakes, which had been of frequent occurrence though rarely attended with serious loss of life or destruction of property. As a result of these experiences with fire and earthquakes, nearly all the buildings of the rapidly growing city were constructed of wood, and were but two or three stories in height. Statistics showed that in 1906 more than ninety per cent of the stores and houses of the city were wooden buildings. About 1890, however, when the new steel construction began to be common and the "sky-scraper" began to rear its lofty head in all the large cities, some of the more venturesome among San Francisco's capitalists erected a few tall and elegant buildings along the new lines. These were, of course, confined to a small area of the busiest part of Market street, but the manner in which these buildings withstood the effects both of the earthquake and fire makes it certain that the new city will be largely a steel and concrete city. As President Wheeler said: "The old architecture was mostly bad,—heinously bad, as everybody knows. The earthquake tried the works of men and found much of the construction was also bad. Men will not veneer any more wooden buildings with their skins of brick. Honest wooden structures on the one hand, and steel-cage and re-enforced concrete on the other have come off triumphant."

The peninsula on the east side of which San Francisco is located is about eight miles wide, from the Pacific Ocean on the west to the bay on the east, with the world-renowned Golden Gate as its northern boundary. A range of high hills extends along the ocean front which is deflected to the east by the Golden Gate Strait, and extends entirely around the city on the west, north, and northeast. Gradually sloping to the east and south, a level area is reached at distances varying from two to four miles from the ocean and strait; and along the northerly edge of this level tract the famous Market Street extends in a southwesterly direction for about four miles. At the beginning of Market Street at the bay are situated the great Ferry houses, forming *practically* the only exits and entrances to the city. About two miles from the Ferry house the other celebrated street of the city, Van Ness avenue, cuts Market street, and extends in due northerly line to the city limits; and it was within the irregular quadrangle formed by the Golden Gate on the north, the bay on the east, Market street on the south and Van Ness avenue on the west that the devastation by the fire was complete. This area included the celebrated Nob Hill, Telegraph Hill, and Chinatown; was the location of all the famous hotels, of which the city was justly proud; and here was transacted practically all its banking and wholesale and retail business. It is true the fire started and burned over a large area south of Market street before it leaped across that wide thoroughfare; but the buildings were of a cheaper character, and chiefly of a poorer class of dwellings, smaller factories, etc.

At about fifteen minutes after five on the morning of April 18, 1906, the four hundred thousand inhabitants of San Francisco were rudely but effectually wakened by an earthquake shock which literally threw many into the streets, though many more were pinned firmly to their beds by falling walls and *débris* of every character. This destruction of property and loss of life was chiefly confined to the flimsy structures south of Market street; and had the earthquake not been followed by fire, the property loss might have reached some five or eight million dollars, with a death record which has been officially placed at 333. Such results would have been slight in comparison with the seven thousand lives destroyed in the Galveston flood, the one thousand lost by the burning of the "General Slocum" in the East river, at New York, or the more than six hundred

instantly killed at the Iroquois Theatre fire in Chicago. So inconsiderable, in fact, was the direct loss of either life or property as a result of the earthquake alone, that it would have hardly aroused more than local interest, and would scarcely have interrupted the daily routine life of the people of the city. But

From Stereograph, Copyright 1906, Underwood & Underwood, New York.
GENERAL FUNSTON.

from the crossing of electric wires, or breaking of gas mains, fire immediately broke out among the ruins, and at several different points. The fire department of the city had been brought to the highest state of efficiency, as the combustible character of its buildings made especial attention to that protective force imperative. But as soon as the firemen reached the scene of the conflagration the horrifying discovery was made that there was no water; the force of the earthquake had shattered the old wooden water mains, and the people and the city were at the mercy of the flames. The department had lost its head, too, as its Chief was mortally wounded in bed by a falling cupola in the first moment of the shock, and passed away four days later without ever learning of the fire.

At the northwest end of the peninsula, skirting the Golden Gate and stretching back up the hills is the Presidio, the United States Military Reservation, embracing some fifteen hundred acres. Here, in all the different arms of the service, were stationed about eighteen hundred men, with Gen. Funston as commandant of the department. As he has written, when he came out of his house on the slope of Nob Hill after the earthquake shock and saw the fires breaking out over south of Market street, he realized that serious work was before the city department, and of his own volition he at once sent orders to the Fort and the Presidio, instructing the officers to assemble all the regular troops on Market street, to lend any support to the fire or police departments that might be needed. In the absence of water, the only weapon left was dynamite; and under the direction of the artillery officers its use was kept up throughout the next two days, but with no appreciable effect. Early in the day the troops were drawn around the burned and burning districts to keep the crowds from trying to enter buildings, or to rush into localities made dangerous by weak walls. Mayor Schmitz issued a proclamation instructing the police and troops to shoot at sight anyone caught pilfering or looting, with the result that it is generally agreed that, notwithstanding the terrible strain the people were under, the city was never more orderly than during the fire and the thirty days following it. During the first forenoon the flames broke across Market street in several places and began rapidly to work into the best business section and to threaten all the public buildings, hotels, churches, and places of amusement. All of the 18th and through the night and during the 19th the fire raged with terrible fury, the horror of the situation, too, being constantly augmented by the continuous explosions of dynamite and powder. The streets were filled with refugees carrying or dragging every conceivable kind of a burden from a bird cage to a sewing machine or trunk. With weary eyes, too dazed to realize what was

really happening, they saw all that they possessed in the world licked up by the flames. Thousands sought refuge in flight by the ferries across the bay to Oakland, Berkeley, and other suburbs; while other thousands were directed or drifted toward the great open space afforded by the Presidio and the Golden Gate Park. All spectators of the scenes bore witness to the wonderful fortitude and good nature displayed by the sufferers. Under the spell of the mighty forces that were contending around them, they seemed to lose all thought of the seriousness of the situation, and to act as though it was some great celebration or monster picnic with fireworks on a gigantic scale, which they were attending. But hunger and thirst

A SECTION OF MARKET STREET BEFORE THE FIRE.

are hard masters; and there was no water and the bulk of all the provisions in the city had been destroyed, so that all soon began to feel the pinch of existing conditions. By the evening of the 19th the flames had swept over Chinatown, Telegraph Hill, and Nob Hill, and were working up to Van Ness avenue. At this, the widest street in the city, it was determined to make the final stand against the fire. Here all the remaining resources,—all the dynamite, and powder, and a battery of guns—were massed. Between the avenue and the fire a line of mansions three-quarters of a mile long was raked by the artillery, and blown up with dynamite and barrels of powder. This was by far the most desperate fight of the two days. The fire flanked the line at both ends, leaping the cleared space on the north and burning the five blocks bordering the western side of Van Ness avenue, while coming up from Market street at the other end. But the centre held for several blocks; and soon a most opportune change of wind turned the flames back at either end; and that night the fire was under control. The next day it dealt one last blow, the changed wind turning it back upon its course to wipe out most of the poorer houses on Telegraph Hill which had been passed on its first advance. The whole region which had been destroyed covered practically four square miles,—498 blocks.

—and a barren waste had been made of about everything that to the outside world constituted San Francisco. Most happily the great steel ferry house, with its piers and boats, had been saved, largely through the exertions of the harbor fire patrol, and of the sailors from vessels in the bay. The situation would have been unspeakably horrible had this building been destroyed, as it was the only way left for the thousands of desperate and destitute people to leave the city, and the only gateway through which the relief supplies of all kinds could be brought in, the single line of road running down the peninsula to the south having been put out of commission early on the first day of the fire.

Then followed four or five weeks of such life as it rarely happens to one to experience. Fortunately a vast number of tents and camping outfits were stored in the various government warehouses, all of which were at once placed at the disposal of the city authorities. Vast quantities of supplies, too, were immediately turned over, so that few probably really suffered from hunger at any time. The month following the fire was by far the most peaceful and orderly the city had ever known. Every citizen, whatever his wealth and position, submitted himself and his family to the most paternal sort of government. Everybody lived on free food, which was given out, one ration at a time, at the bread lines. Freedom of action was surrendered for the public good, and everybody did as directed by the sentry. All cooking had to be done in the streets; no lights were allowed in the houses, and the most rigid sanitary regulations were enforced. Business men were not even allowed to open their own safes until permission was given by the authorities. And the cheerfulness with which all submitted to these irksome restraints was the wonder of the day. As one has said: "For one month there was a reign of brotherly love such as poets and sages have pictured. Laborers, professional men, servants, and captains of industry, served without compensation, or even promise of any. The bitterest political enemies worked harmoniously for the common good,—worked hard and long, day and night. 'Hand out' methods took the place of purchase and sale for there were neither markets nor money with which to buy."

And how gloriously the whole country opened its heart and its purse for the consolation and relief of the stricken people! Before darkness set in on that first day of the fire there was not a city or town of any size throughout the whole land where a relief committee was not actively at work; and early on the morning of the 19th trains loaded with every kind of provisions, clothing, medical supplies, delicacies for the sick, and everything that the most sympathetic thought and tenderest love could suggest, were rolling towards San Francisco on passenger train time, as all the roads centering on the bay had announced that relief trains should have the right of way over all others. How quickly Boston, New York, Chicago, and all the larger cities wired amounts that would be a ransom for a king! In less than a month more than twenty million dollars had been generously subscribed to feed, cloth, cheer, and up-lift the homeless and penniless brothers and sisters in the desolate city. One of the most widely known Californians summed it all up in these words: "Amid all our money-making obession, amid all the artificial excitation of amusement which goes with a commercial age, a shock like this brings us all back to human nature. It was beautiful to read of the swift response of Boston and New York and the whole East to the unspoken need of the city by the Golden Gate. It was beautiful to see in the nearest large population, which is Los Angeles, the dropping of business to organize material relief—to see the busiest men neglecting their banks, and their stores, and working like navvies to put money, food, and clothing into San Francisco. But finest of all it was to see the San Franciscans—the distinctions of money and class all forgotten, the artifices of civilization laid aside, and a great community on a common footing, cooking

by the curb-stone, smiling over the ashes of their business and their homes, and planning with unshaken heart for a better to-morrow. Between two days, the Heroic Age came back to California."

But the "Heroic Age" was an anachronism, and its duration was short. By the first of June individual and collective interests began to assert themselves, and a period of restless and nervous activity ensued. Men were impatient to re-establish their business connections, and in some way and upon some scale, to see the wheels of traffic in motion once more. But the city was a mass of ruins and no stores of any character were available. Property variously estimated at from three hundred to five hundred millions of dollars in value had been wiped out of existence; but a new working capital of close to two hundred million dollars was being realized from the settlements made by the Insurance Companies. Mayor Schmitz, who had lost the confidence of all conservative business men and of the leaders of public opinion before the fire broke out, surprised both his friends and enemies by rising to the spirit of the occasion and developing a force, character, and judgment of which he had been deemed incapable. Before the fire was under control, he had called about him as an advisory and executive board, a committee of fifty of the men most prominent in every line of the old city's activities, who possessed in an unusual degree the confidence of everyone in the community, and the greater number of whom were among his bitterest and most active political opponents. Day and night these men labored in perfect harmony, administering the relief funds and supplies so generously pouring in from every part of the country; but also, and all the time, devising plans for the rehabilitation of the city. One thing only, at the start, was recognized by all the members of this committee, and that was that the new city must not repeat, in its construction and laying out, the vicious defects of the old city. The lessons of inadequate water supply, of cheap buildings and insecure foundations, of narrow streets, and the neglect of precautions of various kinds, had been learned from the sad experience through which they had passed; and it was determined that before any rebuilding should be allowed, certain definite plans and laws should be established to govern the work. The Hon. J. D. Phelan, Chairman of the Finance Board of the Committee of Fifty, and the one who has done more than all others to revive the confidence of capitalists and investors in the new city, summed the situation up as follows: "The recent earthquake of itself did comparatively little damage. It merely developed the weak spots in the construction of our buildings, and revealed the city's danger rather than imperilled its life. Our case is diagnosed and the remedy is at hand. No more flimsy construction will be permitted, and the foundations will be laid strong and deep. A water-supply will be procured to protect our property, and wide streets will be laid out. The city has permitted itself to be served by a private corporation with water drawn from near-by sources, carried in pipes over marsh lands on rotten trestles, unsupported by piles. These fell at the slightest disturbance of the ground, having no support, and by reason of that fact the city was left without water, an easy prey to the flames. The people of San Francisco are perfectly satisfied that by the observation of ordinary precaution, improved building laws, and careful inspection the mistakes of the past shall never be repeated, and that the new city will be greater and better than the old."

As soon as financial arrangements could be made building began on an extended scale in many parts of the burnt district, but especially on Market street, and its immediate vicinity, from the Ferry Building, West. From five to twelve blocks from the water front had been the centre of the best class of retail trade. Pending rebuilding, however, the retail merchants took possession of the west side of Van Ness Avenue, with a mutual understanding that they would eventually together

move to such a locality for permanent occupancy as the development of the city along its new lines should make most desirable. There seems to be little doubt that they will return to the old centre as soon as new stores now being erected are ready, which should be early in 1909 at the latest. Already a great number of fine buildings for commercial purposes, along Market street for a mile from the Ferry and to the north of it, are nearing completion. Nearly all of these take the place as permanent structures of one or two story temporary affairs, which were erected hastily after the fire. These new buildings are all of steel, and mostly of concrete construction, and average from ten to twelve stories in height.

A PORTION OF BUSINESS SECTION AFTER THE FIRE.

It would be difficult to conceive of a more *apparently* chaotic condition than has existed in this district for the past year, nor one whose noises were more intolerable. On every hand are great piles of steel trusses and heavy building material, which enormous cranes are hoisting into place, while the din of thousands of heavy hammers on the steel bolts is deafening. The proverbial "ant-hill" is the most perfect simile, barring noises, that one could use to represent existing conditions. Of course desultory building has been going on in other localities, and for a mile or more north of Market street toward Telegraph Hill, a large area has been covered by wooden buildings for cheaper homes. As far as the eye can reach from Market street out over Nob Hill and to Van Ness avenue, however, there is yet a barren waste, much of it still made doubly hideous by the ugly ruins left standing, but a larger part practically cleared. The many hills of San Francisco are formidable obstacles to an artistic development. Two years before the fire the subject of city improvement was earnestly agitated, and the renowned architect D. H. Burnham, of Chicago, the designer of the famous "White City," was commissioned to work out a scheme for the renovation of San Francisco. This he did, and the "Burnham Plans" were accepted as a basis along whose lines

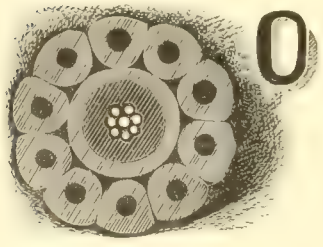
future improvements should be made. These plans provided for a great central square, or circle, at the junction of Market street and Van Ness avenue, about which should be artistically grouped all the municipal buildings, Court House, Library, etc.; for the radiation from this and other central circles of wide avenues; and for the change from the then existing rectangular arrangement of streets up and down the sides of the steepest hills, which were practically impassable except for mountain climbers and cable cars, to winding avenues at easy grades. The whole scheme was not unlike that originally designed for the City of Washington, the gradual development of which has transformed that once "city of magnificent distances" and ugly wastes into what is confessedly one of the most beautiful capital cities of the world. Of course, when Burnham's plans for the improvement of San Francisco were accepted in 1905, no one anticipated that in so short a time the ground would be wholly cleared, and that they would serve as the general outline for the reconstruction of the city. Naturally, in view of the terrible loss of property suffered, and of the imperative need of haste in rebuilding in some sections, those plans cannot be followed as closely as the best citizens would have desired. The general scheme has, however, so far been kept in mind by the building department and property holders in the work of reconstruction that its ultimate development in all its beauty will be much easier than it otherwise would have been. It is probable that at this time, the summer of 1908, about one-half of the whole burnt district, or, say two hundred and fifty blocks, has been covered with buildings which may be considered as permanent, though not all of the buildings, as the great new Pacific hotel, for example, will be ready for occupancy for some time. Unfortunately, labor troubles, which have always been sources of frequent disturbances in San Francisco, have interfered very materially with the work of rebuilding; while the ashes of the burned city were hardly cold before Mayor Schmitz was indicted, tried, and sent to jail on charges of extortion and bribery, all of which, however, antedated the fire. But the rotten condition existing in the city's affairs which was brought to light during his trial and by the antecedent investigations, and which has been the occasion of some of the fiercest legal battles of the past two years, has grated upon the genial feeling that everyone had toward the city after its dreadful scourge. Certainly the people of the whole country share the hope of its best citizens, even if they cannot share fully their faith, that the wonderful city by the Golden Gate will rise from its ashes not only more beautiful without and fairer to look upon, but also more wholesome within, and purged of the political and social evils that have too frequently smirched its good reputation, and tarnished its honored name.

LIII.

THE STORY OF ELECTRICITY.

Amber and the Lodestone.— Views of Ancient Philosophers and of the Church Fathers.— The Chinese "South-Pointing Car."— Rise of Experimental Philosophy.— Dr. Gilbert the Pioneer Experimenter.— Formation of the British Royal Society.— The "Roarings and Crackings" when Electricity was Produced.— Earliest Comparison with Thunder and Lightning.— Franklin's Experiments.— His "Electrified Bumpers."— His Demonstration that Lightning of the Storm Same as He produced.— Lightning Rods.— Invention of Leyden Jar.— Line of Monks, Nine Hundred Feet Long, Electrified.— Experiments of Galvani and Volta.— Humphrey Davy and the Arc Light.— Oersted's Great Discovery.— Faraday Determines Relation of Electricity and Magnetism.— Joseph Henry's Distinguished Career and Discoveries.— Morse and the Electric Telegraph.— Strange and Sad Vicissitudes of Inventor.— First Telegraph Laid, Baltimore to Washington, Opened May 24, 1844.— First Message, "What God Hath Wrought."— Cyrus Field and the Atlantic Cable.— Repeated Failures.— First Perfect Connection Established, July 27, 1866.— Statistics as to Cable Service.— Bell, and the Telephone.— Remarkable Characteristics of Invention.— The Microphone.— Every Other Family in the United States Has Telephone.— Development of Dynamos and Motors.— Remarkable Transmission of Currents for Power and Light.— The Electric Light.— Incandescent and Arc Lights Described.— Arc Light 3,000,000 Candle Power.— Uses of Selenium.— Various Applications of Electricity in Railroad Service.— Dr. Holmes's "Broomstick Train."— Hertz and the Hertzian Waves.— Ether.— Marconi's Wireless Telegraph and Its Principles.— Remarkable Invention of Orling and Armstrong.— The Wireless Telegraph and the *Republic* Collision.— What Next, Telepathy?

"All the myriad phenomena of the Universe are the manifestations of a single animating principle that is both infinite and eternal . . . and each act of scientific explanation but reveals an opening through which shines the glory of the Eternal Majesty." JOHN FISKE



Of the great forces of the Universe that have been so studied and controlled as to be of infinite service to man, Electricity has always excited the most lively interest. Certain of its properties have been known since the dawn of civilization, and the knowledge has been put to some practical use; but until toward the middle of the nineteenth century hardly a hint had been given of the marvelous transforming powers of the force, of which we really know nothing, yet can make serve our needs in such important and diversified ways. One of the favorite jewels and decorative stones of the ancient world was Amber. Its color and lustre appealed to the old Greeks, reminding them of the virgin gold in the sands of some of their streams, and of the yellow sunshine. Later they came to apply the same name to the compounds of metals which when burnished gave a golden glow, all being classed as children of *Elektor*,—the Sun—and reflecting his radiance. Thus

Amber, in Hellenic speech, came to be called Elektron; and to its peculiar property of attracting light objects when rubbed, was given the name of Electricity. The stone was found along the shores of the Baltic Sea, and the early Phoenicians did a thriving business in transporting it to the Mediterranean and Aegean cities, even before either Rome or Carthage was founded. Amber beads were found in the ancient tombs of Mycenæ, which are now supposed to belong to a period at least two thousand years before the Christian era; while Homer, Hesiod, and all the earliest writers speak of its beauty and remarkable powers. Because when rubbed it would "clutch" at, or draw, light substances, Amber was used by all Syrian women who could afford it for a spindle in spinning, serving "to hold fast the newly finished length of weft." This seems to have been the first practical use made of the electrical force and the first intelligent operation of an electrical effect.

Equally ancient has been the knowledge of the Lodestone, or Magnetite. This ore of iron was a frequent outcropping on the mountains around the Aegean sea; and one legend tells of the shepherd Magnes who, guarding his flocks on the slopes of Mt. Ida, suddenly found himself held fast by the adhering of the nails of his shoes and the iron ferrule of his staff to a stone, which was subsequently called after him "Magnes' Stone," or "Magnet." The two-fold phenomena of the lodestone were early observed,—that it not only attracts iron but also has polarity; that is, exhibits opposite effects at opposite ends. By reason of this, when in elongated form and supported so as to turn freely, it will place itself nearly in a north and south direction. This prophecy of the mariner's compass was used in various ways by the ancients though it is impossible to determine the direct origin or source of the compass itself. The "strange hunger of this magnetite for other iron," which it seized and drew unto itself, was to the superstitious Greeks a mystery concerning which the uninitiated might not even think, for fear of the anger of the Gods. From the earliest legends it would appear that the first miners of Greece came from Phrygia, where magnetite was abundant, and settled in Samothrace. There they introduced their "mysteries;" and as proof of their supernatural skill exhibited the celebrated "Samothracian rings." Later the magnetite was termed the Hercules stone because of its power of overcoming iron, and of forcing that metal to come to it. From the earliest times these wonderful properties of amber and the lodestone filled the superstitious with profound awe, while the philosophers sought in vain for some explanation of the phenomena. As a result of his study of the subject Thales, the "Father of Philosophy," who lived about 600 B. C., is said to have "attributed souls to lifeless things, forming his conjecture from the nature of the magnet and the amber;" and, again, Aristotle says: "Thales, too, as is related, seems to regard the soul as somehow producing motion, for he said that the stone had a soul since it moves iron." Plato puts into the mouth of Socrates this interesting and beautiful comparison of the magnetic powers with the inspiration of the poet. "The gift you have of speaking excellently about Homer is not an art," said Socrates; "but, as I was just saying, an inspiration; there is a divinity moving you, like that in the stone which Euripides calls a magnet, but which is commonly known as the stone of Heraclea. For that stone not only attracts iron rings, but also imparts to them similar power of attracting other rings; and sometimes you may see a number of pieces of iron and rings suspended from one another, so as to form quite a long chain; and all of these derive their powers of suspension from the original stone. Now this is like to the Muse, who first gives to man inspiration himself, and from those inspired, her sons, a chain of other persons is suspended, who will take the inspiration from them." For centuries after Plato the Samothracian rings are frequently described. Moreover, as the

popular belief has always attributed wonderful properties to any force which shows wonderful effects, so the healing and restoring properties of the magnet and the magnetic rings were fully believed in. The priests of Samothrace did a great business as magnetic healers, selling magnets and rings, chiefly for the cure of rheumatism and gout. Their magnetized iron rings were recognized as "cure-alls," were later worn by the Roman priests of Jupiter, and, as Pliny says, had in his time become the usual pledge of betrothal.

When, and by whom, the magnet and the needle were first wedded and became the compass, will probably never be known. The Chinese claims are very strong and would establish a very ancient use of that instrument. One service to which we know the magnet was put at a very early date was the directing of the Chinese "South Pointing Car." These cars resembled somewhat an old-fashioned, heavily built chaise. Just in front of the passenger's seat was a square box on which stood a figure "made of jade," about sixteen inches in height. Within the right arm, which was always extended in front, was concealed a magnet, whose force is supposed to have been sufficient to turn the figure on its pivot, and so to have caused it always to point to the South. There are records of these cars as far back as the ninth century B. C., though there seems to be no account for several centuries later, when they again appear in use about the fifth or sixth century of our era.

To the Fathers of the Christian Church the mysteries of magnetism were especially interesting, suggesting to them symbols of the attractive powers of Divine Love. "If the magnet and amber have the strength to draw rings and seeds and chaff," says St. Jerome, "how much the more irresistibly can the Lord of all created things draw unto Himself that which He desires." And St. Gregory saw in the united rings of Samothrace an illustration of the binding power of the Spirit. But most interesting of all is St. Augustine's account of what he had seen and heard in this regard. Speaking of the attraction of the magnet, he says: "When I first saw it I was thunderstruck for I saw an iron ring attracted and suspended by the stone; and then, as if it had communicated its own property to the iron it attracted, and had made it a substance like itself, this ring was put near another and lifted it up; and as the first ring clung to the magnet so did the second ring to the first. A third and fourth were similarly added, so that there hung from the stone a kind of chain of rings with their hoops connected, not interlinking, but attached together by their outer surface. Who would not be amazed at this virtue of the stone, subsisting, as it does, not only in itself, but transmitted through so many suspended rings and binding them together by invisible links? Yet far more astonishing is what I heard about the stone from my brother in the episcopate, Severus, bishop of Milevis. He told me that the Count of Africa, when the bishop was dining with him, produced a magnet and held it under a silver plate on which he placed a bit of iron; then as he moved his hand with the magnet, underneath the plate, the iron upon the plate moved about accordingly. The intervening silver was not affected at all, but precisely as the magnet was moved backward and forward below it, no matter how quickly, so was the iron attracted above." This is said to be the first record of the movement of a magnetic body under the control of a moving magnet. But St. Augustine more than wondered at the things he saw and heard; he questioned; and had the days of inductive philosophy been at hand his acute mind might have anticipated some of the later discoveries in electrical development. What most interested him to discover was *why* the lodestone should move iron, and yet be powerless to stir straws or light chaff; while amber drew the straws and chaff but had no apparent effect upon iron. This recognition of the difference between amber attraction (Electric) and the lodestone attraction (mag-

netic) was to disturb the world, so far as the world gave any attention to these subjects, for more than a thousand years before any reasonable theory should be advanced.

We are indebted to Mr. Park Benjamin's "Intellectual Rise in Electricity," for much interesting matter relating to the views of the ancients regarding this subject; and he has given an entertaining account of one of the curious myths regarding the lodestone which has been very tenacious of life. This myth relates to the magnetic mountain, variously placed in different seas and oceans, whose ores, as a vessel approached it, began to draw all the nails from its timbers, so that the ship fell to pieces. One of the most interesting accounts of this fabled mountain is to be found in the "Arabian Nights Entertainment," being a part of the tale of the third royal mendicant who ventured to sea. "After a long period of calm the captain of the ship tells him, in great perturbation, that 'to-morrow we shall arrive at a mountain of black stone called lodestone; the current is now bearing us violently towards it, and the ships will fall to pieces and every nail in them will fly to the mountain and adhere to it, for God hath given to the lodestone a secret property by virtue of which everything of iron is attracted towards it. On that mountain is such a quantity of iron as no one knoweth but God, whose name be exalted; for, from times of old, great numbers of ships have been destroyed by that mountain.' On the following morning as the ship approached the fatal stone, the current carried us toward it with violence; and when the ships were almost close to it they fell asunder, and all the nails and everything that was of iron flew from them toward the lodestone."

But Electricity is the science that more than all others depends upon experiment. For more than fifteen hundred years the ancients marvelled at its phenomena, but stopped there. Its further advance must await the awakening of the human understanding to the supreme importance of experimental and inductive methods, which constitute the glory of modern philosophy. Moreover, in other branches of scientific development and industrial advancement, individual thinkers have worked out completed systems and inventions that have revolutionized the particular industry affected. Arkwright, Whitney, Fulton, Watt, Stevenson,—each stands as the representative of a practically unique and completed work. But every advance, even by the masters, in electricity has been upon a basis of a vast number of experiments covering a period of more than five centuries. So true is this, that a leading writer on the subject, summing up the work of Morse in establishing the electric telegraph says: "In the Morse telegraph are found the battery, for which credit must be given primarily to Volta, and then to Daniell, who in 1836 devised a battery nearly constant in strength,—an essential requisite to its application to the telegraph; the key, or transmitter, which, except in details of construction, is practically that in use since experiments on electricity began; the receiving instrument of which the essential feature is the electro-magnet, due primarily to Sturgeon, but modified and improved so as to be available for this work by Henry; the relay, by means of which the local current is put in operation, which was used by Henry and also by Wheatstone; the line wire suspended on poles, a method first practically used by Dr. W. O. Shaughnessey at Calcutta, in 1839. While it appears, therefore, that Morse cannot justly claim priority in the discovery of a single scientific principle involved in the telegraph, it must be admitted on all hands that he played a most important part in its development." It will, therefore, be necessary and not without interest, to trace the growth of these germ principles which, in their combined beneficence, have served to make all later life so much more healthful and comfortable, and have so materially increased the sum of human happiness.

Experimental philosophy is generally considered as beginning with Bacon early in the seventeenth century. But the

first experimental work of consequence in the field of electricity ante-dates Bacon's time some years, and was conducted by William Gilbert, of Colchester, first physician to Queen Elizabeth, and a man of extraordinary learning and inventive genius. He is commonly regarded as the creator of the science of Electricity and Magnetism, and it is to him that the science is indebted for its name. He constructed an electroscope consisting of a light needle resting on a point, and by its use discovered that the power of attracting light bodies did not belong to amber alone, but was possessed by many other substances when they were properly excited. This remarkable man's studies and investigations covered the whole range of the physical sciences, and were not confined to the field of electricity. But as the latter was absolutely virgin territory, his labors and successes in it were more noteworthy than those in other fields. As the first experimenter in and founder of the science of Electricity, a summary of his achievements possesses lasting interest. In recapitulating Gilbert's contributions to physical science, Mr. Benjamin says: "He was the first to investigate natural phenomena philosophically and systematically, and by a true inductive method, for he interrogated nature by actual experiment and from particulars thus ascertained rose to correct generalizations; to recognize electricity (as distinguished from magnetism) as a new natural condition or force, and to study and name it; to extract the facts and laws of magnetism from the existing mass of speculation, mysteries, and delusions, and to reduce them to a science; to suggest the correlation of gravity and magnetism with other natural forces, and a relationship between gravity, magnetism, and electricity; to formulate a definite conception of the magnetic field of force, and to attempt to show its extent; to suggest the re-action between two fields of force, and mechanical motion of the inducing bodies resulting therefrom; *to recognize that the earth is a great magnet*, capable of magnetizing iron and iron ore by induction; to determine the magnetic polarity of the earth and in the directive tendency thereof to reveal the true reason for the verticity of the compass needle; to discover magnetic screening, conduction, and saturation, the compound magnet, the mutual attraction or induction of lodestone and iron, the polepiece or armature, the effect of induction on soft iron, and magnetization by molecular disturbance; and to discover electrical charge and its permanence for a considerable period of time, and that it can be retained by covering the excited body with certain substances. He invented the first electrical (as distinguished from magnetic) instrument, the first electrical indicating device, the first magnetometer, filar suspension, and the ordinary method of magnetization."

Following the initiative experiments of Gilbert, new principles and new methods of manipulating electricity were rapidly discovered; but our space will admit of notice of only the determining factors in the development. During the middle of the seventeenth century many men were constantly experimenting, the most distinguished of whom were Robert Boyle in England, and Otto von Guericke, the celebrated burgomaster of Magdeburg, in Germany. Boyle's work did not serve to determine new principles of marked value, but he developed many of the theories and confirmed the positions of his distinguished fellow-countryman, Dr. Gilbert. Boyle was, however, active in the formation of the Royal Society of England, which was originally composed of twenty-one persons who, in 1660, regularly organized themselves into a society for the promotion of all kinds of experimental philosophy. Charles II. a little later greatly strengthened the society by conferring on it a royal charter and by himself becoming an active member. This organization became of the greatest importance in the advance of electrical science, as investigators from all parts of the world sent to it for consideration papers announcing the results of their re-

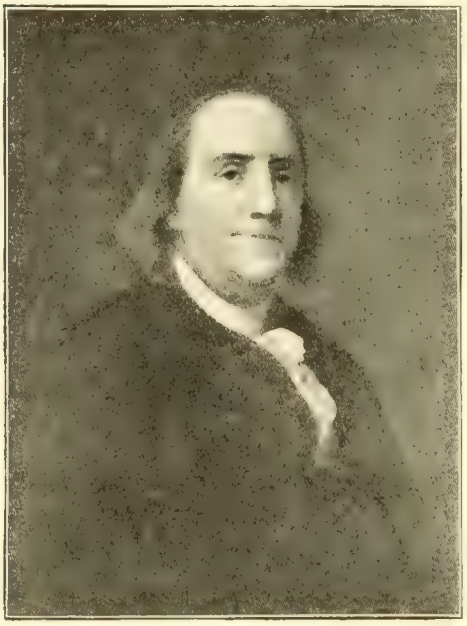
searches or investigations, which were then, if approved, published by the Society, and so made public. In this way the student in almost any part of the world was enabled to keep in touch with the work of his fellows in other localities, thus receiving a profound stimulus to further research and being saved, doubtless, many useless and false steps by the experiences of others.

Otto von Guericke was a most intelligent and enthusiastic workman; and his researches covered the whole field of physics. His especial addition to the cause of electrical science, however, consisted in the establishment of the principle of electrical conduction,—the transference of electrification from an electrified body to one not electrified, and the appearance of the electrification in a long conductor at the end opposite to that at which it was produced; in other words, the apparent instantaneous transfer of electricity from end to end of the line. He also discovered that if he rubbed his sulphur globe with the dry palm of the hand, and then took the globe with him into a dark room and rubbed it, especially at night, "light would result, as when sugar is beaten,"—a hint of the electric light. Von Guericke was the first, also, to recognize electrical repulsion, as such, a direct suggestion of the identity of electrical attraction and gravity; and he constructed and successfully used the first machine for the production of electricity. Speaking of his globe von Guericke said: "There is likewise a virtue of sound in this globe for when it is carried in the hand or is held in a warm hand, and thus brought to the ear, *roarings and crackings are heard in it.*" And in 1708, Dr. Wall, an English physician, refers to the same phenomenon. Rubbing a large piece of amber, and seeing the sparks and hearing the noise, he said: "Now, I doubt not, but on using a longer and larger piece of amber both the crackling and the light would be much greater; *and it seems in some degree to resemble thunder and lightning.*"

About 1730, Stephen Gray, one of the Pensioners of Grey Friars' School, became greatly interested in the subject of electrical conduction. At the school he had few tools; but in the poker, fire shovel, hempen twine, etc., he found enough to enable him to establish certain principles which he afterwards elaborated and tested at the country houses of two wealthy men who had interested themselves in him and his work. After three years of constant experimenting he concluded that the "electric virtue" may not only be carried from the tube by a rod or line to distant bodies, but that the same rod or line will communicate that virtue to another rod or line at a distance from it, and by that other rod or line the attractive force may be carried to other distant bodies. He succeeded in extending the transmission over lines reaching twelve hundred feet, using silk supports; and it was in his experiments as to supports that he discovered and established the existence of "conductors" and "non-conductors." He was, moreover, led to believe that "there may be found out a way to collect a greater quantity of it, and consequently to increase the force of this electric fire, which by several of these experiments seems to be of the same nature with that of thunder and lightning."

One of the most indefatigable investigators of this age was Doctor William Watson, a leading member of the Royal Society. While he made no important discoveries, he carried the investigations of others far in advance of the point of the discoverer, and so threw much light on the general development of electrical knowledge. He did, however, as the result of years of investigation advance a theory that has not been without influence. He affirmed "the existence of an electrical ether, *much more subtle than the common air,* and passing to a certain depth through all known bodies. It has the property of air, of moving light objects, and is elastic, this fact being shown by its extending itself around excited electrics, by its increasing the motions of fluids, by the apparent influx of elec-

trical fire to all bodies, and by its giving violent shocks to the human frame. With this ether all bodies are normally charged. If, however, a body be excited, then the normal conditions are disturbed, so that the ether in the nearest unexcited



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

non-electric tends, by its elasticity, to move to the excited body, where it accumulates. In so doing it carries light bodies with it, which accounts for electrical attraction."

But investigators were satirized, ridiculed, and laughed at for their devotion to science, and on all sides was heard the cry of the "practical man,"—What is the use of all this labor and study? Whom can it ever benefit? In 1746 Watson published his "Experiments and Observations" in book form, and in the preface urges the prosecution of similar investigations by other men, while in reply to the prevalent cry, he says: "It must be answered that we are not so far advanced in these discoveries as to render them conducive to the service of mankind. Perfection in any branch of philosophy is to be attained but by slow gradations. It is our duty to keep going forward; the rest we must leave to the direction of that Providence which we know assuredly has created nothing in vain. But I make no scruple to assert that notwithstanding the great advances which have been made in this part of natural philosophy within these few years, many and great properties remain undiscovered. Future philosophers (some perhaps even of the present age) *may deduce from electrical experiments uses entirely beneficial to society* in general."

It would have been impossible for so many-sided a man as Franklin not to have become intensely interested in electricity and the experiments that were being made on the Continent as soon as he should learn of them. While visiting in Boston in 1746, a Dr. Spence, lately arrived from Scotland, exhibited to him some crude electrical experiments. Though Spence's apparatus was meagre, and his skill the slightest, yet the subject being new to Franklin surprised and delighted him. Some years before, he had founded a circulating library in Philadelphia which was incorporated in 1742, as the Library Company of Philadelphia. Of course practically all its books came from England, where it had as a friend rather than an agent one Peter Collinson, a merchant who had extended business connections in America, and was also a member of the Royal Society. The relations between him and Franklin became most friendly and mutually helpful. Immediately after its publication, Collinson sent over to the library, and Franklin, a copy of Dr. Watson's book referred to above, with such tubes as Watson had described. Franklin at once became deeply enthusiastic, and began to perform all the experiments described in Watson's papers, inviting a few of his friends to share in his delight at the results obtained. Soon the fame of his experiments spread over the city and his house was crowded with curiosity seekers. Not caring to devote his time to a repetition of the old experiments for the pleasure of the curious, he had several tubes blown at the glass house which he presented to many who had become familiar with the pro-

cesses, inviting them to "divide a little this encumbrance with him." Very shortly the most earnest inquirers drew closer together, and Franklin, Ebenezer Kinnersley, Thomas Hopkinson, and Philip Sing united their efforts instead of each experimenting in seclusion as had generally been the case. Out of this little company grew the American Philosophical Society, of which Hopkinson was the first president. On March 28, 1747, Franklin wrote Collinson: "For my own part, I never was before engaged in any study that so totally engrossed my attention and my time, for what with making experiments when I can be alone, and repeating them to my friends and acquaintances who, from the novelty of the thing, come continually in crowds to see them, I have during some months past, had little leisure for anything else." From that time on Franklin began to send the results of his researches in letters to Collinson, with some degree of regularity, and the papers were read before the Royal Society, where, at first, they were not favorably received, and none were considered worthy of publication. Some of his reports were, however, published in London, and at the instigation of Buffon were translated into French; and in Paris they were at once received with favor, with the result that the Royal Society reconsidered its position, and in "The Transactions" for 1751 gave a favorable account of Franklin's experiments up to that time, prepared by the same Dr. Watson whose book had first aroused Franklin's enthusiasm. Watson's report concluded with these words: "On the whole Mr. Franklin appears in this work in the light of a very able and ingenious man; that he had a head to conceive and a hand to carry into exceution whatever he thought might conduce to enlighten the subject of which he was treating; and though there are in this work some few opinions in which the writer would not agree with him, he thought scarcely anybody better acquainted with the subject of electricity than Mr. Franklin was." To further atone for its early failure to recognize his worth, when Franklin visited Europe in 1755, he was received by the members of the Royal Society with every honor, was elected a Fellow, the payments of dues being remitted, the great Copley medal was bestowed upon him, and the Transactions of the Society were ordered sent to him, free of expense, during the remainder of his life. A most graceful and gracious recognition of the great man's ingenuity and wisdom, even if somewhat tardy. As we have seen, von Guericke, Dr. Wall, and Gray all had noted the "crackling and roarings" that accompanied electrical action in some of their experiments, Dr. Wall declaring that they "seemed in some degree to resemble thunder and lightning." It is not probable that Franklin was in any way familiar with the observations of these experimenters, as the only work he had seen up to 1749 was Dr. Watson's. Yet the identity of electricity and lightning early impressed itself upon him; and it is on experiments developing this theory and on making a practical application of the results of his discoveries, that Franklin's great fame as an electrical discoverer rests. As early as November 7, 1749, he made the following memorandum in his note book, which shows the trend of his thought. "Electrical fluid agrees with lightning in these particulars: 1. Giving light; 2. Color in the light; 3. Crooked direction; 4. Swift motion; 5. Being conducted by metals; 6. Crack or noise in exploding; 7. Subsisting in water or ice; 8. Rending bodies it passes through; 9. Destroying animals; 10. Melting metals; 11. Firing inflammable substances; 12. Sulphurous smell. The electric fluid is attracted by points,—we do not know whether this property is in lightning. But since they agree in all the particulars wherein we can already compare them, is it not probable they agree likewise in this? *Let the experiment be made!*" In his "Life and Times of Franklin" Parton gives a curious letter from Franklin to Peter Collison, under date of April 29, 1749. "Chagrined," he says, "a little that we have hitherto been able to pro-

duce nothing in this way of use to mankind; and the hot weather coming on, when electrical experiments are not so agreeable, it is proposed to put an end to them for this season, somewhat humorously, in a party of pleasure on the banks of *Schuylkill*. Spirits, at the same time, are to be fired by a spark sent from side to side through the river, without any other conductor than the water; an experiment which we sometime since performed, to the amazement of many. A turkey is to be killed for our dinner by the *electrical shock*, and roasted by the *electrical jack*, before a fire kindled by the *electrified bottle;* when the healths of all the famous electricians in England, Holland, France, and Germany are to be drunk in *electrified bumpers*, under the discharge of guns from the electrical battery." Franklin explains that "an *electrified bumper* is a small thin glass tumbler, near filled with wine and electrified as the bottle. This when brought to the lips gives a shock, if the party be close shaved, and does not breathe on the liquor."

The year 1752 was a marked one in the advance of electrical knowledge. Franklin's deduction as to the identity of the electrical fluid and lightning had greatly interested the French investigators, who at once began experiments to test their truth; with the result that on May 10 M. d'Alibard, at Marley, succeeded in drawing electricity from the clouds, as did another Frenchman in Paris a few days later. But their experiments were from rods not over seventy feet high, and did not carry assurance to Franklin's mind. They did, however, prove to him that he must act at once, or the truth of his theories would be established by others, and the honor fall to them. Without taking anyone but his son into his counsels he determined to draw the electricity directly from the clouds themselves, which, if he succeeded, must forever settle the question. As the hot summer season was well on, he had not to wait long for a thunder shower which should afford him the necessary opportunity of testing his theory. What this experiment meant to the Scientist has been little realized. He had seen the terrible effects of the lightning stroke; knew that men and animals had been repeatedly killed, and had himself repeatedly declared that if the electrical discharge was potent enough, it must be instantly fatal. And it was this force that he had now determined to bring into his own hand. Nothing was then known of the laws of conduction; so that he had no means of estimating how much of the lightning would descend the cord of his kite, if it descended at all. "Every presumption," as one has said, "pointed to an outpour of living flame which would infallibly kill. And yet, if his theory was right, the electrical fluid should be drawn from the cloud and flow down with harmless vigor. No man ever confronted what he must have believed to be terrible danger with more superb heroism. No man ever so calmly, so philosophically, staked his life upon his faith." Mr. Benjamin has so picturesquely described this, one of the most notable of scientific experiments, and one so closely connected with Franklin's fame in the popular mind, that we shall quote his words. "The great clouds roll up from the horizon, and the gusts grow fitful and strong. As Franklin and his boy disentangled the kite from its cords and tail, and get it in position for ascent, the thunder mutters nearer, and the rain begins to patter upon the glass. A swishing blast comes over the meadows, the kite feels it and rises swiftly, swooping this way and that as the air currents catch it. The rain falls heavily, and the mist begins to close in. There is a friendly shed at hand and Franklin, drenched, takes refuge under it. The kite, heavy with water, is sailing sluggishly, except when the gusts set it moving in spirals. A huge low-lying black cloud traveling over him suddenly shoots forth forked flame, and a crash of thunder shakes the very earth. The pour is now in sheets; again the blaze, again the rattling explosion. The kite is moving upward, for Franklin is quickly unwinding the cord. It is soaring into the

black mass from which the flashes are now rapidly coming, and in which it soon becomes invisible. Quietly Franklin is arranging the silk-ribbon and the key. This done, he watches the cord close to him. Has he failed? Suddenly he sees the little loose fibres of the twine erect themselves. He has not failed, but the moment has come. Without a tremor he advances his knuckle to the key. And then a little crack, a little spark, the same little crack and the same little spark which he had taken a hundred times from his glass tube—and the great discovery is complete, his name is immortal. As the kite dashes through the masses of vapor hurrying over him, he touches the key, and again and again the conquered lightning returns, as it were, a caress—even submitting to be caged in the Leyden jar like the common electricity from his rubbed globe. And as the storm abates, the thunder dies away on the horizon, the clouds sweep off toward their ancient enemies, the mountains, and the kite moves lazily in the blue; while on the thankful, upturned face of the man gleams the glad sunshine which he had thought never to behold again."

In 1749 Franklin had published a work entitled "Opinions and Conjectures concerning the Properties and Effects of the Electrical Matter, and the Means of Preserving Buildings, Ships, etc., from Lightning, arising from Experiments and Observations made at Philadelphia." Two great topics of this treatise were receiving practically all of Franklin's attention and thought at this time. He had made a miniature lightning-rod conduct harmlessly away the electricity of an artificial thunder-storm, and described the experiment in his work. The study of the influence of points in attracting the electric fluid thus became of intense interest to him; and it seemed to him only necessary to establish the identity of the electricity manufactured by his instruments and that of the clouds, to develop a principle that should be of lasting benefit to his fellowmen. Accordingly he suggests in a second part of his paper experiments that might set at rest all questions as to this identity, and later performed his own experiments and determined the question for himself, as narrated above. Then followed the practical application of his principles to the protection of public and private buildings, ships, etc.; until lightning rods became almost as much a part of material for house or barn building, as did beams or lathes. In "Poor Richard's Almanac" for 1753, one may read: "It has pleased God and His goodness to mankind to discover to them the means of securing their Habitations and other Buildings from Mischief by Thunder and Lightning. The Method is this: Provide a small iron rod (it may be made of the rod-iron used by Nailers), but of such a length that one end being three or four feet in the moist ground, the other may be six or eight feet above the highest part of the building. To the upper end of the rod fasten about a foot of brass wire, the size of a common knitting needle, sharpened to a fine point. The rod may be secured in the house by a few small staples. If the house or barn be long, there may be a rod and point at each end, and a middling wire along the ridge from one to the other. A house thus furnished will not be damaged by lightning, it being attracted by the points, and passing through the metal into the ground without hurting anything." These positions of Franklin were ridiculed, and denounced. When it was demanded *why* these points possessed such peculiar power, he frankly confessed that he could not tell, "nor," he adds, "is it necessary that we should understand it. It is of real use to know that china left in the air unsupported will fall and break; but *how it* came to fall, and *why* it breaks, are matters of speculation. It is a pleasure, indeed, to know them, but we can preserve our china without it." In his "History of Harvard College," President Quincy relates that in November, 1755, a shock of earthquake was felt in New England, and that a Boston clergyman preached a sermon on the subject, in which he contended that the lightning rods by accumulating the electricity in

the earth, had caused the earthquake; and in 1770 another Boston minister opposed the use of the rods on the ground that, as lightning was one of the means of punishing the sins of mankind, and of warning them from the commission of sin, it was impious to prevent its full execution. Not without reason does Franklin quaintly observe: "It is well we are not, as poor Galileo was, subjected to the Inquisition for philosophical heresy."

During the two hundred years from the early experiments of Gilbert to the close of the eighteenth century, nearly all the characteristics of the electric force had been discovered, and its modes of action and reaction had been pretty well disclosed; while hints of the great developments that were to follow had been observed. The history of electricity has been one of continual development and unfolding. As has been well said: "No one man, nor any generation of men, can be credited with all that is involved in any one of the great inventions or memorable discoveries with which Science has enriched the world. All have built upon the labors of their predecessors, and to understand the completed work it is necessary to know something of the history of its various stages." Progress during the nineteenth century, marvelous as it seemed, was chiefly along the line of new and improved methods of producing and handling the phenomenal force rather than in original discovery. A very important advance in mechanical devices was the invention of the Leyden jar, in 1745, about the time Franklin became deeply interested in the new science. This device was hit upon by three men at practically the same time, an experimenter named Cuneus, a monk named Kleist, and Professor Muschenbroeck, of Leyden; but as it was first exhibited and experimented with at Leyden the apparatus took the name of that city, by which it has ever since been known. As usually made the Leyden jar consists of a glass jar, with a wide mouth preferably, coated with tinfoil within and without, to within a few inches of the top. The mouth is regularly closed by a disk of dry wood, through which passes a wire reaching to the inner coating. The outer end of the wire usually terminated in a small metallic ball. Its essential feature is that it consists of two conducting surfaces, separated by a nonconductor; and in the jar, as first used by Muschenbroeck, the inner conductor was water, the place of the outer being taken by the moist hand of the experimenter. It is "charged" by connecting either coating with the source of electricity, while the other is connected with the earth. Muschenbroeck described his discovery and its results as follows: "I wish to inform you of a new but terrible experiment, which I advise you on no account personally to attempt. I am engaged in a research to determine the strength of electricity. With this object I had suspended by two blue silk threads a gun barrel, which received electricity by a communication from a glass globe which was turned rapidly on its axis by one operator, while another pressed his hands against it. From the opposite end of the gun barrel hung a brass wire, the end of which entered a glass jar, which was partly full of water. This jar I held in my right hand, while with my left I attempted to draw sparks from the gun barrel. Suddenly I received in my right hand a shock of such violence that my whole body was shaken as by a lightning stroke. The vessel, although of glass, was not broken, nor was the hand displaced by the commotion; but the arm and body were affected in a manner more terrible than I can express. In a word, I believed that I was done for." The invention, or discovery of this jar, became the subject of universal wonder and interest among all the scientists of Europe. Everywhere, and in curious ways, its influence was the object of countless experiments. The Abbé Nollet entertained the French King by transmitting the discharge through one hundred and eighty of his guards, "who were all so sensible of it at the same moment that the surprise caused them all to spring up at once." But this test was far surpassed in every respect by that

conducted by the Carthusian monks in Paris. A line of monks nine hundred feet long was made "by means of iron wires of proportionable length between every two. The effect was that when the two extremities of this long line met in contact with the electrified vial, the whole company at the same instant of time gave a sudden spring, and equally felt the shock." This instantaneous "spring" of several hundred Carthusian monks must have been as entertaining a sight, as it was conclusive evidence of the marvelous vivifying force of electricity. In England the Leyden jar received prompt recognition. Sir William Watson added an outside metallic coating, and by its aid was enabled to fire gunpowder and other inflammables. In company with a number of Fellows of the Royal Society he experimented to determine the velocity with which electricity was transmitted through metallic conductors, and succeeded in sending it through more than twelve thousand feet of wire, and concluded that the transmission was instantaneous. While many and various uses were made of the Leyden jar at this time, the greatest immediate value was that by means of it the recognition of an electric circuit was first established.

But little more of consequence was developed in the science of electricity down to the nineteenth century, which might well be called the Electrical Century, so marvelous, varied, and vastly beneficent were the applications and extensions of the principles already established. In 1795 Tiberius Cavallo published a "History of Electricity," in three volumes, giving a quite complete and detailed account of all that was then known of the subject, and expressed serious doubt whether more could be accomplished. "In short," he says, "nothing contributed to make Electricity the subject of the public attention, and excite a general curiosity, until the capital discovery of the vast accumulation of its power, in what is commonly called the Leyden phial, which was accidentally made in the memorable year 1745. Then, and not till then, the study of electricity became general. Since the time of this discovery, the prodigious number of electricians, experiments, and new facts that have been daily produced from every corner of Europe and other parts of the world, is almost incredible. Discoveries crowded upon discoveries; improvements upon improvements; and the Science ever since that time went on with so rapid a course, and is now spreading so amazingly fast, that it seems as if the subject would be soon exhausted, and electricians arrive at an end of their researches. But, however, the *ne plus ultra* is, in all probability, as yet at a great distance, and the young electrician has a vast field before him, highly deserving his attention and promising further discoveries, *perhaps equally or more important than those already made.*"

Galvani and Volta are two names that have become permanently identified with the subject of electricity. Galvani was Professor of Anatomy at the University of Bologna, and in 1786 was actively engaged in an investigation of the effect of atmospheric electricity on animal organisms, using the hind legs of recently killed frogs as delicate electroscopes. He was surprised, however, during these investigations to find that when, as he believed, no electrical currents were passing through the legs of the frogs, they were convulsed just as he knew they would be if subjected to such electrical currents. One day he happened to hang a bundle of frog's legs bound together by a copper wire against an iron railing, when he observed that if a part of the exposed vertebræ or backbone of the frog touched the iron, the legs were powerfully convulsed. Galvani believed that he had at last discovered the "vital force" for which he, in common with other anatomists, had been searching, as he thought nervous fluid existed in the animal, and passed from nerve to muscle through the conducting path offered by the iron; and though he afterwards recognized that the movements were due to electricity, he still believed that the electricity was produced by the frog itself. Hence arose the term

"Animal Electricity," or, as some called it, Galvanism, a name which held its own until quite recently. Galvani's experiments and discoveries excited a most lively interest among all scientists, and especially in the mind of Alexander Volta, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Pavia, Italy. At first he accepted Galvani's conclusions that the phenomena manifested in the action of the frog's legs were due to a vital fluid. But continued experimentation proved to him that what Galvani had disclosed was not a vital fluid nor animal electricity, but an entirely new source of electricity; that the convulsions of the frog's legs were due to electricity produced by the *mere contact of dissimilar metals*. He found that two different metals were essential to the successful performance of the experiment with the frog's legs, and he attributed the appearance of electricity to the disturbance of the electric equilibrium brought about by their contact; and he enunciated the general proposition that, whenever two different metals are placed in contact, one will become positively and the other negatively charged. This was the first statement of what came to be known as the "contact theory" of the voltaic cell. When, however, the chemical action of the voltaic current was studied what is known as the "chemical theory" was advocated by many, who believed the seat of the electromotive force of the cell was in the chemical affinity existing between its elements. The conflict between the adherents of these two hypotheses has continued down to the present day; and the conclusion of the most competent writers is that the real seat of the electromotive force of a voltaic battery is not yet known, though the chemical theory has undoubtedly come to be the more generally accepted.

The result of Volta's study of the phenomena presented by Galvani's experiments was the invention of what is, probably, the best known of all electrical instruments, the Voltaic battery, or "pile." It was the direct outgrowth of his reflections upon his "Contact theory." Believing that electrical separation takes place when two dissimilar metals come in contact he argued that the effect of a single pair should be magnified by increasing the number. Volta made his discovery public in a letter to the Royal Society, which was read before that body June 26, 1800. After reviewing some minor experiments and the results obtained, he said: "The principal of these results, which includes nearly all the others, is the construction of an apparatus which resembles, so far as its effects are concerned, that is by the commotion which it is capable of making one feel in the arms, etc., the Leyden batteries, and still more the fully-charged electric batteries. It acts, however, without ceasing, and its charge re-establishes itself after each explosion. It operates, in a word, by an indestructible charge, by a perpetual action or impulse on the electric fluid. I will here give you a description of this apparatus. I obtain several dozen small round plates or disks of copper, brass, or better of silver, an inch in diameter, more or less; for example coins, and an equal number of plates of tin, or what is still better of zinc, of the same shape and size, approximately, having care only that we can conveniently arrange them one over the other in the form of a column. I prepare besides a sufficiently great number of disks of card-board, or cloth, or some other spongy material, capable of imbibing and retaining considerable water or other liquid; for it is necessary for the success of the experiment that they should be well moistened. Having these pieces conveniently arranged and in good condition, that is to say the metal disks clean and dry and the non-metallic disks sufficiently moistened with water, or what is still better, salt water; they are then lightly pressed in order to prevent the liquid from running out. I have only to arrange them as desired, and this arrangement is simple and easy. I place on a table or other base one of the metallic plates, for example, one of silver; on this first, I then place a second of zinc; on this, second I place a moistened disk; then another plate of

silver, followed immediately by another of zinc, to which I can make succeed a moistened disk. I then continue in the same manner, coupling a plate of silver with one of zinc, and always in the same direction; that is to say, always the silver above, the zinc below, or *vice versa*, according as I have commenced, interposing between each two of these disks a moistened disk." The separate or alternating plates or disks are firmly pressed together and placed inside a suitable frame. This instrument was called the Voltaic pile, from the fact that the plates were thus piled on one another. It was also called a battery from the similarity of the arrangement, from an electrical point of view, to the Leyden-jar battery. The Voltaic battery, however, possesses the power of continually recharging itself on being discharged, and thus producing a continual discharge, flow, or current of electricity so long as certain necessary conditions are preserved. Volta later modified the form of his apparatus by placing the two dissimilar metals in cups of water and then joining them together by metallic conductors, thus putting his battery in a shape which it has retained, practically, to the present day.

The early nineteenth century is marked by the appearance in the scientific world of an Englishman destined to take the foremost place among his fellow-workers, Humphrey Davy. Appointed experimental chemist of the Royal Institution, London, in 1801, he immediately began a series of splendid discoveries which made the Institution, founded a short time before by Count Rumford, famous, established his own reputation, and made him more widely known than any other scientist of his age. Davy studied the "pile" in its theory and operation, but rather with a view to its use in chemical experiments than electrical, and early saw in it a means of producing decomposition. After extensive experimentation he attacked the so-called "fixed alkalies," whose composition was unknown, and soon had discovered and produced the metal bases of potash, sodium, barium, strontium, calcium, and magnesium. The effecting of these decompositions marks an epoch in the history of physical science. Of so much importance was it that Davy's experiments were repeated and advanced upon by the most eminent chemists of the day, with the result that for twenty years almost the sole use of the electric current was for purposes of decomposition.

During previous experimentation the heating power of electricity had been noticed, but not much attention had been given to this phase of the subject. It early interested Davy, however, and it is affirmed that he produced the electric light from carbon as early as 1802. So remarkable were the results that he achieved with his small battery of two hundred and fifty cells, that the enthusiasm of patrons of science enabled him to continue his research with the use of one of the most powerful batteries ever constructed, which

HUMPHREY DAVY.

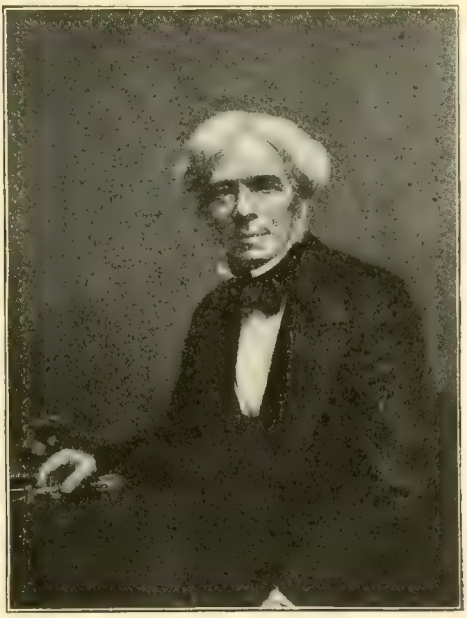
was erected in the Royal Institution and consisted of two thousand cells, with a total surface of one hundred and twenty-eight thousand square inches. The metals of this battery were copper and zinc, and the liquid was a mixture of water and

nitric and sulphuric acids. Before the members of the Royal Institution, in 1810, he made the first production and exhibition of the electric current and the electric light on a large scale. This momentous exhibition was described by Davy as follows: "When pieces of charcoal about an inch long and one-sixth of an inch in diameter were brought near each other (within the thirtieth or fortieth of an inch) a bright spark was produced, and more than half the volume of the charcoal became ignited to whiteness; and, by withdrawing the points from each other, a constant discharge took place through the heated air, in a space equal to at least four inches, producing a most brilliant ascending arch of light, broad and conical in form in the middle. When any substance was introduced into this arch, it instantly became ignited; platina melted as readily in it as wax in a common candle; quartz, the sapphire, magnesia, lime, all entered into fusion; fragments of diamond and points of charcoal and plumbago rapidly disappeared and seemed to evaporate in it, even when the connection was made in a receiver exhausted by the air pump; but there was no evidence of their having previously undergone fusion." Davy's apparatus consisted essentially of two parts,—the battery, as previously described for the generation of electricity; and the lamp, or carbon rods, for converting the energy of the current into heat and light. Here was the prophesy of the electric light of the twentieth century, though it was to take many years, filled with the labor of many men, to bring it to the present stage of perfection. It does not appear, however, that Davy or others made any special effort to advance upon his achievements in this line for several years; as students of electricity were too much engrossed in the multitude of interesting problems that were constantly presenting themselves for investigation, to consider the practical applications of any of their experimental discoveries.

Ever since the days of Gilbert, who first made any scientific study of the magnet and magnetism, the subjects had received more or less continuous attention, though the brilliant discoveries in electricity and its marvelous applications secured for it the closer observation of all students. It would hardly have been possible, however, that the many close resemblances between the two classes of phenomena should have escaped observation. As Colonel Mendenhall, in his "Century of Electricity," sums the matter up: "Both had been known from the earliest times; both exhibited attraction, both repulsion, and under decidedly similar conditions. In both cases the law of attraction and repulsion was that of inverse squares. But nearly all bodies were known to be capable of electrification, while hardly more than one or two could be magnetized. Electrification could be produced under almost all circumstances, and electricity made to appear where none apparently existed before. Magnetism had to be borrowed; and although the touching or inducing magnet lost none of its power in establishing polarity in a piece of steel; and while it was possible, by proper manipulation and combination, to produce a magnet of greater strength than that used as a source, there was no known process by means of which the condition of magnetization could be created from the beginning." One of the most interesting and fruitful results of all these long years of experimentation, and especially of the work of Rumford, Davy, and their associates, was the rapid development in the minds of the foremost scientific men of the idea of *the unity of the forces of nature*. A marked result of this conviction was the belief in the close relationship between magnetism and electricity, notwithstanding their many apparent differences; and conditions were ripe for one of the epoch making discoveries of the nineteenth century, which fell to the lot of Jean Christian Oersted, Professor of Physics in the University of Copenhagen. Like many others he had become firmly convinced of the unity of the forces of nature, and had often said the relationship between magnetism and electricity

would one day be determined, a consummation he ardently labored and experimented to establish. He was a brilliant lecturer whose class-rooms were crowded; and it was in the midst of one of his lectures, with his students all about him, that an inspiration seized him. A battery of great power was on the table before him, and nearby was a suspended magnetic needle. Telling his hearers what he was about to try, he seized the wire joining the two poles and placed it parallel and over the needle, but not so as to touch it. Instantly the needle swung out of position; and one of the most remarkable discoveries of modern science became an accomplished fact. Oersted at once began to work up the experimental part of his discovery, which he published to the world in 1820.

André Marie Ampère, who was born at Lyons, France, in 1775, early in the eighteenth century was a deeply interested student of physical science in Paris. On the 11th of September, 1820, he learned of Oersted's discovery; and on the 18th of the same month, just a week later, he read a paper before the Academy in which he made public his experiments confirming and extending those of Oersted, and also announcing the immensely important discovery that magnetic effects could be produced from the current without the use of the magnet; that parallel wires through which currents were passing in the same direction attracted each other. He also showed that movable conductors through which electric currents are passing, attracted or repelled other active movable conductors according to the direction in which the currents flowed through both conductors, thus opening up a new branch of electricity called electrodynamics, or that branch of the science which treats of the force which one electric current exerts on another. Considering that all these experiments and deductions and principles were conducted and evolved in just seven days, it is safe to say, in the words of a distinguished electrical student, "that the science has at no other time advanced with such tremendous strides as during that memorable week. On this joint work of Oersted and Ampère the whole structure of modern electricity may be said to rest; and with the establishment of this, its almost ample foundation, their names will ever be inseparably connected."



MICHAEL FARADAY.

The next great discovery of importance was made by Faraday of whom Professor John Tyndall has said: "Take him for all in all, I think it will be conceded that Michael Faraday is the greatest experimental philosopher the world has ever seen." Many before him had endeavored to obtain electricity from magnetism, but without success. Faraday reasoned "that if a wire carrying an electric current acts like a magnet, as Oersted has shown, then such a wire should be able to produce electric currents in conductors placed near it. Moreover, since electric currents produce magnetism, so magnetism on its part should be able to produce electric currents." For some time he was unable to substantiate his position; but on August 29, 1831, he made the discovery and established the truth of his hypothesis. This discovery made possible the dynamo-electric machine, the induction coil, the

electric motor, and the alternating current transformer. The instrument used to secure these great results was extremely simple, consisting only of a disk so mounted that it could be revolved between the poles of an electro-magnet and having the axis of the disk and its edge connected with a galvanometer. When the disk was turned, the needle moved, showing the presence of induced currents. "This was the first dynamo-electric machine, the parent of all that are to-day flooding with light the cities and towns of the civilized world." By his various experiments Faraday, and the Frenchman Arago at about the same time, established the important fact that not only could a current of electricity influence a magnet, but it was also capable of producing magnetism. As Colonel Mendenhall says, "the lodestone as a primary source of magnetism was dethroned, and the cell of Volta crowned in its stead."

A further notable step in advance was the production by W. Sturgeon, in England, of what is generally known as the electro-magnet. His discovery was a

JOSEPH HENRY.

simple one, but of great value; and consisted in the observation of the fact that soft iron remains magnetic while under the influence of magnetizing force, and that it loses its magnetism as soon as it is removed from the influence of this force. Placing a bar of soft iron inside the hollow coil through which an electric current was passing, he found that the strength of magnetism produced was multiplied to an astonishing degree. Moreover, a magnet of this character possessed the valuable property of immediately acquiring its magnetism as soon as the current passed through the coils, and of immediately losing it as soon as such current ceased to pass. Sturgeon proposed the name of electro-magnet for such forms of magnet to distinguish them from the permanent steel magnets.

But though the immense practical value of Sturgeon's discovery was at once recognized, it was also seen that a far greater development of the principle was necessary before it could be of much practical use. At this point one of the most noted of America's scientists becomes the leading actor in the long drama of electrical development. Joseph Henry was born at Albany, N. Y., in 1799, and was educated, as his condition would permit, at the public schools, though his father dying while Henry was still young, he was obliged to earn his own living at an early date. At the age of fifteen he was apprenticed to a watchmaker and silversmith, and became very active in a local dramatic club, where his success in many parts led him to decide upon an actor's life. During an illness, however, he read Dr. Gregory's "Lectures on Experimental Philosophy, Astronomy, and Chemistry," which so interested him that he determined to devote his life to scientific pursuits. Upon his recovery he secured private instruction during the evenings from the teachers of the Albany Academy; and later, after having secured a small sum of money by teaching, he took up a regular course of instruction at the Academy. In 1825 he was appointed an engineer on the survey of a road to run through the state of New York from the Hudson river to Lake Erie; and the following year was made Professor of mathematics at the Albany Academy. He at once began the series of brilliant exper-

iments in electricity which, as has been said, "have linked his name with that of Franklin as one of the two most original investigators in that branch of science that this country has ever produced." In November, 1832, he removed to Princeton, where he had been called to fill the chair of Natural Philosophy at the University. In 1846 he was elected first secretary, and then director, of the new Smithsonian Institution; and the organization, equipment, and development of that great scientific establishment occupied his chief attention until his death. He was later nominated to the chair of Natural Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania, at more than double the salary he was receiving at Washington; and efforts were made to induce him to return to Princeton, in 1853, as president of the College. But "none of these things moved him." He had devoted his life to scientific investigation, and not to money making; and he remained as true to his purpose as the magnet, on which he labored so long and earnestly, is true to the pole. As Professor Simon Newcomb said of him: "He never engaged in an investigation or an enterprise which was to put a dollar into his own pocket, but aimed only at the general good of the world." He was the leading spirit in the establishment of the National Lighthouse system, and a member of the Light House Board from its organization in 1852 until his death. Through his entire career in Washington he acted as confidential adviser to the government on scientific matters, and the composition of commissions for technical purposes was generally referred to him. He died in Washington, in 1878, after a life filled with arduous labor and helpful service; one of the truly great men of whom the public scarcely ever hears, but whose persistent efforts towards the advancement of mankind along all lines make all life richer and fuller, and a nation truly great.

As will be remembered, Oersted discovered that when a wire was stretched over the magnetic needle it was deflected. Very shortly afterward Schweigger, experimenting along the same lines, found that if the wire be bent and brought back under the needle and at the same distance from it, the effect on the needle of the current passing through the wire will be doubled. If another loop around the needle be made its effect will again be multiplied, so that by making many turns of the wire the instrument becomes sensible to currents which are exceedingly feeble. It thus becomes a *galvanoscope,* and is of the greatest value in electrical experiments for the detection of minute currents; while the *galvanometer* was but a step in advance upon the principle of the galvanoscope. Galvanometers are employed for the purpose of measuring the strength of an electric current by the deflection of a magnetic needle. In extremely sensitive galvanometers the number of separate turns of the wire reaches many thousands. Such instruments, however, have a high electric resistance, and are, therefore, suitable only for measuring small currents produced by high electro-motive forces. Frequently, however, when very large currents are to be measured, the galvanometer coil consists of but a single turn of a good conducting wire. When no current is passing through the galvanometer coils its needle, when at rest, occupies a position parallel to the plane of the coil. On the passage of the currents the needle tends to place itself at right angles to the length of the conducting wire of the galvanometer coils. From the amount of its deflection, measured in degrees on a graduated scale over which the needle moves, the strength of the current may be determined.

In his work upon the electric magnet Professor Henry introduced, or started with, the principle suggested by Schweigger. But instead of insulating the iron core by varnishing or otherwise, and winding a single spiral of wire about it, he insulated his wire by covering it with silk, and then made many turns of the wire about the core. Continuing his investigations and experiments without interruption by 1829 he had exhibited electro-magnets possessing greater power than

any before known, and had brought his new method to a high degree of perfection. By 1831 he had constructed a magnet, the iron core of which weighed less than sixty pounds, which was capable of sustaining a ton weight; and later another which carried thirty-six hundred pounds. It was, in fact, the development of Henry's "intensity" magnet which made the electric telegraph a certainty; and in 1831, in a paper published in Professor Silliman's "American Journal," he suggested its use for that purpose. "Neither the electro-magnet of Sturgeon," he says, "nor any electro-magnet ever made previous to my investigation was applicable to transmitting power to a distance." And to demonstrate the fact, he constructed that same year the first electro-magnetic telegraph, transmitting signals through a wire more than a mile in length, and causing a bell to ring at the farther end of the wire.

Few decades have been richer in scientific development in any particular branch, than was that between 1820-1830 in electricity. As Mendenhall has well said: "It will be seen that in the decade following Oersted's discovery the science of electro-magnetism grew with wonderful rapidity. In the beginning the Danish philosopher had shown the existence of a relation between electricity and magnetism of which the world had before been ignorant. Within ten years a ton of weight was sustained by means of a battery less powerful than that which had first enabled him to deflect his delicately suspended needle. The possibility of producing motion and doing work at a distance by means of the newly discovered principle was clearly recognized and distinctly announced by many physicists, and particularly by Joseph Henry. This application of electro-magnetism to the problem of telegraphy was suggested by many, and the ingenious in several countries set themselves at work to accomplish the desired end. In spite of the appearance of many unexpected difficulties, before another decade passed the thing was really done, and through science the world was put in possession of all inventions destined to create a new industry, which, by its influence upon the human race, distinguished the nineteenth century above those that preceded it more than all else."

But before the electric telegraph could be made a commercial possibility another great invention was necessary in addition to that of the electro-magnet; and that was a battery capable of supplying for a practically indefinite time an electric current of approximately constant strength. As we have seen, the magnet had been supplied by the inventive genius of Henry; and in 1836, Professor J. D. Daniells, of London, succeeded in producing a battery which overcame all the evils resulting from chemical action in the cells of previous batteries, and so made certain a current of constant strength to any circuit with which it is connected. This Daniells battery is the parent of all those now in common use, though it has been improved upon and made more effective. But its invention made clear to the watchful eyes of scientists the fact that new fields were then opened for the practical application of the electrical force, and that not the least of these was the invention of an electric telegraph that should be available for long distance communication.

Many interesting and learned works and treatises have been written on the subject of the invention of telegraphy, and the claims of many men have been advanced as its inventors. As has been said previously in this chapter, however, no one person can in any true sense be considered as the originator of the idea nor of its application. For centuries experimenters have made their advanced steps in the science, and a large proportion of them have foreseen a use of the current and some form of conductor for purposes of communication between distant points, and of transmission of power. Many ingenious theories, most of them containing germs of the future development, were advanced by experimenters previous to the nineteenth century, when the only mode

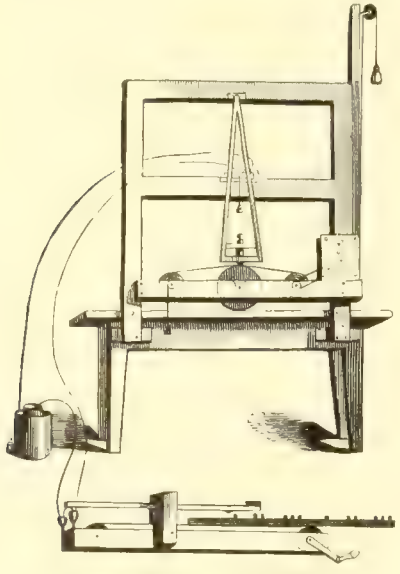
of production of a current was by friction. But a distinct impetus was given to the movement by the invention of the Voltaic cell in the last decade of the eighteenth century; while the discovery of Oersted, in 1820, and that of Sturgeon shortly after, turned the attention of all students toward the communication of intelligence by electricity. It was recognized that none of the many effects that an electric discharge or current is capable of producing lends itself so readily to the transmission of telegraphic signals as do the attractions and repulsions produced by electro-magnets. Oersted himself was early in the field, though the first practical application of his discovery was made by Ampère. The latter's theory was that if the needle could be deflected by an electric current, if this could be accomplished by a wire or wires of great length, and if these movements of the needle could be converted into a code by means of which letters or words could be expressed, then the electro-magnetic telegraph was possible. His scheme was to employ a number of wires to deflect a number of needles. This Needle Telegraph was the first to be developed, and long held the field on the Continent and in England. Its earliest forms required a wire for each needle and as many needles as there were letters in the alphabet and numerals; but the system was later simplified so that but one wire was necessary. Our space forbids any detailed account of the various experiments and successes made by European scientists; and it is the less necessary as the Morse, or American system, easily came into most general use, and has since practically displaced all others.

Samuel F. B. Morse was born at Charlestown, Mass., April 27, 1791, the son of the Rev. Jedediah Morse, whose interest in geography and the text-books on that subject, won for him the title of the "Father of American Geography." Young Morse graduated from Yale College in 1810, where his interest in electricity was first aroused by the lectures of Professor Jeremiah Day, and by those of the elder Silliman on chemistry and galvanism. In 1809 he wrote: "Mr. Day's lectures are very interesting; they are upon electricity; he has given us some very fine experiments, the whole class, taking hold of hands, form the circuit of communication, and we all received the shock apparently at the same moment. I never

S. F. B. MORSE.

took an electric shock before; it felt as if some person struck me a slight blow across the arms." Art, however, claimed his most serious attention. He devoted much time even in college to painting; and his ambition to become a painter soon became fixed. He began his studies under Washington Allston, whom he accompanied to London in 1811, where he was soon after admitted to the Royal Academy. He made rapid progress in his work under Allston and Benjamin West, and in 1813 exhibited in the Royal Academy a colossal work entitled the "Dying Hercules," which was classed by critics as among the twelve best pictures exhibited, while the plaster model that he made to assist him in painting his picture gained the gold medal of the Adelphi Society of Arts. Being obliged to return to the United States in 1815, he opened a studio in Boston; but, while visitors admired his work exhibited, his orders were very few.

In 1818 he went to Charleston, S. C., where his reception was quite different, orders for portraits fairly pouring in upon him, exceeding, it is said, more than one hundred and fifty at one time; and the following winter he could write to his old friend and teacher, Washington Allston, "I am painting from morning till night and have continual applications." Among other orders he received a commission from the city to paint a portrait of James Monroe, then President of the United States, which, when completed, was placed in the city hall of Charleston. In 1823 he removed to New York, where he opened a studio on "Broadway, opposite Trinity Churchyard," and where continued success as a portrait painter attended him. One of his first sitters was the distinguished jurist, Chancellor Kent. Soon after this he painted a picture of Fitz-Greene Halleck, which is now in the



MORSE'S ORIGINAL APPARATUS

Astor Library, and a full-length portrait of Lafayette, for the city of New York. In 1829 he again visited Europe for the purpose of study, remaining abroad about three years, most of the time being spent in Paris and the art centres of Italy. October 1, 1832, Morse sailed from Havre for New York on the packet-ship "Sully," having as a fellow-passenger Dr. Charles T. Jackson, then twenty-seven years of age, and fresh from the laboratories of the most eminent French physicists, where he had made special studies in electricity and magnetism. Jackson later became one of the most noted scientists of his day. Very early in the voyage discussions of electrical questions came up, and Jackson detailed the recent experiments of Ampère with the electro-magnet. There is much uncertainty as to the information that was shared by the travelers on this voyage, the friends of Morse and Jackson taking antagonistic positions. Morse is reported to have asked whether the velocity of electricity was retarded by the length of the wire; to which Jackson replied that "electricity passes instantaneously over any known length of wire." "Then," said Morse, "if the presence of electricity can be made visible in any part of the circuit, I see no reason why intelligence may not be transmitted instantaneously by electricity." The idea is reported to have taken full possession of him, with the result that before leaving the vessel he had devised the "dot-and-dash" alphabet, and the electro-magnetic and chemical recording telegraph essentially as it now exists was planned and drawn, though the working model was not produced until 1835. By 1834 Dr. Jackson had constructed and successfully worked and exhibited among his friends a telegraphic apparatus along the same lines as those Morse followed, and very similar to the model which the latter patented a year later. Priority of invention was always claimed by Jackson and his friends.

Following his return to New York, Morse's trials and disappointments for several years were many. He at once secured a room at the corner of Nassau and Beekman streets, which he used as studio, workshop, bed-chamber, and kitchen. Here he first cut his models, then making the moulds and castings, and giving them finish and polish with the graver's tools. He did not at once make any public exhibition of his achievements,

partially, at least, for the reason set forth in a letter to a friend. "Up to the autumn of 1837," he wrote, "my telegraphic apparatus existed in so rude a form that I felt reluctance to have it seen. My means were very limited, so limited as to preclude the possibility of constructing an apparatus of such mechanical finish as to warrant my success in venturing upon its public exhibition. I had no wish to expose to ridicule the representative of so many hours of laborious thought. Prior to the summer of 1837, at which time Mr. Alfred Vail's attention became attracted to my telegraph, I depended upon my pencil for subsistence. Indeed so straitened were my circumstances that in order to save time to carry out my invention, and to economize my scanty means, I had for months lodged and eaten in my studio, procuring my food in small quantities from some grocery, and preparing it myself. To conceal from my friends the stinted manner in which I lived, I was in the habit of bringing my food to my room in the evenings, and this was my mode of life for many years."

In December, 1837, Morse made a formal appeal to Congress for aid in constructing a line of telegraph from Baltimore to Washington. The House Committee on Commerce, to which the matter was referred, eventually took favorable action on the appeal, but the matter got no further. Chairman Smith of the Committee, however, became interested in the subject, and formed some kind of a partnership with Morse, so that he was enabled to visit Europe in the hope of getting patents there, and exciting an interest in his invention. There he found his rivals, Wheatstone in England and Steinheil in Germany, receiving government support in their work, and his efforts to obtain practical recognition were of no avail, though his apparatus was exhibited under the auspices of the Royal Society of London and the Academy of Sciences of Paris, and he was received with honor by the scientists of each country. In May, 1839, he returned to New York, "without a farthing in my pocket," as he wrote Mr. Smith, "and have to borrow even for my meals; and, even worse, I have incurred a debt of rent by my absence." Then followed the four darkest years of his life. In abject poverty, and in such want that he frequently went entire days without food, he persisted in his appeals to Congress year after year, only to be ridiculed and laughed at by its members. "Morse's Telegraph" was the standing joke of the Committees. At last, however, a bill granting him thirty thousand dollars for the construction of the line between Washington and Baltimore was passed by the House, February 23, 1842. It was, however, held up in the Senate; and on the last day of the session Morse's friends urged him to go to his room, and so spare himself the disappointment which seemed inevitable as a result of the Senate's inaction. But late at night on March 3, the bill was rushed through the Senate; and while Morse was at breakfast the next morning, having no doubt another year of delay and perhaps worse was before him, Miss Ellsworth, daughter of the then Commissioner of Patents, rushed into the room and told him the joyful news. The young lady claimed at once the fulfillment of the inventor's promise that, if the bill was finally passed, the first message should be transmitted to her,—a promise Morse carefully kept, as the first message over the completed line was sent to her, in the memorable words which she herself suggested, "What God hath wrought."

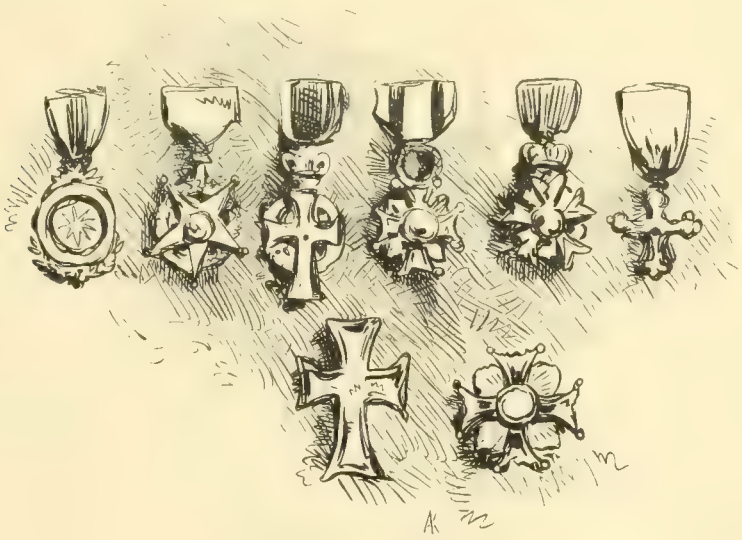
Naturally the weary inventor and suppliant was inspired with new life, and energetic action was at once taken toward beginning the novel undertaking. Unfortunately a mistake was made in the plans at the start, and nearly a year and the bulk of the thirty thousand dollars were wasted in attempts to place the wires underground. The principles of conduction and insulation were not then well enough understood to overcome difficulties this course presented; and at last wires strung on poles were passed between the two cities. On May 24, 1844, the day

chosen for the first public exhibition, Mr. Morse invited Government officials and friends to assemble in the chamber of the United States Supreme Court, while his assistant, Mr. Vail, was in charge at Baltimore. The message "What God hath wrought" was transmitted to Baltimore by Mr. Morse, and at once repeated back by Mr. Vail, and the work was completed. The strip of paper on which this first message was printed was claimed by Governor Seymour of Connecticut, on the ground that Miss Ellsworth was a native of Hartford, and is now preserved in the Hartford Athenæum. Thus was established one of the most beneficent utilities which the inventive genius of man has ever devised for the enlightenment and happiness of mankind,—unspeakably rich not only in its own ministrations but also in those which it portended. Its reception was not, however, hailed with particular delight by those who were to be benefited by its service. It is popularly supposed that the public is ever ready to receive and welcome a meritorious invention; and such as believe in this theory will note with interest the rush to use the Morse telegraph. When the line from Baltimore to Washington was opened to public use, a rate of one cent for four words was established for messages; and the receipts for the first four days reached the astonishing total of one cent! Then a startling increase of twelve cents occurred in one day, and after a little time a maximum of one dollar and thirty cents in one day was reached!

While, as has been said, Morse could not claim the original invention of any scientific principle involved in the telegraph itself, he unquestionably played the most important part in the development and right application of those principles, while his ingenious invention of the method of recording messages had never been equaled. In Europe all investigation and experiment had been directed toward the perfection of the needle system. Morse was awake to the advantages of the electro-magnet and the ease with which it could be made to leave a permanent record of the message. The simple armature with its to-and-fro motion, fitted with a style which marked the long or short lines on a moving slip of paper, and the alphabet composed of these dots and dashes were the evidences of his genius. The value of his system is best measured by the fact that it has already taken precedence over all others in use in the world. Not that it came from the master's hand in a perfected form. While all the essential features of the original system still hold the field many important modifications have been introduced in modern instruments and methods. Not the least interesting of these is the fact that the register for printing the signals as they were received has fallen into disuse. Early operators found that it was not only possible to read from the sound of the armature as it moved from side to side, but also that it was a vastly more expeditious and convenient method than reading from a printed slip, so that the ear has become the receiving instrument instead of the eye.

No language can measure the beneficent influence of this great achievement of the American inventor,—an achievement illustrative not only of the quick wit and active intelligence of the American mind, but also of the indomitable perseverance and bull-dog tenacity with which one holds to and presses to maturity and acceptance an idea or purpose that has once taken possession of his mind. Reference has been made to the intense mental and physical sufferings through which Morse passed for ten years. But these did not end with the completion, and established success, of the line between Washington and Baltimore. He offered his line to the United States Government for one hundred thousand dollars, which was declined. The patents and the Morse system then became the property of a joint-stock company called the Magnetic Telegraph Company. Gradually the use of the telegraph was spread all over the United States, though in the face of stubborn opposition. Morse's patents were violated and assailed, his honor and

integrity impeached, and for a time rival companies destroyed all the profits from the enterprise. But after a series of vexatious lawsuits his rights were established by the United States Supreme Court. As early as 1869 the following statement was made by the Western Union Company, the most important corporation in its line in the world: "Nearly all the machinery employed by this Company belongs to the Morse system. This telegraph is now used almost exclusively everywhere, and the time will probably never come when it will cease to be the leading system of the world. Of more than a hundred devices that have been made to supersede it, not one has succeeded in accomplishing its purpose, and it is used at the present time upon more than ninety-five per cent of all the telegraph lines in existence."



ORDERS CONFERRED UPON MORSE.

After his many years of self-denial and disheartening delays and ridicule, fortune at last smiled upon Morse and his later years were passed in comfort, while new honors were continually heaped upon him. About 1850 he was in a position to purchase an estate on the Hudson, near Poughkeepsie, where he dispensed a most liberal hospitality, entertaining distinguished artists, and notable visitors to the United States. Later he purchased a home in Twenty-second street, New York city, where his winters were passed until his death in 1872; after which a tablet of stone was set into the house with the inscription "In this house S. F. B. Morse lived for many years, and died." After his success had been established foreign potentates vied with each other in conferring honors and orders upon him. At the instance of Napoleon III. representatives from France, Austria, Sweden, Russia, Sardinia, The Netherlands, Turkey, Holland, the Papal States, and Tuscany met in Paris, in 1858, to decide upon a collective testimonial to the distinguished American inventor, and as a result of their deliberations voted him a gift of four hundred thousand francs. On his return from abroad in 1868 he received an invitation to a banquet from his fellow citizens which read: "Many of your fellow countrymen and numerous friends desire to give a definite expression of the fact that this country is in full accord with European nations in acknowledging your title to the position of the father of the modern telegraph, and at the same time in a fitting manner to welcome you to your home." A banquet was given on December 30, 1868, and was presided over by Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. In 1871 he was further

honored by the erection in Central Park of a bronze statue of himself, of heroic size. His last public service was the unveiling of the statue of Benjamin Franklin in Printing House square, January 17, 1872. It was deemed especially fitting he should do this for, as was said in the address: "The one conducted the lightning safely from the sky; the other conducts it beneath the ocean, from continent to continent. The one tamed the lightning, the other makes it minister to human wants and human progress."

During the early years of the commercial use of the telegraph its business increased, after being once well established, with wonderful rapidity. At that time only one message could be sent over a wire at one time. The best telegraph operators can hardly keep up a speed of over fifty words a minute for a half-hour. The Morse alphabet averages three signals for each letter, and the average length of a word is about six letters. Fifty words, therefore, would mean about nine hundred signals, or fifteen each second; and the strain upon an operator of sending or noting so many signals for even a brief period is most wearing. Although the idea was at first ridiculed, it was not long before it was asserted that two messages could be sent in opposite directions over the same line, at the same time; and in 1872, Mr. Joseph B. Stearns, of Boston, devised a system that brought the simultaneous transmission, or duplex telegraphy as he called it, into common use. But the inventive genius never rests. It was but a short time before it was shown that four messages, two in each direction, could be sent over the same wire at the same time; and the quadruple system succeeded to the duplex. Then followed the Multiplex system. As of all developments there have been many exhibitors in the field, so there have been of this last. One of the best known is the "Synchronous System," invented by Delany, by which the division of a single telegraph line has been carried so far as to successfully establish thirty-six separate divisions of the line, so that thirty-six separate messages may be sent over it, in each direction, at the same time. This service would require thirty-six operators to transmit and the same number to receive at each end of the line, or one hundred and forty-four in all. But at the ordinary rate of speed at which an expert operator can transmit Morse characters it has been found most practicable to limit the division of the line to the establishment of six separate Morse circuits in each direction.

The transmission of messages over long distances on land having been proved feasible and profitable the question naturally arose, "Why not under the sea?" As early as 1842 Morse had experimented with a cable between Castle Garden and Governor's island in New York harbor, with results that proved clearly the practicability of such undertaking; and he had repeatedly expressed his conviction that a "telegraphic communication might, with certainty, be established across the Atlantic Ocean." As early as 1839 submarine cables were tried; but as the insulating material used consisted simply of cotton or hemp, coated with asphaltum or tar, such wires could be capable of transmitting signals for a short time only. Nor were any of the many attempts to establish such service successful until Gutta-percha was used as an insulating material. The first submarine wire properly insulated, used in the United States, was laid under the Hudson river between Jersey City and New York, in 1848. The wire was, however, given no protective covering and so quickly became useless. The first strictly submarine cable was laid under the English Channel between Dover and Calais in 1850; but as it was also unprotected, consisting of a single strand of copper wire covered with gutta-percha, it worked but one day. But the following year another was laid, the conductors being protected by an armor of heavy wires on the outside, which was successful. Before relating the history of such cables, it will be well to get a clear idea of just what a submarine cable, such as is laid under the ocean consists of. This information Dr. E. J. Houston has

stated very clearly in his interesting work entitled, "Electricity in Every-day Life." "The submarine cable," he says, "consists of a central conductor, formed of a number of strands of copper wire, and insulated by gutta-percha applied in several sucessive layers. On the outside of the gutta-percha is placed a layer of hemp, known technically as the bedding. This is provided for receiving the outer, or protective, envelope, generally formed of iron wires, and called the armor, or shield. A submarine cable, therefore, consists of four distinct parts: viz., the central conducting wire, or core; the insulating material surrounding such core; the bedding of hemp; and, finally, the protective envelope. The core is now invariably made of several strands, it being considered that there is less danger of entire continuity being lost by an accident to the cable. The size of the core will depend on the length of the cable and the speed with which the messages are to be transmitted through it,—a small long core having a much lower speed, or rate of transmission than a short, thick core. The submarine cables consist of two distinct parts; the part which is to be laid in deep water of the ocean, which is called the deep-sea cable; and the part to lie in the water nearer shore, called the shore-end cable. Since the latter is exposed to the action of the waves on a rocky bottom, which might injure the cover by abrasion, it is necessary to provide for this part of the cable a heavier sheathing or armor than for the deep-sea cable. This difference in weight may be nearly six and a half times greater in the case of the shore-end cable, the weight of each in the case of one particular cable being twelve tons to the nautical mile for the shore-end and one and four-fifths tons to the nautical mile for the deep-sea part of the cable." Of the cable of 1857, which was lost after about five hundred miles had been paid out, Sir William Thompson wrote: "As much iron as would make a cube of twenty feet side was drawn into wire long enough to extend from the earth to the moon, and bind several times around each globe. This wire was made into one hundred and twenty-six lengths of twenty-five hundred miles each, and spun into eighteen strands of seven wires each. A single strand of seven copper wires of the same length, weighing in all one hundred and ten grains per foot, was three times coated with gutta-percha, to an entire outer thickness of two-fifths of an inch; and this was served outside with two hundred and forty tons of tarred yarn, and then laid over with the eighteen strands of iron wire in long, contiguous spirals and passed through a bath of melted pitch."

There is, of course, no essential principle implied in cable telegraphy that is not found in land systems. So far as the sending of messages was concerned the only questions that were raised were whether communication could be established through a cable long enough to cross the Atlantic Ocean; and whether any satisfactory material could be found for insulating the wires. In cables that had been previously laid across bays or channels the wires were simply covered with hemp or cotton, which was saturated with tar, asphaltum, or other insulating materials then known. But these soon lost their insulation, frequently after only a day or two of exposure. Experiments were constantly being made to find a more perfect insulating material, but without effect, until in 1842 an English surgeon stationed at Singapore, who had been experimenting upon the properties of a new substance, afterward known as gutta-percha, forwarded specimens of the material to the Society of Arts in London, at the same time recommending it as useful in making splints and other surgical appliances. It was soon discovered that one of its most striking properties was its high insulating powers; and its value as a covering for submarine conductors was quickly realized. But for the timely discovery of this most useful material, the use of submarine cables must have been postponed for many years.

About 1853 Cyrus W. Field, who had recently retired from active business,

though but thirty-four years of age, became much interested in a proposition to lay an Atlantic cable that should unite the new and the old world; and it is to his indefatigable energy and perseverance that the world owes the success of the

CYRUS W. FIELD.

submarine cable, as it was to Morse's persistent endeavor that it owes the most perfected system of telegraphy. As a business man, Mr. Field first consulted the highest authorities as to the practicability of the scheme. Morse assured him that it was entirely possible to establish telegraphic communication through cables of the required length; and Lieutenant Maury, then the highest authority on oceanology, advised him as to the physical conditions that would probably be encountered. In a letter to Mr. Field, Maury pointed out the fact that the greater part of the distance between Newfoundland and Ireland, about sixteen hundred miles, was occupied by a plateau eminently suited to receive a cable. Moreover the surface of this plateau is not covered with rocks of granite, but with a fine ooze made up of countless microscopic shells. Continuing, Maury says: "I do not pretend to consider the question as to the possibility of finding a time calm enough, a sea smooth enough, a wire long enough, a ship big enough to lay a coil of wire sixteen hundred miles in length; though I have no fear but that the enterprise and ingenuity of the age, whenever called on with these problems, will be ready with a satisfactory and practical solution of them. I simply address myself at this time to the question in so far as the bottom of the sea is concerned; and as far as that goes, the greatest practical difficulties will, I apprehend, be found after reaching soundings at either end of the line, and not in the deep sea. . . . A wire laid across from either Newfoundland or Labrador will pass to the north of the Grand Banks, and rest on that beautiful plateau to which I have alluded, and where the waters of the sea appear to be as quiet and as completely at rest as at the bottom of a mill-pond."

With these assurances Mr. Field at once began the task of organizing a company, and securing capital for the great undertaking; and by 1857 he had so far advanced the project that the necessary cable was manufactured and stowed in the holds of two ships, one the *Niagara*, an American, the other, the *Agamemnon*, an English vessel. The vessels met in Valencia Bay, Ireland, on August 5, 1857, and it was decided that the *Niagara* should lay the first half, from Ireland to mid-ocean, when the ends should be spliced and the *Agamemnon* lay the remaining half. On August 11, when about four hundred miles from the Irish coast, the cable suddenly parted and dropped into the deep sea; and this effort was abandoned. Nothing daunted, however, by this great loss and disappointment, the Company determined to increase its capital stock and continue the work; with the result that the same vessels were again equipped and started upon their work. This time, however, it was decided to meet in mid-ocean, splice the cable ends, and then each vessel pay out, one going to the east and the other to the west. All went well until the *Agamemnon* had laid about two hundred miles of cable, when it was found that the cable had again parted, only about twenty feet from the stern of the vessel. The cable was cut from the stern of the *Niagara*, and both vessels proceeded gloomily on their return. Again American enterprise and pluck prevailed, in the person of Mr. Field; and money was secured for a third

trial. On July 29, 1858, the same vessels, with the necessary amount of new cable, again met in mid-ocean, spliced the cable ends, and began paying out, sailing in opposite directions. This time success crowned the efforts of the persistent promoters of the enterprise, the *Niagara* reaching Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, August 5, 1858, and the *Agamemnon* arriving in Valencia Bay at about the same time. Naturally the successful completion of the great enterprise was heralded on both continents with exultant joy. Everywhere the wildest enthusiasm prevailed. Public meetings and illuminations were the order of the day. Congratulatory cablegrams were at once exchanged between the two governments,—the first message being sent by Queen Victoria and the second by President Buchanan. Steadily the public interest increased, and no praise was too great for Mr. Field and his fellow workers. When the celebrations were at their height, however, after seven hundred and thirty messages had been sent, with a total of over ten thousand words, the cable utterly failed, and had to be abandoned, at a loss of upwards of one and a quarter million dollars.

There was at once a frightful revulsion of popular sentiment. Instead of the honors and praises which had been showered upon Mr. Field, he was denounced in the severest terms, his honor and integrity questioned, and it was openly and frequently charged that the whole affair was a stock-jobbing scheme, many going so far as to declare that there had never been any messages sent across or under the ocean. Naturally the whole matter had to lie in abeyance for a time; but Mr. Field was not so disheartened as to be diverted from his purpose. He was simply more determined that a cable should be successfully laid and operated. During the years immediately following the lamentable failure of 1858, he made several trips across the ocean to interest English capital in the enterprise, as the approach of the civil war and the general skepticism regarding the whole proposition made it impossible to gain material support in this country. Meanwhile the British Board of Trade had appointed a Committee, made up of the most eminent electrical engineers of that country, to investigate the whole proposition. Fortunately their report was most favorable. By 1865 the determined efforts of Mr. Field had been so far successful, that on July 15 of that year the *Great Eastern* sailed from Valencia Bay, with a complete outfit of cable embodying the latest improvements that could be suggested, which she began paying out. All went comparatively well until eleven hundred and eighty-six miles had been paid out when a serious fault occurred. In the effort to take a portion of the sunken cable aboard ship, the cable broke and sunk to the bottom of the ocean. Efforts were made to grapple for it, and it was caught several times, and once even raised in sight above the water when it again fell and was lost. And again the enterprise had failed, at a total loss of something like three million dollars. But it was at once decided to make another attempt to lay a new cable from shore to shore, and to pick up and complete the laying of the cable of 1865. Again the *Great Eastern* was fitted out with new cable which was successfully laid from shore to shore; and on July 27, 1866, telegraphic communication was established between the two continents which has since been maintained without interruption. The cable of 1865 was then recovered from the bed of the ocean, successfully spliced, and connected with the Newfoundland shore, thus making available two serviceable cables between England and America. And the great work was completed, a monument to the untiring zeal, indomitable faith, and invincible pluck of one man. It is needless to speak of the value of the service thus rendered to the world, which cannot be measured even in imagination. All men of every race and nation have been brought into close relations by ocean cables, and distance has been annihilated. As the great Englishman, John Bright, said of Mr. Field: "He is the Columbus of modern times,

who, by his cable, has moored the new world alongside the old." Within the brief space of a half century ocean cables have been laid in all parts of the world, and the globe may now be girdled not in forty days, but in less than a quarter of an hour. A recent publication of the Bureau of Statistics of the United States Treasury Department contained the following information upon this subject. "The submarine telegraphs of the world number 1750. Their aggregate length is nearly 200,000 miles. Their total cost is estimated at $275,000,000; and the number of messages annually transmitted over them at more than 6,000,000. All the grand divisions of the earth are now connected by their wires, and from country to country, and island to island, the thoughts and words of mankind are instantaneously transmitted. Beneath all oceans the universal language which this system has created flows uninterruptedly, and man talks as face to face with his fellowman at the antipodes. Darkest Africa now converses daily with enlightened Europe or America, and the great events of the morning are known in the evening throughout the inhabited world. Adding to the submarine lines the land-telegraphic system by which they are connected and through which they bring interior points of the various continents into instantaneous communication, the total length of telegraph lines of the world is 1,180,000 miles; the length of their single wires or conductors is over 3,800,000 miles; and the total number of messages annually sent over them about 400,000,000, or an average of more than 1,000,000 messages each day."

The most useful of all the electrical devices, however, inasmuch as it touches the personal or home life of so many people, is the Telephone; and it is a happy illustration of the fact that the enthusiastic experimenters in electricity, though the definite object of their study and work may be established by another, do not, therefore, discontinue their experimentation and investigation, but simply turn it in other directions and then prosecute their researches along the new lines as earnestly as they had previously followed the old. All the leading claimants for priority of invention of the Telephone had originally become interested in the subject through an ambition to work out a successful system of telegraphy; and, a satisfactory system having been developed by others, they simply changed the course of their thought, or its object, and continued to experiment. "There is, probably," says Professor Houston, "not a single piece of electric apparatus that contains so many elements of the marvelous as does the articulating or speaking telephone. It is marvelous in the simplicity of its construction; it is marvelous in its operation, combining as it does a dynamo-generator driven by the voice of the speaker, and an electro-magnetic motor that so acts as to exactly reproduce the spoken words, and all this with apparatus of the simplest type; finally it is marvelous in the simplicity of its action, being of such simple character that it requires absolutely no training or skill for its use. All that one is required to do is to speak or to listen. It is able to transmit any language that is spoken, no matter what may be the character of its phonetic elements, provided a fairly clear articulate speech is employed. It will operate as well for an uncultured savage as it will for the most accomplished electric engineer." So familiar have we of to-day become with the instrument, so much a part of the natural and necessary furniture of the home or office does it seem, that it is difficult to realize that thirty years ago it was just being installed in the larger cities; and still more difficult to conceive how we ever "lived, moved, and had our being" without it. Like the greater part of such discoveries, it is difficult to determine where or to whom the honor of original invention belongs. As early as 1837, Dr. Charles Page, of Salem, Mass., had proved that a bar of iron could be made to emit sounds when rapidly magnetized and demagnetized, and that the pitch of the sound depended on the rapidity with which the

changes were made. Following the lines of Page's experiments, whose receiver he is said to have used, Philip Reiss, in Germany, produced an instrument in 1860, which he called a Telephone, and which it is generally claimed by scientists did transmit articulate speech; and the majority of students are disposed to award him the honor of priority of invention. But however that may be, the simple fact is that Alexander Graham Bell was the first to establish his claims as the inventor of the Telephone, which have been maintained until the present time, and recognized and established by the Supreme Court of the United States. Bell had for several years been a student of vocalization, and had introduced into this country his father's system of instruction for deaf-mutes, later becoming a professor of vocal physiology in Boston University. He was for years interested in the subject of transmission of sound by electricity, and had devised many forms of apparatus to accomplish this end. His application for a patent was filed at Washington, February 14, 1876; and a few hours later, on the same day, Elisha Gray, who was to prove Bell's most active competitor, made application for a patent on a similar device. Bell exhibited a working model of his telephone at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, in 1876, which, though very imperfect, proved that the problem of "talking by telegraph" had been solved. Improvements were, however, very rapidly made so that the first line for commercial purposes was set up in 1877. The Telephone is too common an instrument, and in too general use, to need any description, though its principles may not be understood. As has been said by a leading electrical writer, "Nothing like it in *simplicity of construction, combined with complexity of operation,* is to be found in any other human contrivance." It is an interesting combination of a dynamo-electric machine and a motor, the two being identical in construction; and its working is based upon the fact that when sound is produced, energy is expended in the operation. "When a word is spoken, the energy necessary to its utterance first appears as a series of waves of compression and reaction in the air, where most of it is finally transformed into heat." Solid bodies may be made to vibrate by the sound of the human voice, and by a suitable contrivance it may be made to do work in running a machine, though always, of course, of little magnitude. "In the telephone," says Professor Mendenhall, "the sound of the voice is made to do work; this is converted into the energy of an electric current; and this, in turn, is reconverted into mechanical energy, resulting in sound." The original Bell Telephone consisted of a long wooden or ebonite handle, down the centre of which ran a permanent bar-magnet, having at one end a small coil of fine insulated wire wound about it. The ends of the wire coil are led through the handles

Stereograph Copyrighted 1903 by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL.

to two terminals for connection with the line wires. Very near the wire-wound pole of the magnet is firmly fixed by its edges a thin circular iron plate, covered by a funnel-shaped mouth piece. When at rest the iron plate is concave, its centre being

attracted toward the pole of the magnet. When one speaks into the mouthpiece the sound waves agitate the plate, causing its centre to move inwards and outwards. These movements of the plate affect the magnetism of the magnet, exciting electric currents of varying strength in the wire coil. These currents passing through the line wires to a similar telephone excite the coil in it, and in turn affect the magnetism of the distant magnet which attracts or releases the plate near its pole, causing undulations of the air exactly resembling those set up by the speaker's words. Various improvements have, of course, been introduced since Bell's first telephone was perfected, especially in the way of transmitting instruments, by means of which variations of current strength of much greater intensity are transmitted over the line, yet retaining the characteristics necessary for the reproduction of speech. In 1878, an Englishman, Professor Hughes, discovered that if a piece of carbon is allowed to rest lightly upon another, and an electric current is passed from one to the other in a circuit in which there is a Bell telephone receiver, the latter will respond to the faintest sounds in the vicinity of the carbons. This arrangement is called a "microphone," which has now become an important feature in the successful telephone. Mr. Edison later invented a transmitter in which a small disk or button of soft carbon, prepared from lamp-black, is used for the same ends as achieved by the microphone. Our space does not admit of even a reference to the many improvements of this wonderful little instrument; and, fortunately, they are too well known and understood to make such reference necessary. No other of all the applications of the electric force has done so much to make the life of the mass of men and women happier and more comfortable. It is not alone that the greater part of the business of life can be conducted without leaving one's office or home, thus avoiding an enormous amount of travel, and saving a vast amount of time; but for social purposes the telephone is the most beneficent of inventions. The amount of comfort and cheer that is brought into the rooms and the lives of the invalids and the great community of the "shut-in" by this ever handy communicator with the friends without, can never be estimated. Since the perfecting of the long distance service, too, communities hitherto isolated have been brought into close touch with the active world from which they were separated. In mining camps high up in the mountains of the far West, a hundred or more miles, perhaps, from any settled community, the telephone keeps alive the social sentiment and breaks the monotony of camp life. The great farms and ranches of the West, too, where the utter desolation and weariness of the life not infrequently made women insane, are now very generally connected with the civilized life from which they were shut off. Where less than a decade ago no human being other than members of one's family might be seen for week after week, now the lonely people can take down the receiver and have a long talk with friends at a distance, which tends to annihilate space, and to bring them in reality within the range of social and civilized life. In the use of the telephone the United States has far out-run any other nation. According to the census of 1900 there were 14,474,777 "homes" in the United States, and 16,239,797 families. On January 1, 1908, the number of instruments belonging to the Bell Telephone Company in the hands of licensees was 7,544,105; and the number belonging to independent companies was 3,500,000, making a total of 11,044,105 telephones in use in the country; so that, making allowance for duplication of instruments in business offices and for other special uses, it would seem safe to affirm that at least every other family throughout the entire United States has availed itself of the unlimited and beneficent service of this tireless servant of humanity. According to the latest reports the number of telephone messages per annum in the United States is 9,000,000,000; in Great Britain and Ireland, 723,246,388; in Germany,

1,207,446,753; and in France, 205,685,374, showing very clearly how much more generally the telephone is used in this than in the other great countries of the world.

In leaving the field of Telegraphy and Telephony for that of electric lighting, heating, and power, we enter a different territory, with its own peculiar adaptation of electrical principles and devices. Here the dynamo and the motor become the most effective agents, the voltaic battery not being able to produce the currents needed unless built upon a scale that would be too costly for commercial purposes. The dynamo is a mechanically driven machine, for which a water wheel, or, more commonly, a steam engine furnishes the power. Its general construction consists of an armature, or core of iron wound with copper wires. When this armature is rotated close to the poles of an electro-magnet by a steam engine, a current is set up. This armature is whirled around its axis at a rate of from 350 revolutions per minute in the giant dynamos of Edison, to 3,000 or even 4,000 revolutions in small laboratory machines. By fixing on the same axle or shaft as that of the armature a commutator, or device for rectifying the current, and allowing copper brushes to rest lightly on this rotating commutator, and connecting wires with the brushes, a direct current may be led off, and the greater part of the energy received from the steam engine may be delivered to a motor at a distant point, or to a light circuit, or to heating apparatus, or applied to any purpose for which the current is useful. Two forms of current may be produced by the dynamo,—the direct, where the machine is supplied with a commutator,—or an alternating current. The latter is a current which is turned in one direction and then in the opposite, alternating commonly at the rate of 7,200 times a minute, while the direct current acts only in one direction. When two or three alternating currents are combined and transmitted to a distance on wires the combination produces what is known as a di-phase, tri-phase or, in general, a polyphase current. Alternating currents, by the use of transformers for raising or lowering their pressure, can be delivered very considerable distances at slight loss, whereas the direct current is limited in quantity, pressure, and distance. This fact, that the alternating current can be sent to greater distances than the direct, has led to great expansion of territory by users of alternating current dynamos, until practically all companies have adopted the same general plan of generating current with alternators of the polyphase type at central stations, and transmitting it at high pressure to substations, from which it is sent out under lower pressure, or used to charge batteries for storage.

Not the least interesting of these improved processes for the transmission of electrical force is its transfer to long distant points. In such cases tri-phase currents of very high pressure are sent out from the central station. At the receiving end of the line "step-down transformers" are connected, one to each phase, so as to lower the pressure for use in an apparatus called a rotary-converter, which is employed to change the alternating currents to the direct currents required for local service at the far distant points. A marked illustration of this process is the generation of power at the water falls in the Sierra Nevada mountains of Eastern California, whence it is transmitted more than two hundred miles to supply the city of San Francisco with light and power. Spokane, Washington, has a most remarkable water power in the very heart of the city. Within a distance of fifteen hundred feet the Spokane river falls more than five hundred feet, over a series of steep rapids and two falls, the lower of which is nearly one hundred feet. At this lower fall is a central electric power station from which all the power is transmitted to the mountains of Northern Idaho, more than one hundred miles, to work the famous Coeur d'Alene mines,—which produce more than half the lead used in the United States,—light all the towns and camps of the district, etc. This central station also supplies the power for the electric trolley lines of the city, and

for a line running down the eastern part of the state to Colfax and Moscow, Idaho, the entire circuit covering about three hundred miles.

This electric transmission of energy is based on the fact that when an electric current, generated by an ordinary dynamo-electric machine, is passed through the circuit of a similar dynamo, this latter is caused to rotate, becoming an electro-motor. In other words, the electric energy of the first dynamo is converted into mechanical energy by the second, so that the second dynamo can be employed to drive the machinery, just as could a steam engine or water wheel. In the case of the electric transmission of energy, however, the distance between the generator and the motor may vary from short distances to several hundred miles, as has been shown. "The remarkably high efficiency and low cost of the electric motor," says Dr. Houston; "the readiness with which it can be controlled both as regards speed and power; the fact that it can be automatically made to take from the line wires or conductors only the amount of current required for the work; together with the numerous mechanical advantages it possesses, have enabled electric transmission successfully to compete with other methods of transmission, not only at long distances, but have even enabled it to successfully compete with transmission by belt shafting and pulleys in manufactories where the electrical generator is situated in the same building." Since the electric transmission of power is only rendered possible by the existence of the electric motor, it is apparent what an important factor this machine has become in the development of the uses of electricity. It is not, in fact, a new device, as it was used in a small way for propelling boats as early as 1830. But the batteries of that day were too expensive to admit of any extended use of electricity as a motive power. It was the discovery that a reversed motor became a dynamo, and the perfecting of the dynamo, that made the present development possible. While the fact that the same machine is capable of acting as a generator and a motor was known as early as 1840, it was not until the Vienna Universal Exposition of 1873 that the knowledge became general. During this exposition a Gramme dynamo electric machine was driven as a motor by means of the current produced by a second Gramme dynamo. Though a considerable showing of electric motors was made at the Electrical Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1884, they came into practical use very slowly. From the census of 1890 it appeared that only four per cent of the manufacturing power used in this country was electrical. During the decade between 1890 and 1900, however, everything changed, and the day of electricity dawned, the increased use of dynamos during the ten years being about nineteen hundred per cent. The census of 1900 showed that during the period covered by it, the railroads alone installed about two million horse power of motors on cars, and about one million of horse power of dynamos to run them; while the increase has been even more than proportionally great during the years since that census was taken.

It is a far reach from the rush-light and pine knot to the arc and incandescent light. First the rush-light, then the candle, then the kerosene lamp, improved by the Argand burner, then coal gas with the later improvement of the Welsbach burner, and then the brilliant lights of to-day, which almost rival the sunlight. The incandescent light takes its name from the red-hot carbon filament inclosed in the glass bulb from which air has been exhausted. The basic principle of this form of lighting is the fact that electricity heats a poor conductor. The thread-like filament in the glass bulb is of some form of carbon, or carbonized material; and when the key is turned and a current admitted to the filament its poor conducting qualities make the passage of the electric current so difficult that the filament becomes red-hot instantly. One of the great difficulties in developing the light has been to secure proper material for the filaments. Until Edison took the

matter up no such success had been achieved as would tend to give the light commercial value. His first efforts were with various forms of platinum and other metallic wires. He made his platinum conductors in the shape of spirals because, as is well known, the loss of heat is much less in the form of a close spiral than with the same length of straight wire. But this was not a success as the life of the lamps was very short when sufficient current was sent through the spirals to produce high incandescence. In 1879 he made his first horseshoe carbons of carbonized paper, which it was believed then solved the electric light problem. But the life of this lamp also proved very brief, as the paper carbon was rapidly destroyed. In 1880 he took out a patent for the use of bamboo fibres as filaments. In the production of the delicate thread the bamboo was cut into strips, which were then carbonized by prolonged exposure to heat while out of contact with the air. The straight filament was then bent into a horseshoe form and placed inside a glass globe containing a vacuum. But even these lamps burned out quickly and it was feared by many scientists that the difficulty could not be so overcome as to make commercial lighting of this class practicable. More attention was, however, then given to the globe, in which a more positive vacuum was created with the result that a lamp was eventually produced with a life under normal conditions of upwards of one thousand hours. The carbons chiefly used to-day are known as squirted, or structureless carbons, which have succeeded metals or carbonized cardboard, or bamboo. As the little filament in the globe of the incandescent lamp is so constantly before the majority of people, it cannot be without interest to know what it is and how it is made, and we quote Dr. Houston on this point. "When ordinary raw cotton is placed in a solution of zinc chloride, a substance obtained by dissolving zinc in hydrochloric acid, the cotton is dissolved, and a sticky, jelly-like mass is obtained. By forcing this material through a small hole in a plate, and leading the thread which comes out into a vessel filled with alcohol, it soon sets or hardens sufficiently to enable it to be handled. When this thread is carefully washed, and wound on a large drum and dried, it produces a material strongly resembling catgut. The dried thread is then cut into suitable lengths and carbonized while out of contact with air, thus producing the carbon filaments."

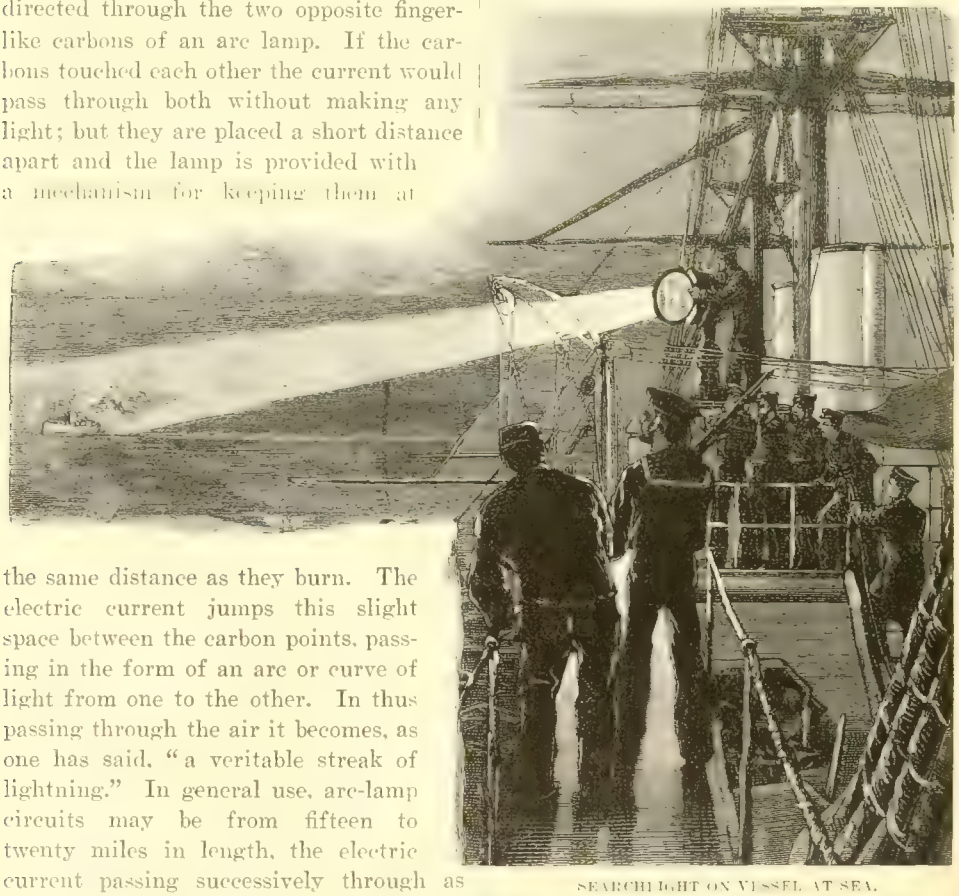
Stereograph Copyrighted 1907 by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
THOMAS A. EDISON.

The success of the incandescent electric lamp is abundantly evidenced by the enormous and steadily increasing sales. Even the census of 1900 showed that more than twenty-five million incandescent lamps were manufactured in the United States during that year, of which more than twenty million were of sixteen candle power. This enormous output, together with improvements in manufacture, has resulted in a reduction in the selling price from seventy-five cents or

one dollar that was charged for them about 1890 to about fifteen cents, which is the average price of a lamp to-day.

Earlier in this chapter reference was made to Davy's production of the arc light before the Royal Institution in 1810. In his experiment, as there described, all the principles involved in the production of this form of light were complete, improvements only having been made along various lines. In producing the arc light a very much stronger electric current is used than for the incandescent, which is directed through the two opposite finger-like carbons of an arc lamp. If the carbons touched each other the current would pass through both without making any light; but they are placed a short distance apart and the lamp is provided with a mechanism for keeping them at the same distance as they burn. The electric current jumps this slight space between the carbon points, passing in the form of an arc or curve of light from one to the other. In thus passing through the air it becomes, as one has said, "a veritable streak of lightning." In general use, arc-lamp circuits may be from fifteen to twenty miles in length, the electric current passing successively through as many as one hundred or more separate lamps. In these constant-current arc-lamp circuits it is necessary to employ a device that will afford a continuous path for the current past any lamp that might fail to feed properly, or whose carbons might be consumed. To meet this need an automatic cut-out has been invented by means of which, in case of stoppage of the current in any lamp for any reason, that lamp is automatically cut out of the series, and the current continues to flow without interruption to the other lamps of the circuit. Some idea of the extensive use of the arc lamp may be obtained from the fact that in 1900, according to the statistics of the last census, one hundred and seventy-five million carbon rods for arc lamps were produced in the United States alone.

A form of the arc light with whose effects the public is familiar, though not



SEARCHLIGHT ON VESSEL AT SEA.

with the processes, is what is called the focussing lamp. Such are the searchlights used on war vessels, the lamps used for the illumination of lighthouses, for scenic effects in theatres, headlights of locomotives, and for various other purposes. As in these lamps it is desired that all the light shall be thrown in one

direction only, the carbons are not placed vertically over one another as in ordinary arc lights, but are inclined away from the direction in which the light is to be projected, so that the rays of maximum intensity shall issue in a more or less horizontal direction. These lamps are generally inclosed in a cylindrical projector box, in the rear of which is placed a reflector made of silvered copper or glass,—of the latter in the case of all high-class projectors. Some of these focus lamps are very large and have marvelous illuminating power, the one on Mt. Lowe, near Pasadena, California, for example, having three million candle power, and is visible, owing to its elevation, for more than one hundred miles.

In 1817 a Swedish chemist, Berzelius, discovered selenium, while engaged in the distillation of sulphuric acid and iron. Its properties were experimented with for several years but without important results until in 1873, May, a telegraph operator at Valencia, discovered that in its crystalline form selenium had less resistance,—that is, was a better conductor of electricity,—when exposed to the light than in the dark, a quality that has been made to produce many important results. A selenium cell is now made by winding a pair of conducting wires about a glass tube. Selenium powder that has been fused is then packed in the spaces of the wires and the whole combination baked at the temperature of boiling water for about twelve hours, by which time the selenium has so crystallized as to become extremely sensitive to light. The selenium cell made it possible for Professor Bell to use beams of light instead of wires for the transmission of sound in a telephone, or photophone, as the new instrument was called. But one of its most practical uses is in the automatic lighting of buoys that are necessary to mark the channel in a harbor. The old method of lighting was dangerous, tedious, and subject to failure. These buoys were formerly lighted by gas under pressure, as in the Pintsch light used on railway trains. Before selenium came into use, each light tank was filled with gas and it was allowed to burn until it went out, and an attendant came along and replenished it. With the application of the selenium cell, the gas is automatically shut off during the day. As soon as dawn brings light enough to act on the selenium cell of the buoy, its resistance is reduced and a magnet brought into operation that closes the gas valve; and as darkness increases toward night the resistance of the selenium is increased and the current reduced, so that by means of a relay magnet it operates in the opposite direction, opening the gas valve. The light may either be turned low, or put out altogether, in which case it will be relighted at night by an electric spark. The selenium cell has also found an interesting use in astronomical work. The cell is so much more sensitive than the eye to the action of light that it has been employed in the observation of eclipses and in recording light changes which the eye could not observe; and Professor Barnard, of the Lick Observatory, has employed selenium in a device for automatically detecting comets.

The legion of devices to which electricity has given rise, for the comfort and convenience of mankind, cannot be hinted at in a work like this. How true this is may be illustrated by the fact that the catalogue of one well-known supply house lists over two thousand separate and distinct articles, apart from the larger electrical machinery. We shall, however, note a very few of the important and interesting applications of the electrical force, availing ourselves of the more complete résumés of such extended uses which Mr. C. H. Cochrane has made in his interesting work, "Modern Industrial Progress."

The application of electricity to the service of various characters on steam railways is of exceeding interest. All the fast trans-continental trains, limiteds, now have in the baggage car a dynamo, which supplies the train with light. From the powerful searchlight of the locomotive,—which can be seen for many miles along a straight track, and which makes the engineer's course for a half mile ahead as clear at midnight as at noonday,—to the incandescent lamp at the head of each

both in the sleepers, everywhere a bright, cheerful light helps to make the journey on such trains at night a pleasure, while a vast number of electrical devices have well-nigh robbed it of all its dangers. Over many of the great trunk lines, especially between the large cities, one is often astonished to note how smoothly the trains run. Formerly there was a more or less severe jolt as the wheels of the cars went over the spaces between rails. Now by an electric machine the rails are easily and quickly welded together, so that one continuous rail from New York to Chicago could be made, if it was desirable. This, of course, secures an almost absolutely smooth and even running of the car. In the automatic block signal system, too, is an application of vast interest to every traveler. In most cases a mile of track, sometimes two miles, represents a block. As soon as a train enters the block, its wheels and axles form an electrical connection between the two rails, on the ground, which are charged with a current for operating signals. When a train makes this connection an electro-magnet is de-energized, forcing a semaphore arm to take a stop-position which notifies any following train that there is already one in that block. As the train passes out of the block, the electro-magnet is energized and the semaphore arm is pulled to the upright, or "all clear" position.

One traveling over the country to-day and seeing every where an established electric trolley system in all the larger cities and towns, and competing with the steam railroads for interurban traffic, finds it difficult to realize that when the young man who reached his majority and cast his first vote in 1908 was born, no such conveniences for travel were in existence. We were still riding behind bony and worn-out horses in the small and rude boxes that served as cars on all street railways. The first electric cars seemed uncanny, and filled us with wonder and awe, until Dr. Holmes so clearly explained their philosophy in his poem entitled "The Broomstick Train":

"Since then on many a car you'll see
A broomstick as plain as plain can be:
On every stick there's a witch astride,—
The string you see to her leg is tied.
She will do a mischief if she can,
But the string is held by a careful man,
And whenever the evil-minded witch
Would cut some caper he gives a twitch.
As for the hag, you can't see her,
But, hark! you can hear her black cat's purr,
And now and then as a car goes by
You can catch a gleam of her wicked eye.
Often you've looked on a rushing train,
But just what moved it was not plain.
It couldn't be those wires above,
For they could neither push nor shove;
Where was the motor that made it go—
You couldn't guess, *but now you know.*"

Many of these interurban lines now run regular trains of cars as perfectly equipped and appointed as the finest Pullmans, frequently with parlor cars attached, and, in one or two instances, with regular sleeping cars. Electricity is thus encroaching upon the field of steam daily. The great manufacturers of steam locomotives are now all producing powerful electric engines; and these are being rapidly adopted for certain "hauls" by all the leading steam railroad corporations. The great New York Central Railroad Company, whose central station in New York city upwards of five hundred passenger trains enter and leave every twenty-four hours, has already electrified its entire service to points varying from twenty to thirty miles from the city, the steam engines being changed at such points for powerful electric motor engines. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company has recently awarded contracts for the electrification of its New York and New Jersey terminals, the first section to be from Harrison, N. J. to Jamaica, Long Island, including the tunnels under the rivers; while the Illinois Central Railroad Company is proceeding with the electrification of its Chicago terminal system. The whole trend of development is in one direction. The practicability of the use of

electricity for all passenger traffic, at least, is no longer questioned, nor its superiority as a motive power over steam. The enormous expense involved in the change of power over the entire course of the great trunk line systems, however, will probably check any rapid advances. A most ingenious application of electricity to the service of railroads is not popularly known. Doubtless many readers of the daily papers have smiled as they have read of the "tours of inspection" of railroad officials who travel over long distances of their road in their private cars, attached to the fast express trains. "A critical inspection," this, one is inclined to remark. But what the average man does not know is that probably attached to the same train is another car, known as "Dudley's Dynagraph Car," which is equipped with every sort of an electrical device for testing the condition of the tracks, etc. These devices automatically trace curves on moving strips of paper which show minutely the condition of every foot of the track over which the car passes, at the same time marking the rails with paint at every uneven place.

Wireless telegraphy occupies a unique position and can hardly be classed with the applications of electric principles that have been recorded above. What electricity is, no one knows. It is called a "force," because scientists cannot better describe it; and they talk of its flow, its current, etc., simply because it is necessary to express in familiar terms the action of this so-called force. When we enter the field of wireless telegraphy we come in touch with another phenomenon of nature in the form of a supposititious substance or form of so-called matter which scientists have named *Ether*. No one can prove its existence, nor tell what it is, nor describe its properties. Yet its supposition becomes necessary when one passes to the consideration of certain phenomena. It is described as a "hypothetical medium which is assumed to pervade all space, the interior of solid bodies not excepted, and is regarded as possessing extreme tenuity and elasticity, and as being the medium of the transmission of light and heat, these forces being transmitted by vibrations or undulations of ether." When the ether is disturbed, vibrations are set up. Some of these vibrations come to our senses as light, and some of them we know as electricity, and when the disturbance is sufficiently violent, heat is manifested. The existence of these etheric waves was discovered by Heinrich Hertz, of Carlsruhe, and have since been called Hertzian waves. For years experimenters in the electrical field had operated by means of wires, choosing good conductors, as copper, to convey currents and transmit thought, light, and motion to distant points. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, many began to experiment with the Hertzian waves; and Marconi, who was of the foremost experimenters, was soon able to demonstrate that if the *sender and receiver were tuned alike*, and the instruments delicate enough, he could use the etheric waves to carry his messages. Marconi was born at Bologna, Italy, in 1874, his father being an Italian and his mother Irish born, and was educated at Leghorn and Bologna universities. In 1890, when only sixteen years of age, he began his experiments on his father's estate, to demonstrate the truth of his theory that the electric current could be made to pass through any substance, and if started in any given direction, to follow an undeviating course without need of a wire or other conductor. He early invented an apparatus for wireless telegraphy which attracted the attention of Sir W. H. Preece, the chief electrician of the English Postal Telegraph, who tested the invention with marked success in England. After various successful public exhibitions in Italy and England, he came to the United States in 1900, where he made some remarkable records in reporting election returns. Down to December, 1901, the greatest distance covered by the wireless apparatus was two hundred miles. During that month Marconi left his wireless station at Poldhu, in Cornwall, and went to Newfoundland. He had left in-

structions that after the time for his arrival at Signal Hill, St. John's harbor, the letter "S" should be signaled from Poldhu daily from 3 to 6 P. M. No one except his confidential assistants knew of his plan. He was confident that with a

Stereograph Copyrighted by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

WILLIAM MARCONI.

certain amount of electrical energy sent out from Poldhu, the ether waves should be strong enough to affect a coherer at St. John's. But he felt he could not afford to let the world know if he failed. As it is necessary to have an elevated wire to receive the Hertzian waves, he tried first sending one up in a balloon, and later attached to kites; and on December 12, 1901, he succeeded in keeping his kite elevated above four hundred feet for more than four hours, during which time the letter "S" was recorded on the Morse instrument twenty-five times; and the youthful inventor and discoverer had demonstrated the feasibility of wireless telegraphy. In February, 1902, he made an interesting and novel application of his principle by receiving messages while on board the steamship *Philadelphia*, bound for New York, from Poldhu up to 1551 miles of the distance from England, and signals up to 2099 miles. On January 18, 1903, Marconi sent from Cape Cod the following message to King Edward, which was successfully transmitted twenty-five hundred miles:

"His Majesty King Edward VII., London, by Marconi Transatlantic Wireless Telegraphy: In taking advantage of the wonderful triumph of scientific research and ingenuity which has been achieved in perfecting a system of wireless telegraphy, I extend, on behalf of the American people, most cordial greetings and good wishes to you and to all the people of the British Empire.

Theodore Roosevelt.

Washington, D. C."

As a result of a warning from the Anglo-American Cable Company that he was interfering with their franchise in telegraphing from St. John's Marconi had sometime before removed his receiving station from that place to Glace Bay, Cape Breton Island, and had also established another station at Wellfleet, Mass., on Cape Cod. In sending the message of President Roosevelt, Marconi had intended it should be transmitted through the Glace Bay station. But while communicating with Glace Bay, the operator there advised Marconi that he had just heard from Poldhu that the instrument there had received the message at the time Marconi was transmitting it for receipt at Glace Bay. This remarkable performance convinced all doubters that there was no limit to the distance that might be covered by this system, and that its practical service was established beyond question.

Many other inventors have, as is usual in such cases, disputed Marconi's claims to original discovery; but, as in the case of Morse and the first telegraph, Marconi has so far outstripped all others in the success of his application of wireless principles that few question the propriety of his claims. As a most eminent authority, Professor Elihu Thompson, has said: "I

believe Marconi is entitled to all the credit he has been given for wireless telegraphy. He has done all the practical work and developed the theory. Others have theorized on it, but Marconi has put the thing to practical use. I have given the matter a good deal of study, and I am convinced that Marconi deserves all he has got." A Swedish electrician, Axtel Orling, however, who has operated with an English engineer, J. T. Armstrong, has devised an entirely different system. The high masts, coherers, and insulation coils required for the successful operation of the other system are dispensed with and a remarkably simple apparatus substituted. It can all be inclosed in a box eight inches square by four in height, and weighs but six pounds. The case includes a battery of eight volts, very little power being required. Two iron stakes are driven into the ground to a depth of eighteen inches and are twelve feet apart. A wire being tied to each stake is carried to the positive and negative poles of the battery and attached by contact screws. The operator puts a telephone receiver to his ear and can hear messages sent by similar apparatus from a distance of twenty miles or more. An application of this apparatus has been tested in miniature by Orling and Armstrong which is fertile in possibilities. A model submarine boat about six feet in length was equipped with the apparatus and its movements were directed from the shore. The operating instrument on the craft is made to control the rudder instead of a Morse key, and the man on shore operates a little steering wheel that is connected with the earth, by the sending apparatus. The bow and stern of the iron boat act as positive and negative poles, and the water carries the current even better than the ground. The rising and diving of the boat may be directed as readily as the right and left steering. What those experiments of Orling and Anderson may mean, as they claim they do, in case of naval battles, has been well summed up by Mr. Cochrane in his work above referred to: "The experiments show the practicability of directing a submarine boat of good size from the deck of a battleship; or, a torpedo may be substituted for a submarine boat and steered under water to the hull of an enemy and there exploded. A harbor or coast may be protected with submarine mines of dynamite, each carrying an apparatus tuned so that it can be set off only by its appropriate wave. The engineer on shore has a chart of the mines and a set of apparatus each one tuned to a corresponding mine. When a vessel of an approaching fleet rides over a mine, he touches off the appropriate receiver, and the enemy is no more. There are no wires running down to the beach, as with the systems now in use, to warn the enemy of the probable nearness of mines, consequently no safety can be assured by sending a party ashore to cut such wires. The enemy can avoid the danger only by keeping away from the mines or capturing the headquarters of the operator, and, as he may be in any house within twenty miles, that is out of the question."

It is, of course, impossible in the space of this article to more than mark the general outline of the development of the Science of Electricity, and touch upon some of its most salient features and interesting achievements and possibilities. A most notable service has recently been rendered by the wireless system of telegraphy, however, which should receive notice, and which will go far toward widely extending its adoption. It has, moreover, set at rest all question as to the range of its usefulness, even in ways that had not suggested themselves to the people. Early on the morning of January 23, 1909, the great White Star liner *Republic* was steaming through a heavy fog bound for the Mediterranean with a large number of passengers. When about twenty-five miles east of Nantucket island, at about four o'clock A. M., another large ocean steamer, the *Florida,* bound for New York, suddenly came out of the fog and rammed the *Republic* about midship, cutting a fearful gash in her side. Fortunately the White Star ship was fitted with the wireless system; and at

4.10 A. M. the operator at the Siasconset station on the shore of Nantucket received a message which read "C. Q. D." the most imperative message an operator can get,—the distress signal of a vessel in collision or other serious danger at sea. Instantly, traveling at the rate of 180,000 miles a second, a message went from the Siasconset operator which read: "C. Q. D. Here. Sc. G.," which meant "Distress signal received at Siasconset wireless station. Go ahead." Hardly more than a moment later the following reply came from the imperiled vessel: "Were struck by an unknown boat; engine-room filled; passengers all safe; can stay afloat; latitude 40.17; longitude 70. *Republic.*" The regulations of the Marconi Company require that an operator, whenever he shall receive the "C. Q. D." signal of a ship in distress, shall, immediately upon ascertaining her locality, send out word of the ship's condition and location to every vessel and station within a radius of two hundred miles. Consequently the Siasconset operator at once prefaced his message with the alarm signal, and then carefully repeated the one that had come from the *Republic*. All this had taken hardly more time than one will use in reading the account. The operator had not long to wait before messages from land and sea began to pour in upon him. From Boston came the welcome report that the revenue-cutter *Gresham* had the news and was leaving port. The revenue-cutters *Mohawk* and *Seneca* replied that they had picked up the message while cruising along the coast, and were off for Nantucket light. In a short time it was known that eight different vessels were steaming under highest pressure toward the *Republic*. Not much later this message came in from the big *Baltic* of same line as the *Republic*: "*Baltic* one hundred and fifteen miles east of Ambrose channel going to assistance of *Republic*." At noon the great Cunard liner *Lucania* added her cheer by reporting: "Sixty-five miles east of Nantucket. Hope to reach *Republic* at 4 P. M."

It has for a long time been demonstrated by statistics that a person is nowhere so safe as when traveling on the ocean. But the experience of the *Republic* makes clear that even the minimum of risk has been reduced, so that those who would be most secure from the dangers that beset our mortal existence under prevalent conditions must at once plan to "go down to the sea in ships," and so enjoy a safe and exhilarating life. Few events have more profoundly affected the popular mind than did this collision and its romantic incidents. Immediately a demand was made by Boards of Trade and influential civic bodies that all ocean vessels carrying passengers should at once be fitted out with the wireless apparatus, and carry an efficient operator. A bill was also introduced in the House of Representatives within forty-eight hours after the accident to secure the same wise protective measures. Such an object-lesson moved public sentiment more potently than weeks of argument or volumes of theories could have done.

The story of Aladdin's wonderful lamp, as recounted in the Arabian Nights, seems to have become as real as the facts of history. As will be remembered, Aladdin, the son of a poor widow, came into possession of a priceless talisman in the form of a magic lamp. When its owner rubbed the lamp, a Genie instantly appeared and asked: "What wouldst thou have? I am ready to obey thee as the slave of the lamp. I and the other slaves of the lamp;" and, no matter what the demand, as the story goes on, it was instantly obeyed. Nothing was beyond its marvelous powers. If Aladdin so demanded he was transported beyond the summits of the highest mountains in China. If he so desired he could hear the faintest whispers, even though uttered hundreds of miles away. At his command the choicest riches of the physical world were laid at his feet, night was turned into day, both time and space were annihilated. Surely this would seem an allegorical representation of the story of electricity. Instead of the rubbing of the lamp we have the rubbing of

the piece of amber and the whole succession of blessings to the human race have followed and are evidently destined to be multiplied in the future. For the universe has yet greater secrets to unfold! First the telegraph by wire; then girdling the earth by the cable; then wireless telegraphy; and who shall say that the next step shall not be—Telepathy—and the time be not far distant of which the poet, Stephen Phillips, has recently sung:

"In that day shall a man out of uttermost India whisper
And in England his friend shall hear;
And a maiden in English sunshine have sight of her lover
And he behold her from far Cathay."

LIV.

INTERNATIONAL COURTESIES.

Founder's Day at Carnegie Institute, Pittsburg. Address of W. T. Stead.—"Outlook for Peace."—"You Have Only to Hang Twelve Newspaper Editors."—Influence of More Intimate Relations Between Peoples.—"Little Things that Make for Peace"—The Life and Death of George Peabody a Link Between the English and American Peoples.—Editorial Utterances.—The Geneva Arbitration.—The French Gift of Bartholdi Statue.—Description of Statue.—Educational Reciprocity.—Work of l'Alliance Française.—Exchange of Lecturers by Harvard and The Sorbonne.—Lectures of Charles F. Beach at University of Paris Law School.—Work Extended to Other French Universities.—German Emperor and American Ambassador Discuss Exchange of Professors Between Universities.—Emperor Invited President Nicholas Murray Butler to Discuss Subject at Informal Dinner.—"The Theodore Roosevelt Professorship" at University of Berlin —Gift of James M. Speyer to Columbia to Found Similar Chair.—English and American Universities.—Opinion and Efforts of Baron Kentaro, of Japan, Along Same Lines.—Cecil Rhodes and His Ambitions. "A Good Understanding Between England, Germany, and United States, Will Secure Peace of the World; and Educational Relations Form the Strongest Tie."—The Rhodes Scholarships.—Bryce and "The American Commonwealth."—Hannis Taylor and "The English Constitution."—"God Hath Created of One Blood All Nations of Men."

"The stranger, as many languages testify, is apt to be the enemy. The chief reason why he is dreaded and hated is that he is not known. Acquaintance allays suspicion and promotes sympathy and kindness."—WASHINGTON GLADDEN.

T the eleventh annual celebration of Founder's Day at the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburg, Pa., in April, 1907, on which occasion Mr. Carnegie gathered to the love-feast as his guests all the distinguished men of Europe and America whom he could influence, Mr. W. T. Stead, the veteran London journalist and founder of the Review of Reviews, made a notable address which was enthusiastically received. Among other things, he said: "I have made a journey through ten countries for the purpose of finding out what is the next step toward international peace. I have seen and talked confidentially with three kings, two queens, one prince regent, one imperial chancellor, and all the prime ministers, ambassadors, and public men worth seeing. I found them all unanimous on two points; the first one was, that in whatever country I found myself, the people of that country, whether they were the subjects or citizens, rulers or ministers, were quite clear that they in that country were the most devoted to peace of all the people of the world. None of them would answer for the other nine countries, but for their own, whether it was the Kaiser, or our own King, or the President of the French

Republic, the President of your own Republic, they were all absolutely sure that the people at the head of which they stand are absolutely devoted to Peace."

"On the second point they all agreed also. The unanimity is quite as great in the one case as in the other. They all agreed that the greatest, if not the only, danger to the peace of the world lay in the existence of a large number of violent, unscrupulous, and irresponsible newspapers, which were constantly engaged in mischief making. The Imperial Chancellor of Germany, Prince Von Bulow, said to me: 'The Emperor is for peace; the King is for peace; the parliaments are for peace; the ministers are for peace; only the newspapers are for war. We diplomatists have to spend our time in running around with pails of water to put out the fires which the newspapers kindle.' Some years ago, when in St. Petersburg, I met Gen. C. Von Schweinitz, the German Ambassador at the Russian Court. He said to me, 'Mr. Stead, I hear you are anxious to preserve peace?' 'Yes,' said I. 'I can give you a prescription which will secure the peace of the world for all time.' 'Oh! give it to me, quick.' 'It is very simple,' said he. 'You have only to hang twelve newspaper editors, and let me choose the editors. I would begin with the editor of the Cologne Gazette, and the second man I would hang would be the editor of the London Times.'"

"The other day I was in Washington, and an eminent American statesman told me that the newspapers in the new world, as in the old, rendered the task of the government in maintaining peace very difficult. 'Have you any remedy?' I asked. 'Alas,' he said, 'I see no remedy excepting the use of the electrocution chair.'"

The popular opinion has generally prevailed that rulers and high state officials are the prime movers in war, either to gratify diseased ambitions, or for political aggrandizement, or, basest of all, merely for some commercial advantages and financial gain, or to take advantage of the distress of a weaker power and so secure additional territory, or at least exact tribute money; and that the people, moved by the intense force of the sentiment of loyalty, follow their lead blindly, ignorant of the true causes of the movements, though knowing well that they alone must bear the needless burden of debt and misery which war entails. But since through the vastly increased means of communication of every character nations have become more interdependent, even for the necessaries and comforts of life; and the destructiveness of the engines of war has been so terribly multiplied, as well as the expense of prosecuting the war, it is undoubtedly true that, as Mr. Stead has said, the conditions have changed, and rulers and people alike declare for peace unless the passions of the people are wickedly inflamed by unprincipled leaders of opinion whose God is gain, and who care not what millions may suffer, so long as they get an increase of influence or riches. It is, perhaps, impossible to silence these powers without violence to some of the dearest principles of liberty, as the freedom of the press and freedom of speech,—principles that have become firmly established only after a century of the bitterest strife and the martyrdom of many heroic men. But there is another method by which the same ends may be secured, though it may be slow and halting in its progress; and that is, to bring the peoples themselves of the different nations into such close relations with each other, and to establish such a mutual understanding between them, that the cry of the war vultures shall fall on deaf ears, and they themselves shall become recognized as the loathsome, abhorred, accursed creatures they really are. As was said further in the address referred to above: "It is written, 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God;' but I say unto you, cursed are the mischief makers, for they are verily and truly the children of the devil."

For fully a hundred years, through good or through ill reports, chiefly through ill, many noble men and associations have been struggling to secure permanent

bases for peace between all nations, their efforts culminating in The Hague Conferences, the great, permanent Peace Tribunal, and the legion of arbitration treaties that have been made binding during the past few years. But all the time there have been silent forces at work touching the hearts of the common people of the different nations, which have already become most potent, and which are destined mightily to supplement the actions of parliaments and conferences. It is some of these events and movements, not in themselves peace measures, which we have classed as "International Courtesies," or "Little Things that make for Peace," that we consider in this chapter. We can, of course, mention but a few of many; but all tend to teach the people of each country that the people of other countries are men of like passions with themselves, actuated by the same love of home and family, the same desires for peaceful and harmonious lives, and the same disinclination to consciously do an unkindness or injury to any neighbor or fellow man.

It is unquestionably true that at the close of our civil war the sentiment of the people of the United States was very bitter toward the government and people of England; and the public speaker or statesmen who would gain the loudest applause had only to denounce in the fiercest terms the nation that had shown so little sympathy for us in our great struggle to maintain the union, or, in other words and in popular language, "to twist the British lion's tail." Yet only four years after the war, while political passions in both countries were at a white heat over the settlement of the "Alabama Claims," George Peabody died in London,—an American by birth and training who had maintained loyal allegiance to his native land through more than thirty years of residence in an adopted country, yet had won the highest esteem of his British associates by his generous, noble, Christian life; and when after his death the gracious command of the Queen of England ordained that his remains should lie in state in Westminster Abbey, and then, in response to his oft expressed wish to be buried in his native town, should be borne to the American shores on the newest and finest vessel of the great British navy, a sympathetic chord was touched in the hearts of mil-

THE MONARCH BEARING THE REMAINS OF GEORGE PEABODY TO AMERICA.

lions of people on both sides of the Atlantic, and one touch of sorrow made both countries kin. There were no politics nor policy in the Queen's act; it was the impulse of a noble woman to honor the memory of a noble, large-hearted, generous man; and there was not a person in either country capable of appreciating an exalted sentiment whose heart was not softened,—and things could never be quite the same again. The resultant mental attitude was so well expressed editorially by one of the leading London papers, "The Telegraph," that we quote from it: "They (the American people) will say that we have done ourselves and them virtue and honor in thus reverencing the consummate humanity which was in this king of givers; and it will happen, as we have said before, that the dead body of George Peabody will complete the work done by his living hand and heart. There will arise out of this funeral voyage of the Queen's new fighting ship *a thought calculated to take the trade away from fighting ships altogether;* a feeling which advances civilization with a voiceless charm of impulse. Men will be set to meditating, on both sides of the Atlantic, how much wiser, better, and higher is the spirit of peace than the spirit of war, and, above all, *how shameful and strange in the eyes of civilization the spectacle would be if the land that sent home George Peabody's remains and the land which received the 'noble heart that beats no more' should ever again bandy words of menace or hatred.*"

It need hardly be said that these lofty sentiments were fully appreciated and reciprocated by the American people,—an appreciation that was voiced in the press, in the many orations and sermons the sad event occasioned, as well as in several poems of merit. The closing stanzas of one of these, a responsive note to England's thought, were as follows:

"England, we take him from thine arms;
We thank thee for thy reverent care;
If thou and we were ever friends
We should be so beside his bier.

"His memory should be a spell
To banish spleen and bitterness.
Have kindlier thoughts of us,—for he
Was tender unto thy distress,—

"As we have kindlier thoughts of thee
Because of honor done to him;
For while we weep, we turn to see
That English eyes with tears are dim."

When three years later the questions concerning the depredations of the Alabama and other confederate cruisers which had brought Great Britain and the United States to the very verge of war were peacefully settled by arbitration, and that great precedent of arbitration was established from which we may well believe the two countries will never again depart, who shall say how much of the spirit of peace and amity that prevailed at the Geneva Conference had its source in the fact that the hearts of the people of the two countries had been attuned to more perfect harmony by a common grief, and had come more effectually to realize the truth that they were "of one flesh," through their contemplation of the virtues of a life in which each claimed a part.

It was doubtless the appreciation of the truth that even the most idealized friendship must sometimes give expression to itself to retain its full vitality that suggested to a few prominent French gentlemen the idea of giving voice in a material way to the ancient regard of their country and its people for the sister Republic on this side of the Atlantic. For more than one hundred years hardly a shadow of discord had been cast upon the friendly paths which the two Republics had followed; and the recollection of the invaluable services rendered by France to the colonists when struggling for their independence has ever been cherished by their descendants, and has been made the subject of countless notable recognitions in prose and verse. As one writer has well said: "Before our nation was, the democratic idea had been for many years existing and expanding among the French

people; crushed again and again by tyrants it ever rose, renewed, and fresh, for the insuperable conflict. Through all their vicissitudes the people of France have upheld, unfalteringly, their ideal,—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Our own Republic exists to-day because France helped us when England sought to crush us." While, therefore, there seemed less need of tangible evidence of regard and kindly feeling from the French people than from any other, it was a gracious sentiment that prompted them to make a practical demonstration of their hearty sympathy with the people of the United States in their rejoicing that the new nation, whose every aspiration for greater liberty they had so warmly cherished and encouraged, had for one hundred years of unbroken progress manifested clearly and convincingly to all men the inherent vitality and virtue of Republican institutions. The design is said to have originated with M. Laboulaye, a noted publicist and ardent admirer of the United States, who had spent some time in this country studying its institutions and the workings of its constitution, and who had written much on these subjects for the enlightenment of the French people. His proposition was enthusiastically received and endorsed by his fellow members of the Franco-American Alliance, an association of gentlemen whose membership included such names as de Noailles, de Tocqueville, deWitt, Martin, and deRémusat; and the idea quickly took form in the determination to appeal to the *people of France* to contribute in small sums toward the erection in the United States of a monument which should worthily symbolize the dominant ideal of both republics,—Liberty. What was considered an adequate sum, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, was quickly raised; and the distinguished French artist and sculptor, M. Bartholdi, who had entered with enthusiasm into the project, was commissioned to design and execute the work. The plan had been communicated through the American Minister at Paris to the United States, and the gift was conditioned upon the furnishing of a suitable site and pedestal by the people of this country. Within a short time the people contributed two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the erection of a suitable base, and the South end of Bedloe's island, in New York harbor, was selected as a site.

Bartholdi had designed a heroic statue of a woman, holding a lighted torch in her hand, which should represent the idea of "Liberty Enlightening the World." For ten years sixty men besides Bartholdi and his immediate assistants (among whom was Eiffel who later designed the famous Eiffel Tower) worked upon the great figure. The material of which it was constructed was three-fifths iron and the balance copper, and completed it weighed over one hundred tons. It was shipped to this country in three hundred and fifty pieces, which were put together upon the great foundation of granite that had been prepared for it, the pedestal alone being one hundred and seventy-seven feet in height. The completed statue measured one hundred and fifty feet from the base to the top of the extended arm and torch, making the entire elevation of the torch three hundred and twenty-seven feet above mean tide-level. In itself by far the tallest statue in the world, on its pedestal it overtopped all others by at least two hundred feet. The figure is that of a handsome, proud woman, the head crowned with a diadem, whose right arm is raised and holds aloft a blazing torch, while the left hand and arm enfold a tablet on which is inscribed the date of the Declaration of Independence. The left foot is slightly advanced and supports the main weight of the body. The peplus and tunic with which the body is robed fall in graceful and ample folds from the shoulders and waist to the feet; and the sweep of the tunic's folds as they fall, as if spread out by the force of the wind as the woman advances, make a base of the most solid character, giving to the whole statue an appearance of solidity and firmness, and in reality a stability that the fiercest hurricanes could not disturb.

One may get a better impression of the colossal size of the figure from such facts as that in the head, which is fourteen feet high, forty persons can stand with ease at one time; while the flame of the torch will accommodate fifteen people, without crowding or stooping. A gallery is built just above the hand, at the base of and around the torch, from which visitors secure an unequaled view of the harbor and the cities of New York, Brooklyn, and of all the surrounding country. The torch is illuminated at night by the most powerful electric lights, which can be seen for more than thirty miles, so that the first light the incoming vessels sight is from liberty's torch; and as every vessel entering the harbor by day passes in view of the statue the earliest greeting that the traveler or immigrant receives on approaching the new world is an expression of the highest ideal of American thought, government, and institutions, which is Liberty,—social, civil, and political; or as the French people would express it, in the sentiment of their historic watchword, is Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

THE BARTHOLDI STATUE.

The statue was first formally presented by M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, in the absence of M. Jules Ferry, the French prime minister, to the United States in the person of the Minister to France, Mr. Morton; and the dedicatory exercises in the United States, on October 23, 1886, were attended with elaborate ceremonies. There was a great military and civic parade in New York city, after which thirty-seven steam-vessels bore the most distinguished guests and national and state officials to Bedloe's island. The exercises were opened with prayer, which was followed by an eloquent and scholarly address by Senator William M. Evarts, in the course of which he announced the presentation of the statue to the United States by France. The face and shoulders of the figure which had been covered by tri-colored flags were then unveiled amid the terrific din of cannon from the forts in the harbor, steam whistles, and bells. President Cleveland then accepted the statue on behalf of the American people in a dignified address, reciprocating cordially the sentiment of the French people, and prophesying permanency for the kindly relations that had existed between the two peoples for so many years, of which the noble statue they were then dedicating would ever stand as an eloquent reminder. And it is certain that by this courteous attention and generous

action of the French people, they and the people of the United States, almost unconsciously, perhaps, were knit a little more closely together, and the possibility of political misunderstanding and strife was pushed farther into the background than it had ever been before.

We have for some years been accustomed to reciprocity treaties between our own and other countries for the purpose of removing obstructions to international commerce. But the reciprocity treaties that have been quietly negotiated between universities of this country and those of the principal countries of Europe are not so well known or understood by the people. While the politicians have haggled and disputed over the commercial treaties, and an omniscient and omnipotent Senate has either smothered or emasculated the majority of them, the scholars of the various countries have worked in beautiful harmony with the result that we already have, and are to have in the future, reciprocal relations in higher education with nearly all the greater institutions of learning of Europe,—a movement devoid of politics, and in which alleged statesmen have no part, yet which will surely and rapidly bring the best thought and the highest aspirations of the peoples of these countries into such intelligent and affectionate union that the art of diplomacy will find a constantly restricted field for its activities, and will, we trust, in the not distant future become one of the "lost arts," never to be rediscovered nor resurrected. The beginnings of this form of international reciprocity are to be found in the work of *l'Alliance Française*. With its headquarters in Paris, this institution has for many years carried on everywhere an active propaganda in behalf of the French language, literature, and civilization. It has been very active in this country; and several years ago French professors under its patronage began to come to the United States to lecture in their own language at Harvard University, and elsewhere. Inspired by this work, with which he had become acquainted while a student at Cambridge, Mr. James H. Hyde, in 1903, established the foundation for an annual course of lectures at the Sorbonne, Paris, by a Harvard professor. This course was inaugurated in the summer of 1904 by Professor Barrett Wendell, who gave a series of lectures that attracted wide attention, on the general subject of American ideals as disclosed in American literature. The second course was given the following year by Professor Santayana on American philosophy; and the work is being carried on in regular course each year by different members of the Harvard faculty. By way of reciprocity, similar work is now done each year at Harvard by a professor from the Sorbonne,—on each foundation the lecturer speaking in his own language. A distinguished French scholar who has especially interested himself in this and other movements tending to draw the people of the different nations more closely together, is Baron de Coubertin. He was the inspiring spirit and liberal leader in the revival of the Olympic games; has established French prizes at Princeton, Tulane, Leland Stanford, and California Universities; and has written and spoken persistently and devoted his enthusiasm, time, and money to the furtherance of the cause of closer international relations outside the field of political endeavor.

In 1904 the Faculty of Law of the University of Paris invited Charles F. Beach, Jr., one of the leading lawyers of New York, a thorough student of Corporation law and Equity jurisprudence with extended experience as a practicing lawyer along both lines, to give in the Paris School a course of lectures on American law. Mr. Beach had graduated in law both from Columbia and the University of Paris, and so was founded in both Common and Roman law, and eagerly entered upon his work in Paris during the University Session of 1904-5. The first year's course was such a pronounced success that at its close Mr. Beach was urged to continue the work the next winter, which he did, broadening the scope of his subject by introducing a treatment of

American institutions as well as law. That year, too, he was urged to repeat his lectures at the University of Lille; and in 1907 his field was still further enlarged by the inclusion of the Universities of Bordeaux and of Toulouse, showing a steadily increasing interest among the students of the French universities in the study of American social and political life, as well as of its law. Owing to the technical language that must so largely pervade lectures on law, Mr. Beach delivered his main lectures in the French language, closing each with a general talk of about fifteen minutes in English. When it is remembered that the University of Paris has annually upwards of fifteen thousand students, and that more than five thousand are registered in the law department alone; and further that these students come from every state of Europe and the far East, it will easily be realized that Professor Beach's work must vastly influence the unification of thought of many peoples.

At his official diplomatic reception on New Year's Day, 1904, the German Emperor, in conversation with the American Ambassador, suggested the desirability of an exchange of professors between German and American universities as a means of promoting a better understanding between the two peoples and a wider knowledge of their respective histories and institutions. For some reason the matter was allowed to lie dormant for the time. But in the summer of 1905 President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, went abroad, spending two weeks of his vacation in quiet seclusion with Professor Burgess, of the same university, at Wilhelmshohe, Prussia. During this period the Emperor came to the castle at Wilhelmshohe, and gave President Butler a most informal interview, at which he detailed to his Majesty his plans. The Emperor was greatly pleased to find that his suggestion of the year before had been so keenly appreciated, and invited both President Butler and Professor Burgess to dine informally with him at a later day, when he would also have present Dr. Althoff, the head of the Prussian Ministry of Education; and at that second meeting all final arrangements were made and the matter closed. It was determined that a professorship of American history and institutions, to be known as the Theodore Roosevelt Professorship, should be established at the University of Berlin by and under the direction of Columbia University, the incumbents to be appointed by the Prussian Ministry of Education, with the sanction of the Emperor, upon nomination by the Trustees of Columbia. The plan of the work covers definite treatments not only of the subject of American

Photograph Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

EMPEROR WILLIAM II. OF GERMANY.

history and constitutional law, but also of the fundamental and prominent problems and movements in this country in economics and sociology, the industrial problems, education, and later a consideration of American contributions in the

field of the Arts and Sciences. Provision is also made by which the courses may be repeated in other German universities if the faculties so request. The reciprocal foundation of a chair at Columbia for corresponding courses covering German institutions and movements was made possible by the liberality of Mr. James Speyer, of New York, who gave fifty thousand dollars to endow the professorship. These lectures are naturally delivered in German at Berlin, and in English at Columbia. The first to occupy the chair at Berlin upon the Columbia foundation was Professor John W. Burgess, the head of the department of Political Science and Constitutional Law at Columbia, whose course of lectures and instruction covered the field of American political history.

An interesting feature of the work on the Speyer foundation has been the establishment at the University of Berlin of an American library. A start was made by sending from New York one thousand volumes on American history and social and political questions, which will be increased from time to time until a reputable collection is made. A separate room has been set apart for these books in the University library, and they are separately catalogued.

It is not alone these actual achievements along the line of reciprocal education that are impressive; but also the fact that all leaders of public opinion and statesmen of other countries are wakening to the immense significance of the movement and are anxious that their people shall share in its beneficence. Italy has already formed important connections of a similar character with institutions in the United States, France, and Germany. Between English universities and American there is hardly the same need of interchanges as between our own schools and those of Continental nations, since English and American institutions, civil, political, religious, and educational are more nearly alike than are our own and those of any other nation. Many interchanges have been made, however, between American and British universities, with the happiest results. In fact the first suggestion of any step in this direction was made as far back as 1864, when Mr. Henry Yates Thompson, a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, England, proposed to endow a lectureship at that University, the lecturer to be appointed each year by the President and Fellows of Harvard University, and the course and instruction to cover the broad field of the history, literature, and institutions of the United States. The Cambridge authorities, however, declined the gift. Thompson afterwards came to this country and laid his plans before the President and Fellows of Harvard, by whom they were considered. A proposal to effect the purposes arrived at by Mr. Thompson was made by the Harvard to the Cambridge authorities; but after consideration the proposal was again rejected on the ground, as it was afterward learned, that Harvard was a "Socinian" institution.

Even South America has been attracted by this movement. Not long ago Dr. Carlos Pellegrini, the eminent statesman of the Argentine Republic, in conversation with the American minister, Mr. Barrett, said: "We have been having the opportunity of seeing many of your diplomatic and commercial representatives, but we have not seen any of your educational authorities. We should like to learn more of your educational methods, and we should like to have you learn something of ours. An interchange in this respect is a consummation devoutly to be desired. If one of your great men were to come to us on a visit of inspection he would get such a reception as has never before been given to anyone in South America." With this thought germinating in the minds of some of the leading men of the South American states, it will not be long before educational reciprocity will be working in the southerly direction also, as their representatives are sure to find American educators very responsive to the desires of those of other countries.

While the Baron Kaneko Kentaro, a

member of the House of Lords of Japan, and the special representative of his nation to the United States during the Russian-Japanese war, was in this country he interested himself greatly in its educational principles and methods. He was given the degree of Doctor of Laws by Harvard, and the subject of establishing a chair of Japanese at that University was favorably entertained by the authorities. In an article in one of the magazines, referring to this subject, the Baron said: "Nothing, in my judgment, would be more gracious than this intellectual alliance. Nothing would untangle more effectually the sad knots of misunderstandings which are resulting from racial differences and racial prejudices. *Nothing would work so well in smoothing a path of friendly relations between the Nations as this move.* In fact, I look upon to-day as a golden age in which we may be permitted to bring about a scholarly alliance between East and West which, of *necessity,* would inaugurate a better day of friendly relations between the powers."

During the past two or three years earnest and effective steps have been taken in England to establish reciprocal service between the great home universities and the higher institutions of the various colonies of the empire in all parts of the world. This plan is rapidly taking form as one of the institutions of the great educational system, and it will unquestionably tend to bind the colonies in still more friendly union with the home government and people. Speaking of this movement one of the leading English statesmen recently said: "The real significance of this federation of universities is not its relation to education, though that is of immense importance; but its relation to a problem which has defined itself in our time,—the consolidation and unification of our Empire."

Certainly no other evidence need be introduced to show that a new force making for peace and good-will toward all men has thus quietly become, and is becoming, effective. Its birth was heralded by no pronunciamentos of Kaiser, King, or President, nor by the sounding of trumpets, and its growth has been as silent as the growth of the flowers; yet we believe its results will prove the most dominant influence in ultimately establishing and making law the "Wishes" and the

Photo. Copyrighted by J. E. Purdy, Boston.
BARON KANEKO KENTARO.

Conventions uttered by the Peace Conferences, and will also give to arbitration treaties their strongest moral support.

When that remarkable man, the "Napoleon of South Africa" as he was called, Cecil Rhodes, died, on the 26th of March, 1902, at the age of forty-nine years, he left an estate of thirty million dollars. From early youth his mind had been filled with visions of the "Federation of the World," and of universal peace because there should be but one world power. "The greatness of this dream," says a biographer, "is to be traced to a passage in Aristotle which clung to his mind like a burr. In his reading at Oxford he came across the remark of the ancient Greek philosopher that 'Virtue is the highest

activity of the soul living for the highest object in a perfect life." To Rhodes this seemed to contain in a nutshell the wisdom necessary for the guidance of life. He used to paraphrase it so as to make it read *that the great thing at the beginning of life was to have an object sufficiently lofty to make it worth while spending your whole life in obtaining it.* And having got this master word, he was never at rest until he could discover the object sufficiently good to make it worth the dedication of a life. He found it after much hesitation, in the conviction which, once formed, he never varied, that *the highest practical ideal was to work for the unity of the English speaking race,* in order that, being united, it might extend over all the world the beneficent influence which "this best of races" as he phrased

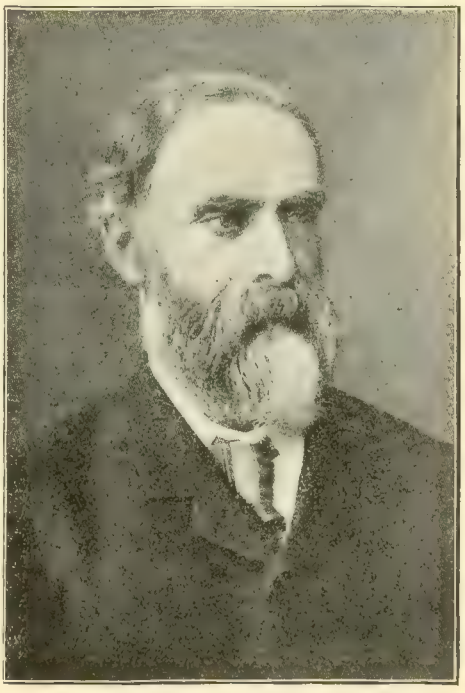
CECIL JOHN RHODES.

it, exercised for Justice, Liberty, and Peace among the inhabitants of this planet." With this key one can get some better idea of, though he could never understand, the character and nature of the man. Though apparently grasping and avaricious, and not squeamish as to the methods by which he got his wealth, he seems ever to have despised money in itself or for his own use, desiring to accumulate it for the purpose of furthering the great Empire-making designs he had conceived. And a few years before he died success seemed almost certain; for had it not been for the fatal mistake of the Jameson raid the chances were certainly in his favor that he would establish the sovereignty of Great Britain over practically all of Africa south of the Zambesi river. His was a life of mighty contrasts, yet all its force and energy he strove to exert in but one direction, and that looked toward peace and the happiness of all mankind; and his last words,—"so much to do; so little done,"—were the cry of a broken heart, and were so charged with pathos as to excite the warmest sympathy in every human breast.

When his will was opened it was found that he had made a disposition of the bulk of the estate in accordance with talks he had had with friends, and for the furtherance of his life purpose. The scheme he devised was a novel one, and was designed to bring into the closest relations the greatest possible numbers of picked young men from Germany, the United States, and the outlying dependencies of Great Britain. To this end he established a large number of scholarships at Oxford University, each yielding fifteen hundred dollars annually, which were to be given to selected young men in each of the districts named, and possessing which these men were to remain for three years associated with each other and with the picked youth of England, at England's greatest university. "For," said Mr. Rhodes in his will, "a good understanding between England, Germany, and the United States will secure the peace of the world; *and educational relations form the strongest tie.*" As is well known two of these scholarships are allotted to each state and territory of the United States, and the privileges provided under them have now been available for about three years, so that at the present time there

are, and will be for the future, nearly three hundred American students enjoying the advantages of Oxford, and becoming familiar with English people and English customs and institutions. It has not been our purpose to speak of the life of Mr. Rhodes at length, nor to consider the practicability of his scheme. But it is unquestionably true that the working out of his plans is furnishing another powerful argument in support of our thesis that the "little things" from the political standpoint, the quiet forces of friendly relations between peoples, are a more powerful leaven than diplomacy and statecraft.

When in 1894, as a result of President Cleveland's position regarding the alleged British aggressions in Venezuela, the "Jingo" spirit broke loose in Great Britain and for a time war seemed imminent, one of the most potent of the many voices in England that demanded an amicable settlement of the question was that of the Hon. James Bryce. Knowing and loving his own country and its people, and hardly less familiar with and attached to the people of the United States, he realized that any war between the two nations would be a fratricidal contest, and a crime; and the later years of his life have been largely devoted to establishing between the two countries such an appreciation of our mutual interests and opportunities as should make the suggestion of unfriendly and hostile relations abhorrent to both peoples. So that when it was announced two years ago that his government proposed to send him as Ambassador from Great Britain to the United States the appointment was regarded as one of the most fitting that could be made, and one tending to unite in closer bonds of friendship the two great English-speaking races; and all intelligent and thoughtful Americans experienced a particular thrill of pleasure and satisfaction. Having, as a student, at the age of twenty-four, written one of the most important historical works of the nineteenth century—"The Holy Roman Empire,"—he took rank at once as a historical writer of the first order, and was so recognized by the foremost historians of the world. Turning, early in life, his attention and thought to this country and its people he began the long



JAMES BRYCE.

period of study and investigation whose fruit was the publication in 1888 of "The American Commonwealth," a critical yet friendly analysis of the National and State Constitutions of our country, and of their working as illustrated by the actual conditions that obtained in our national, state, and municipal life. Had a partial or unfriendly hand written the work it would, in many places, have been unpleasant reading; but all readers recognized the sympathetic student of actual conditions, and realized that even unpleasant criticism was tempered by the most kindly regard, with the result that the author has come to be esteemed as one of ourselves, and his work has been accepted and made the standard by all scholarly men and learned institutions, and has been honored with a sale almost

equal to that of the popular novel of the day. We believe it will be admitted by all well-informed and thoughtful men that Mr. Bryce and his great work have been most potent influences making for peace, and that they are influences that will increase in force for many years. It is a happy coincidence, too, that an American scholar has been able to reciprocate with marked success Mr. Bryce's courteous and friendly presentation of the truth regarding the growth and influence of the American constitutions and institutions as the Hon. Hannis Taylor has done in his great work on "The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution." Since the day of the publication of its first volume this study of the English Constitution has taken first rank with all scholars in this country and Great Britain, and has now been given the same honor by English institutions of learning that American schools and colleges awarded to the "American Commonwealth,"—that of being adopted as the standard work and text-book on the subject of which it treats. And again "hands have been joined across the sea" that shall further insure the solidarity of the English-speaking races.

Believing that war is a crime, as well as a wicked, stupid, and senseless way of attempting to settle disputed questions (it has rarely ever *settled them*), it is pleasant to be able to chronicle so many movements that are silently creating a sentiment that will demand more reasonable methods of overcoming any friction that may occur between civilized nations; and it is not less pleasant to make clear how uniform is the sentiment among all thinking men that the surest means of securing the much-desired end is the cultivation of the more intimate acquaintance of the peoples of the various nations with each other. For if they can be brought truly to realize "that God hath created of one blood all nations of men" the day will not be far distant when universal peace shall be the normal condition under which all men shall live.

"If I knew you and you knew me—
If both of us could clearly see,
And with an inner sight divine
The meaning of your heart and mine,
I'm sure that we would differ less
And clasp our hands in friendliness;
Our thoughts would pleasantly agree
If I knew you and you knew me."

(Nixon Waterman.)

LV.

EDUCATION IN THE COLONIES AND STATES.

Education at the Time of the Great Reformation.— The Renaissance.— Wyclif's Position. Luther's Appeal to the German Magistrates.—"The True Wealth of a City is to Have Many Learned, Serious, Worthy, Well-educated Citizens."— Common Schools in Germany and Low Countries in Sixteenth Century.— Contact of Pilgrim Fathers with Dutch System While at Leyden.— First School Established in Colonies of America.— Support of Dutch West India Company.— The Boston Latin School.— Massachusetts Law of 1647.—"The Great Charter of Free Education in the Commonwealth."— Early Schools for Boys Alone; Girls Had No Share in School Privileges.— Graduates of English Universities in Colonies.— John Harvard and the Founding of Harvard College.— No Knowledge of Harvard's Life.— $500 Offered for Five Lines of Authentic Information.—Present Status of University, and Its New President. —Foundation of William and Mary.— Elihu Yale and Yale College.— Tennent's "Log College" and Princeton.— Lottery to Raise Money for King's College.— Present Status of Columbia University.— The "Dartmouth College Case."— Number and Resources of "Colleges, Universities, and Technical Schools" in the United States.— Rise of Academies and Notable Preparatory Schools.— Education of Women.— Growth of the High School System.— Horace Mann and the Massachusetts State Board of Education.— Establishment of Normal Schools.— The National Educational Association.— Origin and Development of State Universities.— Post-Graduate Work.— Women's Colleges; Vassar, Mt. Holyoke, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr.— The Chautauqua and Summer Schools.

"The Schoolmaster is abroad' and I trust more to him, armed with his primer, than I do to the soldier in fine military array, for upholding and extending the liberties of his country."— LORD BROUGHAM.

POPULAR education has been the hand-maid of an enlightened religion and was the first fruit of the great Reformation. The wonderful intellectual awakening which we call the Renaissance, the direct result of the settlement in Europe, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, of Greek scholars bearing priceless Greek manuscripts, and of the invention of printing, stimulated among the scholarly men of the period a thirst for higher learning and broader culture; but the new light illumined only the student class, none of its rays penetrating the gross mental darkness that enveloped the common people. All through the Middle Ages, and down to the sixteenth century, outside the monasteries, there were two sharply defined classes,—the nobility and gentry, whose whole life was given up to the excitements of war, the chase, or tournaments and feats of arms; and the serfs, who were little better than chattels, and confined to the soil on which they were born. "Without books," says Compayré, "without schools, without any of the indispensable implements of intellectual labor, what could be done for the mental

life? It took refuge in certain monasteries; education flourished only in narrow circles, with a privileged few; and the rest of the nation remained buried in an obscure night." And even in these "narrow circles," the chief influence of the Renaissance was to centre all thought and study upon the Latin and Greek classics, and not to widen the confines of general learning by bringing within its range philosophy, ethics, history, and the physical and natural sciences, the subjects which alone effectually touch and influence the real life and practical thought of a people.

A certain measure of liberty must be the forerunner of a desire for learning. As one has said: "In order to comprehend the need of study, that greater liberator, one must already have tasted liberty." And it is to the Reformation, and not to the Renaissance, that one must look for this renovating influence. When Luther struck at the autocracy, and denied the infallibility, of the Pope, he was making straight the way for the advent of the new principles of civil and religious liberty which were destined to transform all religious, intellectual, and social life. As nearly two centuries earlier, Wyclif in England had foreseen that the only way to enlighten and uplift the masses of men was to give them, in their own tongue, the Gospel which makes all men free, so Luther made it his first duty to translate the New Testament into the language of the people. And having done this, he further saw that to give the spirit of the Christian liberty free course all the people, not a select few, must be taught to read so that each should be able to learn for himself, without dependence upon priest or church, the great truth of man's nobility as a child of the common Father, and to appreciate, in some degree, the infinite worth of the individual soul. And how gloriously and nobly, yet tenderly, he plead with the civil authorities to assist in this work of emancipation! "Dear Sirs," he wrote to all the councillors of Germany, "we annually expend so much money on arquebuses, roads, and dikes; why should we not spend a little to give one or two schoolmasters to our poor children? God stands at the door and knocks; blessed are we if we open to Him. Now the word of God abounds. O, my dear Germans, buy, buy, while the market is open. Busy yourself with the children; for many parents are like ostriches; they are hardened toward their little ones, and satisfied with having laid the egg, they care nothing for it afterwards. The prosperity of the city does not consist merely in heaping up great treasures, in building strong walls, in erecting splendid mansions, in possessing glittering arms. If madmen fall upon it, its ruin will only be the greater. The true wealth of a city, its safety and its strength, is to have many learned, serious, worthy, well-educated citizens."

Luther naturally placed first in his order of instruction the teaching of religion. "Is it not reasonable," he asks, "that every Christian should know the Gospel at the age of nine or ten?" After this he wished the languages taught; but unfortunately he had not yet so far emancipated himself from the influences of his monastic training and of scholastic thought, as to realize that it is one's mother-tongue that should claim precedence; consequently he recommends the learned languages, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. The separation of the Latin, or classical school, from the common schools was to be the work of his immediate successors, Ratich and Comenius. Of the influence of Music Luther recognized the force, declaring that it "is a half-discipline which makes men more indulgent and mild;" and that "unless a schoolmaster know how to sing, I think him of no account." But it was not alone that the great German reformer urged the necessity of an universal education that later ages have been indebted to him, but also because he was the first to advocate the principle that the support of the schools should be incumbent upon the municipality or the state, and that the civil authorities should require that the parents send their children to the schools. "It is."

he urged, "my opinion that the authorities are bound to force their subjects to send their children to school. If they can oblige their able-bodied subjects to carry the lance, and the arquebus, to mount the ramparts, and to do complete military service, for a much better reason may they, and ought they, to force their subjects to send their children to school, for here it is the question of a much more terrible war with the devil."

As a result of Luther's exhortations, and of the convincing force of his arguments, common schools sprang up all over Germany and the Low Countries during the sixteenth century, notwithstanding the sadly unsettled condition of political and social affairs which the Reformation movement had occasioned. This development was accelerated, also, by the intense religious enthusiasm of the community known as the "Brethren of the Common Lot," which became an active force about the year 1400. In the strictness of their lives, their community of goods, their intense devotion, and their tendency to mysticism they resembled the Moravians; but unlike the Moravians, they were characterized by an earnest cultivation of knowledge which they promoted wherever they went by the establishment of schools for primary and advanced education. By the end of the sixteenth century they are said to have established more than two hundred branch houses and schools, scattered over Northern Germany and the Low Countries; and it was largely due to these pioneers in learning that in the Netherlands, especially,— the home country of the order,—nearly every city and town had its public school, and the peasants of Holland could read and write well. As Motley has said: "It was a land of schools supported by the State; a land where every child went to school, where almost every individual inhabitant could write and read, while even the middle classes were proficient in mathematics and the classics and could speak two or more languages." Moreover the first instance, apparently, of direct supervision of education by the state was the decree of 1582 of the Estates of Friesland that "the inhabitants of towns and villages should within the space of six weeks, provide good and able reformed schoolmasters; and those who neglected so to do would be compelled to accept the instructors provided for them." And it was into this country, so devoted to the reformed religion and to a system of common schools supported by public taxation, that the Pilgrim Fathers came in 1609 after leaving England where, as yet, the idea of popular education had gained no foothold. It is not unnatural, therefore, that historians of the Dutch Republic and of the Low Countries charge to their eleven years residence in Holland the enthusiasm which the Pilgrims manifested for the establishment of schools and the spread of popular education, under the support and direction of the state, as soon as they had established a permanent settlement in the land to which they exiled themselves.

MARTIN LUTHER.

It is to Geneva, however, and not to Holland that other students trace the origin of public schools, though the fruitful cause of their establishment and nurture was the same,—the spread of the knowledge of the Scriptures,—whether it came to New England from Calvin or

Luther. As John Fiske says: "One of the cardinal requirements of Democratic Calvanism has always been elementary education for everybody. In matters of religion all souls are equally concerned, and each individual is ultimately responsible for himself, without dependence upon priests. Hence, it is one of the prime duties of a congregation to insist that all its members shall know how to read, and, if necessary, to provide them with the requisite instruction. In accordance with this Calvinistic idea some form of universal and compulsory elementary education sprang up during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries wherever Calvinism had become dominant,—in the Protestant parts of France and Switzerland, in Scotland, in the Netherlands, and in New England. Obviously, therefore, it might he held that free schools in New England were a natural development of Calvinism, and do not necessarily imply any especially close relation with Holland." And George Bancroft, in his "History of the United States," apparently settles the whole question by the dogmatic declaration: "The Common School System was derived from Geneva, the work of John Calvin; introduced by Luther into Germany, by John Knox into Scotland; and so became the property of the English-speaking nations." But, impressive as this statement is, the facts hardly support it. For Luther's letters to the magistrates, urging them to establish public schools in every community, and arguing that their right to tax the people for the support of such schools was as clear as their right to levy taxes for the protection of their cities and the maintenance of troops, was sent out in the year 1524, when Calvin was but fifteen years of age, and twelve years before he first visited Geneva. That letter showed clearly that Luther had already worked out the plan of a public school system, and had satisfied himself fully as to the practicability and legality of the municipal support; and it is evident that his inspiration did not come from Geneva, and that Calvin had no part in the conception of the work. Moreover, in 1836, on the occasion of the celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Harvard College, the Hon. Edward Everett, in a notable oration, referring to the action of the Massachusetts General Court in voting £400 "toward a school or college," declared that this was "the first body in which the people, by their representatives, ever gave their own money to found a place of education. If there is such a thing as a precedent for such foundation as is this day commemorated, *it must, of course, be in England.*" This naturally implies a careful investigation of the subject by the learned orator, and no such precedent having been found in English history he affirmed that on Sept. 8, 1636, by the General Court of Massachusetts "this auspicious precedent was established of making the support of education a public charge." "This statement," says John Fiske ("Beginnings of New England") "is incorrect, for before 1609, when the Pilgrims began their sojourn at Leyden, the system of public schools paid for out of the municipal or parochial taxes, had become thoroughly established in the Netherlands; there were not only public common schools, but every city and many rural places had their public Latin schools." It seems clear, therefore, that neither Luther nor the Pilgrim Fathers owed to Geneva or Calvin their conception of a common school system; and that it was not until several years after the Pilgrims had become established in the New World that this system though, perhaps, "introduced by John Knox into Scotland," became the property of the English nation,—the intercourse between England and Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries being far less free and familiar than was that between England and the Netherlands. And it would seem no less clear that it was during their temporary sojourn of eleven years in Holland that the Pilgrims became acquainted with the principles and workings of the Common School system, and that they borrowed from that wonderful little country the

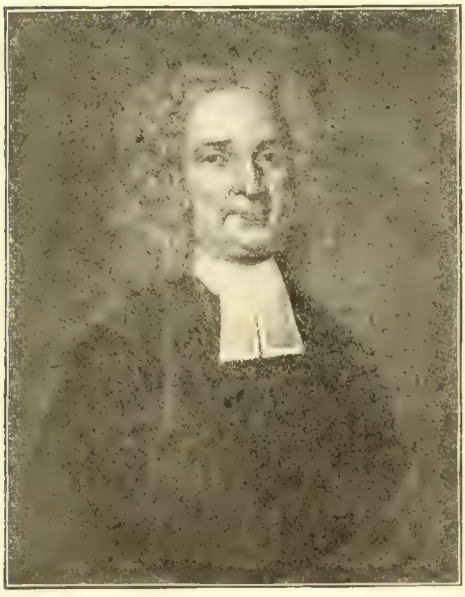
idea which they used so effectively in establishing their educational foundations in the New World.

It seems to admit of little question that the first public school established in North America was that of the Reformed Dutch Church in New Amsterdam, which has maintained a continuous existence from 1633 to the present time. From the discovery by Henry Hudson, in 1609, of the noble river to which his name has been given, while taking part in the persistent search of all early navigators for the fabled northwest passage to India, the interest of the Netherlanders in American settlements became continuous and aggressive. The few early settlers on Manhattan island were merely a handful of traders with the Indians; but gradually a more permanent settlement was established, which was later nourished and given greater stability by the Dutch West India Company, chartered by the States-General in 1621, with a field of operations which embraced Africa, the West India Islands, and the continent of America,—it being especially charged with the care and colonization of the New Netherlands, as the country about Manhattan island and adjacent to the Hudson river had been named. After purchasing Manhattan island from the Indians in 1624 for the princely sum of twenty-four dollars, payable in merchandise on which an enormous profit was made, the Company in 1629 enacted a "Statute of Freedoms and Exemptions," to encourage the establishment of colonies on their fertile river lands. By this charter the colonists were given freedom from taxation for a period of ten years, together with special privileges of land-holding (covering the Patroon System) and of self-government. In return for these liberal concessions the beneficiaries were enjoined as follows: "The patroons and colonists shall, in particular, endeavor to find out ways and means whereby they may support a minister and a schoolmaster; that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cool and be neglected among them;" and to accomplish this purpose, "each householder and inhabitant should bear such tax and public charge as should be considered proper for their maintenance." At an early date in the history of the settlement it had been ordered that "no other religion should be publicly admitted in the new province except the Reformed as it was then preached and practiced by public authority in the United Netherlands." Accordingly the first school was established under the auspices of that church, and has continued under its supervision, though maintained for the use of the general public. In 1633 Wouter Van Twiller, the second Director-General of the new province, arrived from Holland, bringing with him the first schoolmaster, Adam Roelandsen. This was a rudimentary school, teaching only reading, writing, and arithmetic, with the doctrines of the church. But in 1658, while the renowned Peter Stuyvesant was Director, the citizens petitioned "for a fit person as Latin schoolmaster, not doubting that the number of persons who will send their children to such a teacher will, from year to year, increase until an Academy will be formed, whereby this place to great splendor will have attained." The petition receiving favorable consideration the first classified school in New Amsterdam was established, its first principal, Dr. Alexander Carolus, being paid out of the public treasury five hundred guilders (about two hundred dollars) annually, besides which he was authorized to collect six guilders from each pupil, was allotted a house and garden, and was allowed to practice medicine.

The salaries paid these colonial teachers were meagre in the extreme, though, of course, the great difference between the purchasing power of a dollar then and now must be considered. But the schoolmaster's duties were rarely confined to teaching, as he was expected to take on certain minor duties connected with the church work, and frequently municipal functions. This was the custom in all the colonies. The Dutch teacher was also the grave-digger, the court bell-ringer, and church choir master; and it is evident

from a suit he brought in the courts to collect a laundry bill, that Roelandsen took in washing. The New England "Town Book" enumerated the following as the duties of the schoolmaster in 1660:

1—To act as Court Messenger.
2—To serve summonses.
3—To conduct certain ceremonial services of the church.
4—To lead the Sunday choir.
5—To ring the bell for public worship.
6—To dig graves.
7—To take charge of the school.
8—To perform other occasional duties.



JOHN COTTON.

In view then of the number and varied character of the duties the schoolmaster had to perform, it is not surprising to find that in New Amsterdam, as early as 1650, one William Vertens, apparently the first of a long and numerous succession, petitioned for "an increase of salary."

In 1630 John Winthrop with his little company arrived in the New World on the "Arabella," and proceeded to found Boston. Three years later another company, arriving in the "Griffin," included the foremost of the early scholars of the colony, John Cotton, just fresh from a successful pastorate in Boston of Old England. Cotton had been one of the foremost scholars of his time at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and is thought by many to have been the inspiring influence in the establishment of the first school in New England, the now famous Boston Latin School. However this may be, on the twenty-third day of April, 1635, the people of Boston, in town meeting assembled "upon publique notice," generally agreed that "our brother Philemon Purmont shall be entreated to become schoolmaster for the teaching and nourteuring of children among us." On the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the school, April 23, 1885, the Rev. Phillips Brooks, one of its many distinguished graduates, delivered the oration. Referring to the resolution of the town meeting he said: "How simple that short record is, and how unconscious that short view is of the future which is wrapped up in it! By it the first educational institution, which was to have continuous existence in America, and in it the public system of the land, came into being." As we have already endeavored to show, it seems clear that on the mere question of priority, Boston must yield precedence to New Amsterdam; but the little honor that young colony may lose by taking second rather than first place in the matter of time of foundation is more than offset by the zeal and intelligence that was everywhere manifested in the furtherance of the noble work so early begun, and in the determination that every child should have the opportunity, and be required, to secure at least a rudimentary education. Charlestown followed the example of Boston, and opened its first public school in 1636; Salem and Ipswich in 1637; Cambridge in 1642; and Roxbury in 1645; while the Plymouth Colony, more tardy in its recognition of educational needs, did not come into line until about 1650. These schools were not, in the modern sense, "free schools." That term, in colonial days, signified an institution which was not restricted to any class of students, but it looked forward to an ulti-

mate endowment. For the support of the Boston School the town set apart the rent of Deer Island, and of some of the other islands in the harbor. All the prominent citizens made contributions in its behalf; and those who sent children to it, and were able to pay for their instruction, were called upon to do so. Indian children alone were to be "taught gratis." In 1642 the General Court enjoined that the selectmen of every town should "have a vigilant eye on their brethren and neighbors, to see that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavor to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and (obtain) a knowledge of the capital laws; upon penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein." And "if, after admonition, parents were still neglectful of their duty in these particulars," children might be taken from their parents and bound to such masters as the selectmen might deem fit, to supply the place of the "unnatural parent." But it is to the great law of 1647 that we must look for the birth of the Massachusetts (and that means of the New England) school system, which has justly been called "the great charter of free education in the Commonwealth." "It being one chief project," the law reads, "of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these later times by persuading from the use of tongues, so that at last the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers; and to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors: It is therefore ordered by this court and authority thereof that every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him, to write and read; whose wages shall be paid, either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those who order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in the adjoining towns. And it is further ordered that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youths so far as they may be fitted for the University; and if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, then every town shall pay five pounds per annum to the next such school, till they shall perform this order." This law was mandatory and aimed at universal education. The schools were not to be established for any class, rich or poor; for the children of ministers or magistrates; but were to be the common nurseries of instruction where every child should be taught the rudiments of a general education; while in the "Grammar Schools," for which this law made such notable provision, one sees the forerunners of those preparatory schools which later became so prominent a factor in the New England educational system, some of which have achieved a renown second only to that of the great universities themselves. Similar laws were early enacted in the neighboring colonies, the Connecticut law of 1650 covering the same points, and using almost the same phraseology as the Massachusetts Statute,—the provisions for the establishment of secondary, or preparatory schools, being identical. As Maine was not set off from Massachusetts until 1820, and New Hampshire was subject to the same laws until 1693, any movements in those localities toward the establishment of schools during the seventeenth century followed the lines marked out by the General Court of Massachusetts. The size of the colony of Rhode Island, which numbered only ten thousand souls, and those widely scattered, in 1700, gave little en-

encouragement for the establishment of a school system, though there were schools at Providence and Newport before the close of the century. Under such auspices as these were set in motion the forces which were later to give to New England the distinction, which it has so well earned and so richly merited, of being the highest exponent of an enlightened educational and intellectual advancement, whose influence is felt to-day to the remotest bounds of our great country. None of the other colonies succeeded in actually establishing schools until the early part of the eighteenth century, though there were some sporadic attempts.

As has been said, none of these schools were strictly public schools in the sense in which the term is used to-day. In practically all cases a certain amount was paid for the tuition of each child by its parents, only the very poor and Indians ever receiving gratuitous instruction. Nor was the kind and amount of instruction given such as to mark the common school system with distinction. It was of the most elementary character, usually limited to reading, writing, and the simplest calculation. As Prof. Boone has said, in his "History of Education in the United States," "Its contents can be best shown, perhaps, by enumerating the schoolbooks used. Prior to 1665 Richard Mather's Catechism was, aside from the Bible, almost the only one known. Then and later the New Testament was in common use, and the Psalter, containing: 1—the Psalms; 2—Proverbs; 3—the Sermon on the Mount; and 4—The Nicene Creed. The "Horn book" was very early employed in this country, as in England. The historical "New England Primer" was not introduced until near the close of the seventeenth century, then taking the place of the Catechism. These books determined the organization of the school as follows:

1—Psalter class-beginners.
2—Testament class.
3—Bible class."

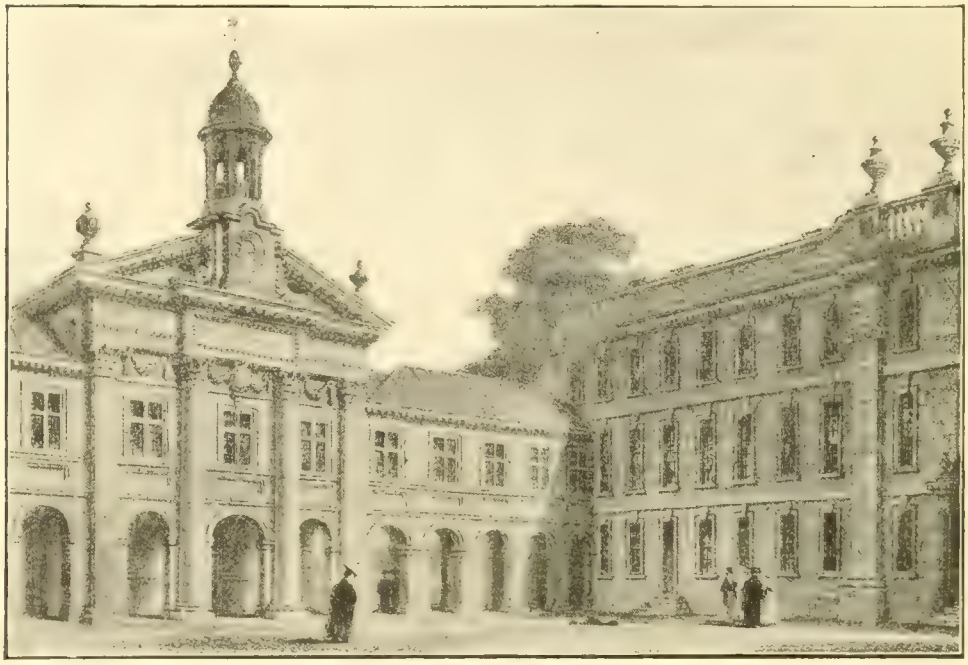
It should be remembered also that even these meagre educational advantages existed for boys alone, the girls having no share in the school privileges. It is true that the people of Dorchester, Mass., in 1639, when ordering the establishment of a school "left to the discretion of the elders and the seven men for the time being *whether maydes shall be taught with the boys or not;*" but there is no record that any action favorable to the "maydes" was ever taken. The prevailing sentiment of the period was expressed in the order which gave birth to the famous Hopkins School in New Haven, Ct., in 1684, which ruled that "all girls be excluded as improper and inconsistent with such a grammar school as ye law enjoins and as is the designe of this settlement." Nor was there any general change in this sentiment manifested until after the Revolutionary War, when it apparently began to dawn upon the male intelligence that a little more consideration for the mental culture of women might not result in disaster to either the civil or religious institutions of the Commonwealth. Between 1780 and 1800 many town records show that in the future it was the purpose of the people to allow the girls some share in the school privileges which had heretofore been the sole prerogative of the boys. Thus, the town of Gloucester, Mass., in 1790, resolved "that the master be directed to begin his school from the first day of April to the last day of September at eight o'clock in the morning and close at six o'clock in the afternoon, or any eight hours in the twenty-four as shall be thought the most convenient; and that two hours, or a proportionable part of that time, be devoted to the instruction of females—*as they are a tender and interesting branch of the community, but have been much neglected in the public schools of this town.*" As Grammar Schools became more common during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were occasional but rare instances in which girls were admitted to their privileges, though a distinguished educational authority who studied the records of about

two hundred New England towns found less than a dozen such cases during the seventeenth century. The "Dame Schools" were, however, open to the girls as well as boys; and any intellectual aspirations that the "tender and interesting branch of the community" may have had must perforce have found their realization in the puerile instruction offered in those educational nurseries. These so-called schools were conducted by women, usually in some room of their houses, and were most primitive affairs. As one has said, "There were no desks, maps, blackboards, nor any other equipment for school teaching, save a teacher, who, in many cases, knew little beyond the letters she was teaching, and, perhaps, a single copy of the horn book." The Dame School was usually a purely private venture; but as its usefulness was often manifest it came to be occasionally supported in part by the town, as is illustrated by the records of Springfield, Mass., which show that in 1682 "the selectmen agreed with Goodwife Mirick to encourage her in the good work of training up of children, and teaching children to read, and that she should have three pence a week for every child that she takes to perform this good work for."

The only text-book known to the youth of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries, except to those who were preparing for the University, was the Bible. Both in Old England and the New it was the Puritan's library of religion, philosophy, poetry, proverbial wisdom, and physical science; and apart from the ancient classics, with which only a limited number could become familiar, there were practically no other works. Remembering these facts, it is not surprising that the whole range of knowledge taught in the Elementary and Grammar Schools, apart from the College preparatory, down to the Revolution was embraced under the three heads of reading, writing, and religion. Even mathematics is rarely referred to until after 1750, the first record which points to its simplest forms being a Pennsylvania contract of 1683 with a teacher which provided that the children under his charge should "learn to read, write and *cast accounts.*" And though spelling was probably taught to a limited extent in connection with reading, it received no separate mention as a branch of study until toward the close of the eighteenth century. Of course during the early colonial days the same teacher taught all grades of pupils, from those just learning the alphabet to those pursuing the most advanced studies provided for. The schoolhouse was usually small, and rough, and made of logs; and all the children assembled in one room. As Watertown was one of the larger of the early settlements adjacent to Boston, its schoolhouse would probably be quite up to the average of those in rural communities, if not among the best; and the town record shows that in 1649 "John Sherman was appointed to procure the schoolhouse built; and to have it built 22 foot long, and 14 foot wide and 9 foot between joints."

Theoretically, and well-nigh in reality, the all-engrossing subject of thought and conversation among the early Puritans was Religion, and its text-book, the Bible. While its primal truths could be taught in the home and the school, there was ever before the eyes of the elders the necessity of preparing young men for the ministry, who in due course should be able to open up the "hidden mysteries of the Word" to parents and teachers. In England, Emmanuel College of Cambridge became the Protestant Theological Seminary, and nearly all the early New England ministers, and some of the civil leaders, were graduates of that College. In 1638 there were in the four or five settlements of Massachusetts and Connecticut more than forty graduates of Cambridge, and several Oxonians; and it has been roughly estimated that one of every two hundred and fifty of the inhabitants had received a college education,—a proportion three or four times larger than that of the present day. So numerous and influential were the Cambridge graduates that Cotton Mather wrote: "If New England hath

been in some respects Immanuel's land, it is well; but this I am sure of, Immanuel College contributed more than a little to make it so." Naturally to such men it was a matter of supreme concern that "the light of learning should not go out, nor the study of God's word perish;" and they very early turned their thoughts toward the establishment of a college for the higher education of their youth, "dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in dust." The General Court of Massachusetts which sat in 1636 was a small but notable body of representative citizens, presided over by one of the most remarkable men of the century, Sir Harry Vane, later a leader in the whole long contest between Charles I. and Parliament, the intimate friend of Milton, who possessed, as so conservative a writer as Sir James Mackintosh declared, "one of the most profound minds that ever existed,—not inferior, perhaps, to Bacon." On the records of the Assembly for the eighth day of September, 1636, this entry appears: "The Court agree to give four hundred pounds toward a school or college, whereof two hundred pounds shall be paid the next year, and two hundred pounds when the work is finished; and the next Court to appoint when and what buildings." In harmony with this action, the next General Court appointed twelve of the most notable men of the colony, including John Winthrop, Shepard, Cotton, Stoughton, and Dudley, "to take order for a college at Newtowne;" and a short time after the appointment of this commission, the Court changed the name of Newtowne to Cambridge, "a grateful tribute," as one has said, "to the trans-Atlantic literary parent of many of the first immigrants, and indication of the high standing to which they intended the institution they were establishing should aspire." But the money voted by the General Court was not forthcoming, and it is uncertain whether it was ever paid in; and down to 1638 nothing tangible had been done towards establishing the college, though popular interest in the undertaking had been stimulated and was thoroughly aroused. It is doubtful, however, whether definite action would have been taken at that



EMMANUEL COLLEGE.

time had not the death of Rev. John Harvard occurred in 1638, who bequeathed to the proposed institution one-half of his fortune, about eight hundred pounds (equivalent to the purchasing power of seven or eight thousand pounds of our money), and all his library, which was probably by far the largest in the Colony, and the best suited for college uses.

It is a most singular fact that a young man of good social and financial condition and of the highest moral and mental character, could spend ten or twelve years at one of England's foremost colleges; come to the New England Colony and commence his work as a preacher; and at his death leave what was for that time a royal gift to establish an institution of learning destined to stand at the head of all the educational institutions of the New World,—and yet for nearly two hundred and fifty years after his death not the slightest detail should be known of his ancestry or his family connections, nor of his own life, even to the intelligent and investigating minds of the scholars who owed their early knowledge and their inspiration for higher and continuous study to the institution which the beneficence of this stranger had established. Yet such was the state of knowledge regarding John Harvard, the earliest and in many respects the noblest of the many founders of educational institutions in the country, that so late as 1886 James Russell Lowell speaks of him "as scarce more than a name;" and nearly as recent a writer, paraphrasing the peculiar passage in Hebrews, said: "John Harvard seems to be the 'Melchizedec' of the first age of the Colony of Massachusetts. He is known to us only as a 'priest of the Most High God' and as one who 'gave gifts.' So far as any certified facts concerning his lineage or circumstances have been presented to us, he is without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor a known resting place for his mortal dust." Even so far back as 1842 James Savage, the most distinguished authority on the genealogies of the early settlers in Massachusetts, offered a reward of five hundred dollars for five lines of information about John Harvard, in any capacity, public or private; but no one ever claimed the reward. And in the preface to his interesting volume, "John Harvard and His Times," bearing the date of 1907, Mr. H. C. Shelley says: "This is a pioneer effort to reveal the character of John Harvard. It may seem incredible, yet it is nevertheless strictly true, that the present volume is the first to be written on the young minister whose generosity had such an important influence on the beginnings of education in America." The key that unlocked the mystery surrounding the life of this interesting man was the establishment, beyond question, of the fact that in documents and parish records of those days the name "which we know certainly to be intended for Harvard" is variously spelt as "Harwood," "Hervy," "Hawar," "Haward," "Herward," "Harvye," "Harvey," etc.; and the discovery in the records of St. Saviour's Church, in Southwark Borough, London, of the entry of the marriage of Robert Harvey, and later entries regarding the birth of his children, etc. From this single starting point a remarkably consistent and very interesting life story has been evolved. Robert Harvey, the father of John, settled in Southwark in 1597, and commenced life as a butcher. He was evidently successful in his business and accumulated quite a considerable property in a few years. Southwark's High Street was the main thoroughfare from the end of London bridge, the only bridge across the Thames at that time, to the south and west of England. For quite a distance from the river High Street was lined with some of the most famous of London's old historic Inns, including the noted "Tabard Inn" immortalized by Chaucer. These "Inns" were celebrated for the feasts, and the quality and abundance of the fare furnished, and naturally made the butcher's trade a lucrative one. Here, too, Shakespeare spent much of his life as actor and playwright, the records

showing that he was connected with the St. Saviour parish, of whose church Robert Harvey early became a vestryman. As Southwark was not then thickly settled it would seem certain that he and the great playwright must have been well acquainted; and it is believed that after the death of his first wife, it was Shakespeare who took Harvey to Stratford-upon-Avon, and introduced him into the Rogers family, then one of the most prominent families in that town of two thousand population. The Rogers house, from which Robert Harvey took away his second wife, Katherine Rogers, was the most pretentious one in the place, as it is today, being now known as the "Harvard" house. The marriage took place in 1605, and the following year the first child, Robert, was born, followed fifteen months later, November 29, 1607, by the birth of a second son, John Harvard. The family life of the Harvards seems to have been a peaceful and harmonious one, the family in 1625 including besides the father and

JOHN HARVARD MONUMENT.

mother, a child by the first wife, and five children as the result of the second marriage. In 1603 London had been visited by the plague which for many years was the scourge of Europe. One of its victims was the wife of Robert Harvey. In 1625 there was a second visitation, and within five weeks Robert Harvey and four of his six children had succumbed to its ravages, leaving only the widow and two sons, John and Thomas. Before John had graduated from Cambridge in 1635, his mother had become a widow for the third time, the generous fortune left her by her first husband being materially increased by the estates of his two successors. In 1627 John entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he remained until 1635. Nothing is known of his character as a student, nor of his relations with the family during these years. Leaving Cambridge, he returned to Southwark, with the happy anticipation, we may presume, of a visit with his mother and brother, only to find that his mother had passed away shortly before he reached home. It is evident from the tenor of her will that John was her favorite son, though she divided her estate between them without manifesting partiality. There are evidences that John spent the next year in general study, giving a great deal of time to the collection of the books which he wished to take with him to New England, which was no easy task in those days, as all booksellers were under a careful espionage by Archbishop Laud's minions, and a constant watch was maintained for books savoring of heresy against the Church of England, or of criticism of the Divine Right of Kings. In the spring of 1636 he married Ann Sadler, the sister of an Emmanuel College friend; and a year later they set out for the New World. The first reference to him in the annals of New England is the statement that in 1637, he was "admitted as townsman of Charlestown." He was apparently early installed as pastor of the first church there; but, though he survived the first winter, the approach of the second found him in a bad physical condition; and, consumption developing, he passed away in the autumn of 1638. That he was buried in Charlestown is considered well established; but just where, is unknown. For nearly two hundred years no action was taken to perpetuate his memory, the Col-

lege which he founded being his only monument. But in 1828 Edward Everett started a movement among the alumni in Boston, to erect a memorial of him in the old burying ground in Charlestown. A plain granite shaft was chosen as the form the memorial should take; and at its dedication Everett delivered one of his most scholarly addresses, eloquently emphasizing the influence which the act of the unknown minister in founding the College had exerted over all the subsequent generations. It was not pretended that the site of the monument marked the exact place of Harvard's burial; and it is as true to-day as it was in 1886, when Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes said in his poem read at the two hundred and fiftieth celebration of the founding of the University, that

"In vain the delving antiquary tries,
To find the tomb where generous Harvard lies."

Many loving memorials of Harvard have been erected during the last quarter of a century. In 1884, on the occasion of the tri-centennary celebration of the establishment of Emmanuel College, a beautiful memorial window was placed in the renovated chapel of that institution by Harvard Alumni, Professor Charles Eliot Norton and Ambassador James Russell Lowell representing the younger Cambridge and making appropriate addresses. The same year a fine statue of "John Harvard, Founder," was erected on the Delta of the University grounds. In 1904 a brass memorial tablet was placed in Emmanuel College by the University alumni, and in 1905 our Ambassador to Great Britain, one of Harvard's most distinguished sons, Joseph H. Choate, presented to St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, a rarely beautiful stained glass window. "Around John Harvard in New England," says his biographer, "as he lay on his death bed, were many ministers whose names, he must have thought, were destined to achieve a far greater and more enduring fame than his own, little dreaming that such of them as would be remembered would owe their renown to some casual mention of his own name. In that other England, too, he knew he had left men, students at Emmanuel with himself, whose names were to be carved deeply in the history of his native land; who, in

FIRST HARVARD COLLEGE.

the Senate, at the Court, and in the Church, would infallibly rise to high places and be accounted leaders in the nation's life. Yet, while even the greatest of these are known to few save the diligent student of history, while their court-honors have turned to dust and their achievements are lost in oblivion, the dying inspiration of John Harvard has given him an immortality which gathers brighter radiance with every passing generation."

That the people of Boston made immediate use of Harvard's generous bequest is evident. Among the records of the General Court, for 1639, under date of March 13th, occurs the following entry: "It is ordered that the college agreed upon formerly to be built at Cambridge shall be called Harvard College." The first superintendent of the infant institution was Nathaniel Eaton, a man of marked inefficiency, who was constantly in trouble, and finally in 1640, was fined and dismissed from the service for unmercifully flogging an usher. He was succeeded the same year by Henry Dunster, who had just arrived in the colony, on whom the title of president was first bestowed. He held the office for fourteen years, and by untiring energy succeeded in giving some stability to the foundation, and permanent

direction to the activities of the college. The first class, consisting of nine men, was graduated in 1642, each receiving the bachelor's degree. The oldest extant document relating to Harvard is a pamphlet bearing the title, "New England's First Fruits in respect to the Progress of Learning in the College at Cambridge, in Massachusetts Bay," etc., written in the form of a letter dated at Boston, September 26, 1642, which was published in London in 1643. In it the writer or writers describe the existing condition of the institution, the requisites for admission and for the taking of degrees, and give a detailed account of all the exercises of the first Commencement Day. "The edifice is very faire and comely within and without," the letter says, "having in it a spacious hall (where they daily meet at Commons, Lectures, Exercises); and a large library with some books to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their chambers and studies also fitted for and possessed by the students, and all other rooms of office necessary and convenient, with all needful offices thereto belonging, and by the side of the Colledge a faire Grammar Schooll for the training up of young scholars and fitting of them for Academicall learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this schoole." The writer further chronicles "Master Dunster's" success in governing and teaching the young men, he having "so trained up his Pupills in the tongues and arts, and so seasoned them with the principles of Divinity and Christianity that we have to our great comfort (and in truth) beyond our hopes, beheld their progresse in Learning and Godliness also; insomuch that we are confident if these early blossomes may be cherished and warmed with the influence of the friends of learning and lovers of this pious worke they will, by the help of God, come to happy maturity in a short time." The requisites for admission to the college, and for the granting of Degrees, are each described, respectively, as follows:

"When any Schollar is able to understand *Tully*, or such like classical Latine author *extempore*, and make and speake true Latine in Verse and Prose, *suo ut aiunt Marte;* And decline perfectly the Paradigms of *Nounes* and *Verbes* in the Greek tongue; let him then and not before be capable of admission into the Colledge."

"Every Schollar that on proofe is found able to read the Originalls of the *Old* and *New Testament* into the Latine tongue, and to resolve them *Logically;* withal being of godly life and conversation; And at any publick act hath the approbation of the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, is fit to be dignified with his first Degree."

"Every Schollar that giveth up in writing a *System or Synopsis,* or summe of Logick, Naturall and Morall *Phylosophy, Arithmetick, Geometry,* and *Astronomy;* and is ready to defend his *Theses* or positions; withal skilled in the Originalls as above said; and of godly life and conversation; and so approved by the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, at any publique *Act,* is fit to be dignified with his 2d Degree."

All through the seventeenth century the history of the College was one of continuous struggle for financial support, the outlook at times being most disheartening. During this entire period the president constituted the entire faculty, no tutor having been appointed until 1699, and no professorship established until 1721; and though this condition made it imperative that the presidents should be men of great learning, as well as possessed of executive ability, as they in fact were, yet the salary never exceeded two hundred pounds, and frequently only reached one hundred and fifty. The total grants made to the College by the colony during the first century of its existence amounted to only about eight thousand dollars; and at the close of that century (1736) the total annual income from all sources was only seven hundred and fifty pounds. During the administration of President Leverett (1707-24) improvements in the curriculum were initiated which, as they gradually became effective, materially changed the efficiency

and character of the college course. Down to the early part of the eighteenth century the only language the students were allowed to use while on the College premises, for any purpose of communication with the officials or with each other, was Latin. With the accession of President Leverett this custom was abolished, and English assumed its rightful position. Virgil and Cicero entire were made a part of the course, while Chaldee and Syriac were dropped. By the time of the Revolution the instruction had been organized into a system in four groups: 1. Latin; 2. Greek; 3. Logic and Metaphysic; 4. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy,—each group being put in the exclusive charge of one man. During the year 1775 the library and classes were removed to Concord, and the College halls were given to the use of the Continental Army, the president's house having been occupied for a time by General Washington. The era of the rapid development of the college may be said to have begun with President Kirkland's administration, in 1810, since which time its advance along all lines has been steady and vigorous. About six thousand students are now annually enrolled, who may elect their studies from the five hundred or more courses that are offered leading to the bachelor's degree, while the teaching force numbers about five hundred and fifty. The library has grown from the two or three shelves of books presented to the prospective college by John Harvard until it now ranks the third in the country with over eight hundred thousand volumes. Unfortunately

HARVARD COLLEGE CAMPUS, 1870.

but one volume of John Harvard's library is in existence, a large folio entitled the "Christian Warfare." This book happened to be in the hands of a borrower on the night of January, 1764, when Harvard Hall was completely destroyed by fire, and in it were burned all the other volumes that belonged to the founder. Until 1865 the College was nominally under state control; but since that date the government has rested upon the shoulders of the President and Fellows, under the general supervision of the Board of Over-

seers. "The growth of Harvard University under the administration of President Eliot," says Professor Dexter in his most admirable History of Education in the

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

United States, "has been rapid and healthy; and it must probably be placed at the head of the higher institutions of learning in our country, not only in point of age but of general influence."

During the autumn of 1908 it became known that President Eliot, who had so nobly maintained the honorable position of the University and had been so active in its advancement, had tendered his resignation to the governing board, to take effect upon the completion of his fortieth year of continuous and active service in the Spring of 1909. So closely had he been identified with the marvelous growth of the institution during the last third of a century, and so prominent a factor had he been in all its distinguished achievements, that the announcement of his resignation was received by the Alumni with the sincerest regret, not a few feeling that it would be next to impossible to find a successor who might acceptably take up his work. Early in 1909, however, the University authorities announced that Professor Abbott Lawrence Lowell had been selected as President Eliot's successor, a choice that has given great satisfaction to the Alumni and promises a maintenance of the high standard and ideals for the University which it was ever President Eliot's ambition to establish. Professor Lowell comes of the best of New England stock, his ancestors on his father's side having for several generations been prominent in social, judicial, and business life; while on his mother's side he is a grandson of Abbott Lawrence who was in his day one of the most prominent and highly esteemed merchants of Boston, after whom the city of Lawrence was named, as the city of Lowell was named after one of his paternal ancestors. Professor Lowell was born in 1856 and graduated from Harvard College in 1877, and Law School in 1880. For several years he was actively engaged in the practice of law, also serving as a trustee of the Institute of Technology, and as sole trustee of the Lowell Institute, founded by his great-uncle, which is described in the chapter on "Princely Gifts" in this volume. Professor Lowell has long been a student of European Continental politics, visiting Europe several times to prosecute such studies, and has given to the world the benefit of his labors in the form of several books on Government in Europe, which are of such a high standard that his work has been classed by critics with that of Bryce on the "American Commonwealth." In 1897 he was appointed a lecturer at the University on Government in Europe, and in 1899 became Professor of the Science of Government.

We have gone more fully into the early history of Harvard not only because it is the oldest and is now the most honored of our Colleges, and because of the interest that attaches to the personality of its young and heretofore unknown founder;

but also because that early history was that of all the other of our noted educational institutions founded previous to the middle of the nineteenth century. With hardly an exception they were established by men of positive and aggressive religious principles and policies, with the prime object of training young men for the ministry, so that the churches should not lack learned and cultured teachers and leaders. For all alike the early years were years of financial distress and disheartening struggle, prosperity and material success having come only during the life of the last two or three generations. The same general forms of government characterized them all, and the advantages, so far as the range of studies was concerned, offered by all were very similar. The institutions founded during the last fifty years have differed materially from the older ones, and from each other, in many ways which will be noted later on.

It is, of course, well known that action was taken by the home government looking toward the establishment of a University in Virginia fully twelve or fifteen years before the Puritans landed in Boston harbor. In 1616 the King (James I.) ordered the bishops of London to collect money for a college to be founded in Virginia, with the result that before 1620 about fifteen hundred pounds had been raised. In 1618 instructions sent to Governor Yardley ordained "that a convenient place be chosen and set out for the planting of a University at the said Henrico in time to come, and that in the meantime preparation be made for the building of the said College for the children of the infidels according to such instruction as we shall deliver. And we will ordain that ten thousand acres partly of the lands they impaled and partly of the land within the territory of said Henrico, be allotted and set out for the endowing of the said university and college with convenient provisions." This grant seems to have been duly made, and included one thousand acres for an Indian college; the remainder to be the foundation for a seminary of learning for the English. Whatever hopes may have been raised among the colonists by these measures, however, were unfortunately frustrated by the Indian uprising and massacre in 1622, when more than two hundred and fifty of the settlers were killed, and the villages and plantations utterly destroyed. This naturally postponed any consideration of the question of education, though the proposed University was not lost sight of, and it was ordered that "all the moneys collected be deposited until the plantation be so settled as there may be use of a school there."

The difference between the conditions of the settlement of New England and of Virginia had, naturally, a great influence in directing the respective school systems. In the northern colonies, as we have seen, active, bustling villages and towns sprang up during the seventeenth century all over Eastern Massachusetts and Southern Con-

ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL.

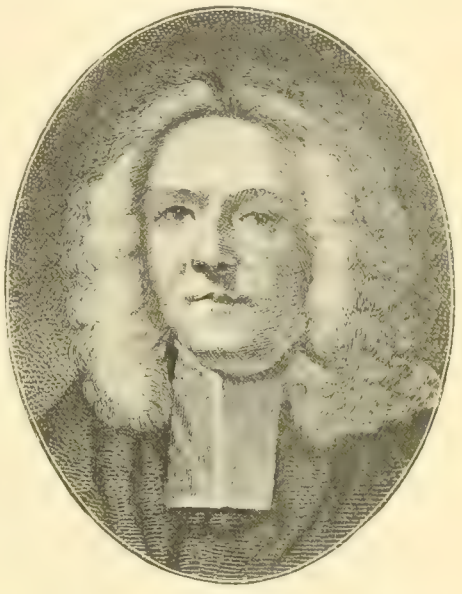
necticut. But in Virginia the county, and not the town, was the civil unit; and the settlers who stamped their characteristics of social and civil life on the state

were the Cavalier families, who left England after the execution of Charles I., and settled in Virginia. They were generally men of well-established and well-connected families, who took up large tracts in the new country, establishing the great plantations. Under such conditions anything like an elementary, common-school system such as gained an early foothold in New England was out of the question. There were a few so-called "free" Academies established on private foundations. Of such schools Fiske discovered five, the Symms School, founded in 1636; Capt. [illegible] Morris's in 1655; Richard Russell's in 1667; and the Eaton school about 1659. In speaking of the growth of Harvard College we referred to a little pamphlet published in London in 1643, entitled "New England's First Fruits." In 1649 a similar pamphlet regarding Virginia was also published in London; and in speaking of the many advantages which the new country offered to settlers the unknown writer says: "I must not forget to tell you we have a *free school*, with two hundred acres of land, a fine house upon it, forty milch kine, and other accommodations; the benefactor deserves perpetual memory; his name, Mr. Benj: Symms, worthy to be chronicled: other petty schools also we have." In 1671 the Lords Commissioners of education, inquiring of Sir William Berkeley, the governor, as to what provisions had been made in the colony for public instruction, received the following tart reply: "The same course that is taken in England, out of towns; every man according to his ability instructing his children. *But I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing*, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both." Of the wealthier planter-colonists some sent their sons to English schools and universities, while others had tutors and governesses sent out from England to care for their children; and in still other cases the clergymen of the parish also conducted a private school. As is well known the Poor Debtor laws of England until well into the nineteenth century were relics of the most vicious barbarism; and frequently poor scholars were imprisoned for nominal offenses. These, with other convicts, were more or less regularly shipped to the colonies; and in 1678 the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, rector at Annapolis, Md., declared "that two-thirds of the schoolmasters of Maryland were convicts, working out a term of penal servitude; and," he continues, "not a ship arrives with either redemptioners or convicts, *in which schoolmasters are not regularly advertised for sale*, as weavers, tailors, or other trade; with little difference that I can hear of except perhaps that the former do not usually fetch so good a price as the latter."

In 1725 the representative of the society for the Propagation of the Gospel located in Delaware, in a report on the state of education in his district, said: "There are some private schools within my respected district which are very often put into the hands of those who are brought into the country and sold as servants. Some schoolmasters are hired by the year by a knot of families who, in their turn, entertain him monthly, and the poor man lives in their homes like one that begged an alms, more than like a person in credit and authority. When a ship arrives in the river it is a common expression with those who stand in need of an instructor for their children, *'let us go and buy a schoolmaster.'* The truth is the office and character of such a person is generally very mean and contemptible here, and it cannot be otherwise till the public take the education of children into their mature consideration." While there is not much evidence that the proud Virginia Cavaliers were in the habit of getting tutors for their families in this way, yet it is hardly probable that the practice should have obtained so commonly in the adjacent colonies of Maryland and Delaware, and not have found some supporters in Virginia. In fact John Fiske (Old Virginia and her Neighbors) says:

"Sometimes the schoolmaster or private tutor was an indented white servant who had come out as a redemptioner, or even as a convict." It would naturally be idle to expect or look for any development of elementary education in localities where teaching was held in such low esteem, even had the country been more compactly settled, so as to admit of the establishment of schools. "As a matter of fact," says Professor Boone (Education in the United States), "however, there was no school system in any colony south of Connecticut before the Revolution, and no enterprise of the kind to speak of before the nineteenth century. As elsewhere, there were isolated and transient schools throughout the provinces, which had a commendable influence in forming public sentiment. In both Virginia and South Carolina, however, the sons of those who could afford it were sent abroad to be educated or put under tutors at home; and parents assisted by settled clergymen, and an occasional transient teacher, furnished all the elementary instruction of the period."

It is doubtless true that the lack of elementary public schools and the enforced expense of maintaining them led the Virginians to centre their regard and enthusiasm more effectually upon their famous college. At no time, since the massacre of 1622 had suspended the college movement, had the plan been lost sight of; and toward the close of the seventeenth century the colony was fortunate in having among its churchmen a scholar of distinction, as well as a man of great energy and business sagacity, in the person of James Blair. He was for many years before coming to Virginia a minister of note in the established church of England, and numbered among his close friends and supporters no less distinguished officials than Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Stillingfleet, the learned Bishop of Worcester. In 1668 Blair took up the project of establishing the college with energy, first collecting twenty-five hundred pounds from the wealthy planters toward its foundation, and then going to England where he enlisted the cordial support of the church, and raised additional funds. With great confidence and zeal he made his appeal directly to William and Mary for the charter and royal support, with marked success. The Treasury Commissioner, however, Sir Edward Seymour, treated



JAMES BLAIR.

him with scant courtesy, declaring that the nation had far greater need of its money to prosecute the war against Louis XIV. than to establish colleges in the colonies. "But," said Blair, "you must not forget that the people of Virginia have souls to save, as well as those of England." "Souls!" shouted Seymour, "damn your souls! Make tobacco!" But notwithstanding this official rebuff, Blair returned to Virginia with his charter and about two thousand pounds additional to establish the college. The charter stated the object of the institution to be "that the church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the Gospel, and that the youth may be properly educated in good manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated among the western Indians to the glory of Almighty God; to make, found, and establish a certain plan of universal study or

perpetual college of divinity, philosophy, languages, and other good arts and sciences." Financially, none of the leading institutions of the country founded prior to the nineteenth century was launched under such happy auspices. In addition to twenty thousand acres of the best land in the colony, it was to receive a tax of a penny a pound on all tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland, as well as the fees of the Surveyor-General's office. The College was opened in 1693 on the "Middle Plantation," between the James and York rivers, with James Blair as its first president,—a position he held with success and honor for fifty years. Shortly after the establishment of the college, Governor Nicholson decided to remove the capital from Jamestown, a malarial and unhealthful place, to the higher ground and more salubrious climate of the "Middle Plantation," which was done in 1699, the new town being named Williamsburg and having now the double honor of being the capital city and the seat of the college. The first commencement exercises were held in 1700; and it was regarded as one of the most important occasions in the early history of the colony. "Not only were Virginians and Indians present on that gala day," says an old chronicler, "but so great was the fame of it that people came in sloops from Maryland and Pennsylvania, and even from New York." Unlike Harvard, Yale, and other northern institutions, the full treasury of William and Mary enabled it to have a faculty from the start, it consisting of the President, a grammar master, writing master, and an usher until 1712, when a professor of mathematics was added; and in 1729 the number of professors was six. Though established on a royal foundation, and directly controlled in its government by the Church of England, William and Mary soon became one of the most prolific nurseries of liberty and independence in the colonies.

The life of the students seems to have been a free one, and when the legislature was in session Williamsburg was the scene of many distinguished assemblies, and of a more formal order of social life than could be seen elsewhere in the country. That the students were not devoted too exclusively to study is evident from one of the decrees of the faculty which ordered "y^t no scholar belonging to any school in college, of w^t age, rank, or quality soever, do keep any race horse at y^e college, in y^e town, or anywhere in the neighborhood, —y^t they be not in any way concerned in making races, or in backing, or abetting, those made by others; and y^t all race horses kept in y^e neighborhood of y^e college and belonging to any of y^e scholars, be immediately despatched and sent off, and never again brought back, and all of this under Pain of y^e severest animadversion and punishment." Other similar orders forbade "cock-fighting, betting, the playing of billiards, and the bringing of cards or dice into the college."

The influence of William and Mary in the South, down to the time of the Revolution, was marked and most salutary. On the roll of its alumni will be found the name of nearly every man from Virginia prominent in the political events that led up to the break with the mother country; and the college has the further distinct honor of having been the birthplace in 1776 of the first Greek Letter Fraternity —Phi Beta Kappa—to whose membership only men (and since 1875 women) of the highest scholastic attainments are admitted. John Fiske has so concisely and sympathetically summarized some of the distinctive characteristics and glories of William and Mary that we cannot do better than quote his words: "The College founded by James Blair was a most valuable centre for culture for Virginia, and has been remarkable in many ways. It was the first college in America to introduce teaching by lectures, and the elective system of study; it was the first to unite a group of faculties into a university; it was the second in the English world to have a chair of Municipal Law, George Wythe coming to such a professorship a few years after Sir William Blackstone; it was the first in America to establish a chair of History and Political Science;

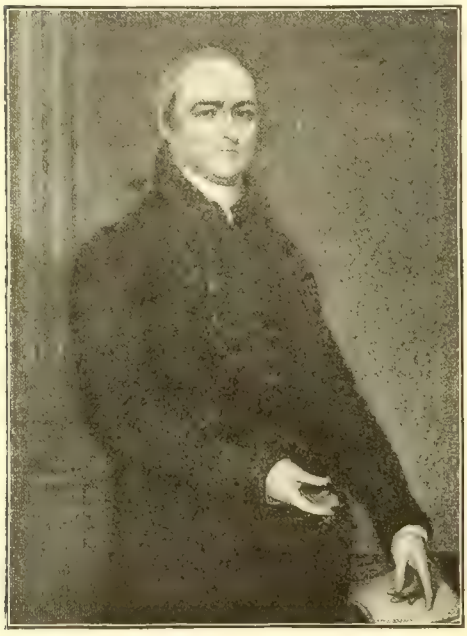
and it was one of the first to pursue a thoroughly secular and unsectarian policy. Though until lately its number of students at any one time had never reached one hundred and fifty, it has given to our country fifteen senators and seventy representatives in Congress; seventeen governors of states and thirty-seven judges; three Presidents of the United States,—Jefferson, Monroe, and Tyler; and the great chief justice Marshall. It was a noble work for America that was done by the Scotch parson James Blair."

It is estimated that at the beginning of the eighteenth century there were less than one hundred thousand people in New England, of which number Massachusetts could claim about sixty thousand and Connecticut about fifteen thousand. Under such conditions there hardly seemed to be a demand for a second college in New England. But the inconvenience and expense of the journey from Connecticut to Boston, coupled with the desire of the ministers of that colony to have a college of their own, led in 1698 to a plan for a college to be founded and directed by a general Synod of the churches, which should be called the Church School. In 1699 ten of the principal clergymen of the colony were agreed upon to be "Trustees to found, erect, and govern a college." The next year, 1700, a meeting of these trustees was held, and each one brought an armful of books which he laid upon the table, repeating the formula, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." These volumes and the acts of the Trustees at this meeting constitute the beginning of Yale College. The following year a charter was obtained, and Rev. Abraham Pierson, a graduate of Harvard of the class of 1668, was chosen the first Rector. The School (it was not called a College until some years later) was opened in March, 1701, Jacob Hemingway being the first and only student. For the first sixteen years of its existence the School had no home, one class being located in one town, another, in another. "Yale College was founded," says President Hadley, "after a fashion at the beginning of the last (eighteenth) century, along the north shore of Long Island Sound. For many years it was difficult to say what it was and where it belonged." When, however, in 1716 it was determined the School must have a home somewhere a bitter fight broke out between Hartford, New Haven, and Saybrook for the honor of being the seat of the colony's first institution of learning. The General Assembly, however, the next year decided the question in favor of New Haven. Toward the end of the previous century determined but unsuccessful attempts had been made to establish religious tests at Harvard; and as a result of their failure in this effort some of the leading divines both of Massachusetts and Connecticut

ELIHU YALE.

became critical of conditions at the Cambridge College, and espoused the cause of the new Connecticut school. Prominent among these malcontents were the two Mathers, in Boston; and it has been supposed that a letter of Cotton Mather first called the attention of Elihu Yale to the struggling New Haven School. Yale,

whose father came out to the Connecticut Colony in 1638, was born at or near Boston, in 1649. In 1652 the family returned to England, where Elihu was educated. In 1678 he joined the East India Company, making a large fortune while in the East, and being the Governor of Madras from 1687 to 1692. Between 1714-1721 he gave

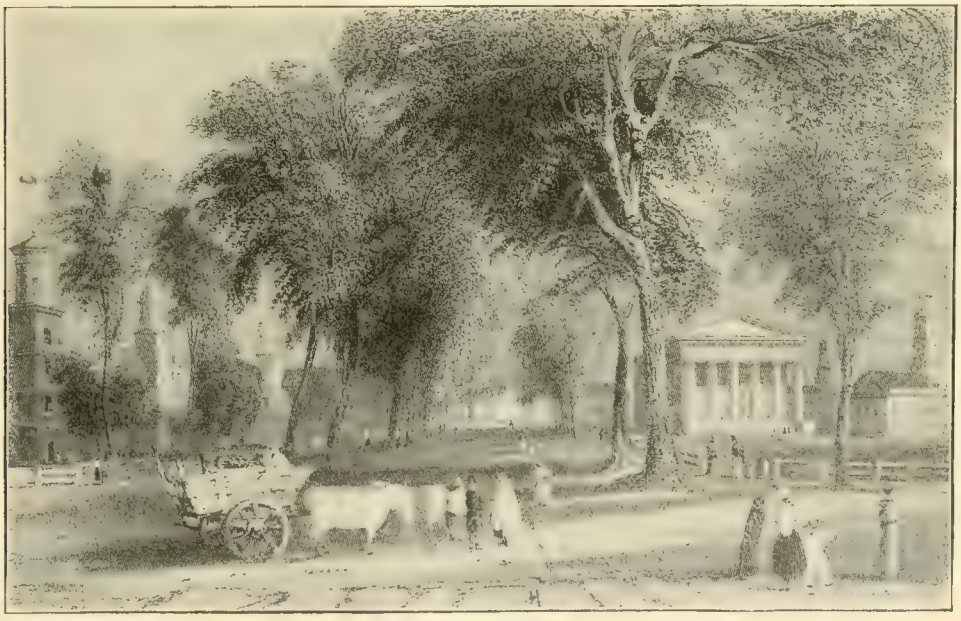


TIMOTHY DWIGHT.

about eight hundred pounds to the new School, as well as many books. This gave the infant school a start and made its foundation more secure. But its growth was slow, and like all its sister institutions, it was always in need of funds. In 1745 a new charter was granted, and the name was formally changed to "Yale College in New Haven." During the Revolutionary war the College was again broken up, some of the students going to Wethersfield, others to Glastonbury; and "the president visited the different classes as often as he could with convenience." But with the inauguration of Timothy Dwight as president, in 1795, Yale began a new era of prosperity. At that time the whole number of students was less than one hundred; and the faculty consisted of the president, one professor, and three tutors. Dwight was particularly successful in strengthening the faculty, securing within a short time men like Benjamin Silliman, Jeremiah Day, and James Kennedy, each of whom gave more than fifty years of his life to the college. In 1846 regular graduate courses of instruction were established, the first degree being conferred in 1852. The Sheffield Scientific School was founded in 1847, and in 1886 the name was changed to Yale University. The growth of the institution has been steady, though lately it has not been so marked as that of Columbia and Harvard. There is now a regular average attendance of about three thousand three hundred students,—with a corps of about four hundred instructors. The library contains close to 375,000 volumes.

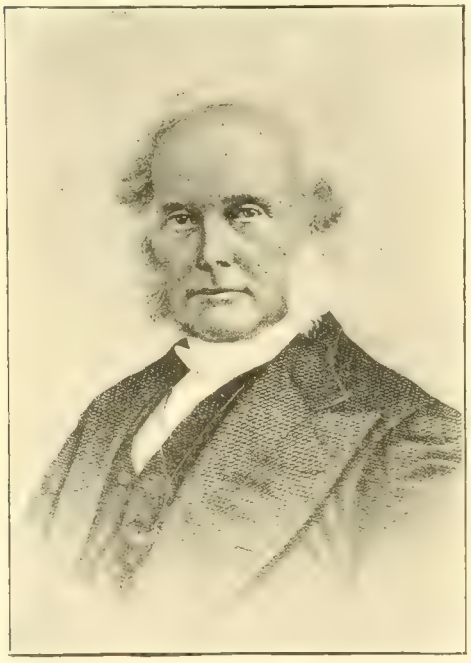
One of the most unique of the higher institutions of learning was the "Log College" of William Tennent, famous in itself and for its own work, but also as the forerunner of Princeton College. Tennent was an Irishman, a graduate of Edinburgh University in 1695, who came to America in 1716, and in 1727 was pastor of a Presbyterian church at the "Forks of the Neshaminy," in Pennsylvania. He was a strong preacher, of great piety, and of broad learning and culture, and a teacher inspired with a love for his work among young men. Realizing the dire need of some school for higher learning, even for his own sons, he built a log house about twenty feet square, which, with Tennent himself, constituted the entire plant, teaching force, etc., of the College during the twenty years of its existence. Whitefield visited the school while on his tour through the United States, and in his journal said of it: "It is a log house about twenty feet long, and near as broad; and to me it resembled the school of the Hebrew prophets. From this despised place seven or eight ministers of Jesus have lately been sent forth, more are almost ready to be sent, and a foundation is now being laid for the instruction of many others." When, in 1742, Tennent withdrew from active labor at the age of seventy, the school ceased to

exist, but it had awakened in the Presbyterian denomination the purpose to establish a college for educating their young men for the ministry, so that it should not be necessary to send to the old country for their preachers. The result of Tennent's work, and of the interest it aroused, was the foundation of Princeton College, whose charter was secured in 1748. Like Yale, it had at first no home, the earliest work being done at Elizabethtown. Of the first trustees six were graduates of Yale, three of Harvard, and three of Tennent's Log College. The requirements for admission, as well as the courses of study adopted, were practically the same as those of Harvard and Yale. When in 1751 it was determined to build a permanent home for the young college, a lively contest ensued among the New Jersey towns for the honor of having the institution located within their limits. New Brunswick seemed about to be selected when the people of Princeton bestirred themselves, and outbade their rivals, so securing the coveted prize in 1752. Two years later work was begun upon Nassau hall, which is still the building of greatest interest to all alumni, and the one about which centre the richest sentiments of devotion of all Princeton graduates. The building was finished in 1757 and was then considered the finest edifice of any character in the colonies, and is to-day one of the most venerable and imposing of all college buildings. It was first occupied in 1756, when there were seventy students; and at the commencement of that year, twenty-two were graduated. It was the following year that the noted scholar and theologian, Jonathan Edwards, was chosen president, but his career was cut short by death only two months after his installation. In 1768 John Witherspoon, destined to become one of the great leaders in the national struggle for independence, accepted the call to the presidency, though he had declined it two years before. On his mother's side Witherspoon was descended from John Knox, and was graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1742. He was recognized in Scotland as one of the most learned and eloquent expounders of Calvinistic doctrines, and was honored by all the colleges of that faith in Great Britain. He brought to the infant college at Princeton a gift of the greatest value



YALE COLLEGE, 1830.

at that time in the shape of a library of about six hundred volumes. Upon arriving in this country he at once identified himself ardently with the advocates of liberty and separation, and by his writings and addresses was a powerful influence in bringing the Scotch and Scotch-Irish elements of the people into line as supporters of the cause of the people. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independ-



JAMES McCOSH.

ence, and served twice in the Continental Congress,—a man of the most pronounced patriotism as well as of religious earnestness. During his administration of the affairs of the College a great advance was made in the introduction of the latest educational methods and improvements in the system of teaching. He introduced the lecture system, himself giving courses on rhetoric, moral philosophy, history, and theology. It was during his administration that Princeton was, for so long a time, the very centre of the contending forces of the Revolutionary War. Speaking of the college at this time, and of its one building, Professor Sloane has said: "When first completed Nassau Hall was visited by travelers as the largest building then in the colonies. Within the walls of this now venerable and stately pile were quartered the troops of contending British and Americans in the Revolutionary War. The Continental Congress used it for their sittings when driven from Philadelphia, and adjourned in 1783 to attend the college commencement in a body. Its walls still bear the imprints of cannon balls used in the battle of Princeton, and on them hangs a portrait of Washington painted by Peale. It was paid for by the money given as a personal gift by the former for the use of the building by his troops, and fills a frame which once contained an effigy of George II. Nine signers of the Declaration of Independence frequented its halls, and its windows blazed with light in a grand illumination when the news of the signing reached the town. Aaron Burr studied in its class-room; and his body was borne from its walls to a neighboring church yard." Of course, the college suffered greatly in every way during the Revolutionary War,—its library was scattered, its apparatus destroyed, and its routine work sadly demoralized. After the war the State of New Jersey voted six hundred pounds a year for three years to aid the College in replacing its lost or destroyed property. When peace again settled upon the land the college had a rapid growth; and at the opening of the nineteenth century had about two hundred students, with a graduating class of fifty-four. Princeton has always been one of the most conservative of the older colleges, and for the last sixty years its growth has been steady and its standards high. Dr. McCosh, who became its president in 1868, holding the office for twenty years, was one of the most influential and commanding figures in the educational world during that period,—his administration and influence greatly advancing the reputation of the institution, and inspiring all its departments with new life and energy. Dr. McCosh was succeeded as president by the Rev. F. L. Patton, who resigned in 1902 and was immediately succeeded by

the historian and distinguished student of Political Science, Woodrow Wilson,—a succession that demonstrated to the public that Princeton was disposed to keep pace with its sister institutions in their recognition of the fact that new forces were at work in, and would characterize, the twentieth century, and that all colleges and universities that would share in these advanced movements must throw off the shackles of sectarian conservatism which had heretofore too frequently dominated their courses. Princeton has no professional schools. The Theological Seminary is a closely affiliated institution, but a separate corporation. The average enrollment of students is now about sixteen hundred, and the teaching force numbers about one hundred and sixty. The dignified retirement of ex-President Grover Cleveland to Princeton, where, though not directly connected with the college, he was an occasional lecturer on political history and civic questions, as well as one of the most highly esteemed and honored friends of both officers and students, added not a little distinction to the later history of the College and the town.

Few of the early documents bearing on the rise and advancement of learning, and of academic institutions, in the colonies were more interesting in their character, or have been more fruitful of permanent and notable results, than two announcements that appeared in the issue of the New York Mercury for May 31, 1754. One of these stated that a "public Lottery" would be held "as a further provision toward founding a college for the advancement of learning within the colony, to consist of five thousand tickets at thirty shillings each, eight hundred and thirty-two of which are to be fortunate." The other announcement took the form of a long and detailed advertisement, setting forth the character, purpose, course of instruction, etc., of the "intended Seminary or college of New York," over the signature of Samuel Johnson, who further advises the public that "The trustees have thought fit to appoint me to take charge of it." The lengthy statement which followed, addressed "To such parents as now have (or expect to have) children prepared to be educated in the College of New York," announced that it "was proposed to begin tuition upon the first day of July next, at the vestry room in the new schoolhouse adjoining to Trinity Church in New York, which the gentlemen of the vestry are so good as to favor them with the use of in the interim till a convenient Place may be built." After a lengthy statement as to the standard of education and character to be striven for, the advertisement declares that "the Chief Thing that is aimed at in this College is to teach

Photo. Copyrighted by J. E. Purdy, Boston.
WOODROW WILSON.

and engage the children *to know God in Jesus Christ,* and to love and serve Him in all Sobriety, Godliness, and Richness of Life, with a perfect Heart and a willing mind; and to train them up in all Virtuous Habits, and all such useful Knowledge as may render them creditable to their Families, and Friends, ornaments to their Country, and useful to the Public Weal in their generation. . . . To

which good purposes it is earnestly desired that Parents, Guardians, and Masters would train them up from their cradles, under strict government, and in all Seriousness, Virtue, and Industry. And above all, that in order hereunto, they be very careful themselves to set them good

FIRST KING'S COLLEGE.

examples of true Piety and Virtue in their own conduct." "Vth and lastly," the advertisement continues, "a serious, virtuous, and industrious course of Life being first provided for it is further the Design of this College to instruct and perfect the Youth in the learned languages, and in the Arts of Reasoning exactly, of writing correctly, and speaking eloquently, and in the Arts of Numbering and Measuring, of Surveying and Navigation, of Geography and History, of Husbandry, Commerce, and Government; and in the knowledge of all nature in the Heavens above us and in the Air, Water, and Earth around us, and the various kinds of Meteors, Stones, Mines, and Minerals, Plants, and Animals, and of everything useful for the comfort, the convenience, and elegance of Life in the chief Manufactures, finally to lead them from the Study of Nature to the Knowledge of Themselves, and of the God of Nature, and their Duty to Him, themselves, and one another. And everything that can contribute to their true Happiness, both here and hereafter. This much, Gentlemen, it is thought proper to advertise you of, concerning the Nature and Design of this College." Below Mr. Johnson's signature is the following, "N. B. The charge of Tuition is established by the Trustees to be only Twenty-five shillings for each quarter."

Later in the same year (1754) a charter incorporating "the governors of the college of the Province of New York in the city of New York, in America," was granted by George II., and the actual work of instruction was begun. Shortly after, a building thirty feet wide by one hundred and eighty feet long was erected on land in the "skirts of the city," being on the lots now bounded by Church, Barclay, and Murray streets. This building was the college home for more than one hundred years. For the first year of the college's existence President Johnson was the sole member of the faculty; but with the incoming of the second class his son was appointed a tutor. In 1758 the first commencement was held, eight men receiving their bachelor's degrees; and in 1767 the Medical Department was established. During the Revolutionary War the work of the college was virtually suspended, the college building was converted into a hospital, and the apparatus and books were stored. After the evacuation of New York by the British troops, however, the State Legislature passed "an act for granting certain privileges to the college, hitherto known as King's College, for altering the name and charter thereof, and erecting a University within the State;" and in 1787 the new charter, similar to the old one, was granted and the name changed from King's to Columbia College. One of the most important of the early acts of the Trustees was the establishment in 1798 of the Professorship of Law, with the Hon. James Kent as its first incumbent; and it was as the head of this department that he prepared and delivered to the students of Columbia the remarkable course of lectures which constitute his learned "Commentaries on American Law,"—conferring upon American students not only of Law, but also of Political and allied Sciences, the same great boon that Sir William Blackstone had given to the English people forty years before in his "Commentaries on the

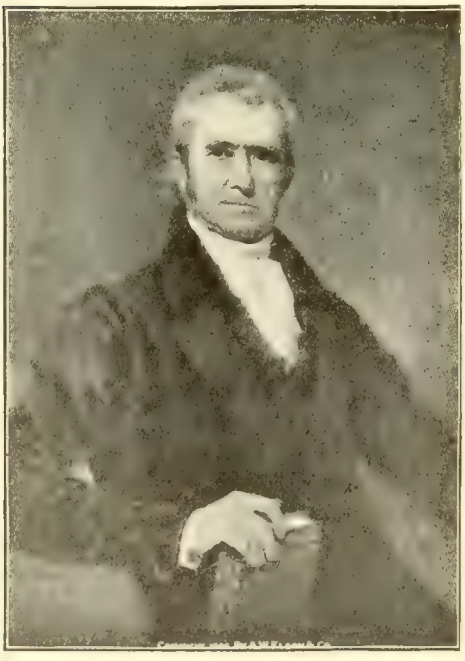
Laws of England." The Medical School, established in 1767, was made independent of the college in 1814, as the College of Physicians and Surgeons, but was reannexed to Columbia in 1860, and fully reincorporated as the Department of Medicine in 1891. In 1864 the School of Mines was established; and it is not too much to say that down to about the last decade of the nineteenth century the college proper was little more than a New York city institution; while its three great schools of Medicine, Law, and Mines attracted students from all parts of the country who far outnumbered the students attendant upon the usual college courses.

By 1857 the college had entirely outgrown its old buildings and site, and a move was then made, again to the "skirts of the city" at the corner of Madison avenue and Forty-ninth street, where it remained until, about forty years later, another move was made to the present superb site on Morningside Heights,—commanding the finest and most enchanting views of the Hudson valley and Long Island Sound,—and the erection of new and thoroughly modern buildings, equipped with every facility for the conduct of the best collegiate work, was begun. One of the most conspicuous of these, the Library building, costing one million dollars, was the personal gift of President Seth Low to his Alma Mater, as a memorial of his father, one of New York's most distinguished merchants. In 1901 Mr. Low resigned the presidency to engage in the mayoralty contest, in a determined effort to redeem the city from the clutches of Tammany; and Nicholas Murray Butler was elected his successor, assuming the duties of the office, January 1, 1902. Mr. Butler, who was forty years of age when made president, had probably had a larger experience in pedagogical work, and had studied its philosophy and engaged more extensively in its practical development, than any other living educator in the United States except that Nestor of teachers, and wisest and most venerated of college presidents,—to whom instructors and scholars alike gladly yield supreme honors, Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard. Under the liberal policies that now obtain at Columbia, the wide outlook and the keen scent for new avenues of educational, political, and civic influence, the institution is forging ahead and assuming a masterful position at an unprecedented rate, and with a most brilliant prospect for material growth, and a more pronounced influence in all things that make for higher culture and for righteousness. At the beginning of 1908 its roll of instructors numbered more than six hundred, while about fifty-two hundred students were sharing in the advantages offered by the university, not the least of which is the library with upwards of 450,000 volumes.

Of course our space will not admit of any detailed account of the early history of the many colleges and universities, too many of them only so-called "Universities," which are now scattered over the entire country, most of them blessings to the communities in which they have been established, and rich in uplifting influ-

Photo. Copyrighted by J. E. Purdy, Boston.
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

ences. In addition to the five oldest and most representative institutions already described nineteen others were established before the opening of the nineteenth century. In connection with the early history of two of these interesting questions arose. When in 1793 a charter was sought for Williams College, in Massachusetts, a vigorous and formal remonstrance was filed by Harvard, which urged that *it* "was properly a college of the whole government; and that the Commonwealth would do its people an injury by taking the support from one old and established institution, and encouraging a new and feeble school." And though the protest failed, the question was raised which is still an open and much-discussed one, as to the advisability of creating so many new schools. When one considers that there are now, for example, in Massachusetts thirteen; in New York, twenty-six; in Pennsylvania, thirty-three; in Virginia,



JOHN MARSHALL.

fourteen; in Tennessee, twenty; in Ohio, thirty-four; in Illinois, thirty-one; in Kansas, twenty; in Washington (State) six; in Oregon, eight; and in California, twelve colleges whose charters empower them to bestow the academic degrees, a large proportion of them maintaining a most precarious existence simply to conserve sectarian prejudices, one may well question whether money, energy, and talents are not frittered away in seemingly futile efforts to bolster up weak and struggling institutions, which would be much more effectually used, and would realize for the people of the states concerned far greater benefits, under a wise concentration of endowment and endeavor.

Dartmouth College, growing out of the efforts of the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock to Christianize the Indians (begun in 1754) had for many years a checkered and troublous existence. In 1769 a royal charter was secured for the school with the title of Dartmouth College, in honor of Lord Dartmouth. Early in the nineteenth century internal troubles developed, and in 1815 the State Legislature ousted the trustees of the old institution, incorporating a new College, with a new Board of Trustees. To determine the legality of this act the old Board brought suit in the State Courts with the result that the course of the Legislature was sustained as valid. An appeal was then made to the Supreme Court of the United States, which was heard in March, 1818, Daniel Webster, who had graduated from Dartmouth in 1801, appearing for the appellants. The gist of Mr. Webster's argument was "that the charter of Dartmouth College created a private corporation for administering a charity; that in the administration of such uses the trustees have a recognized right of property; that the grant of such a charter is a contract between the sovereign power and the grantees and descends to their successors; and that, therefore, the Act of the New Hampshire Legislature in taking away the government from one board of trustees and conferring it upon another was a violation of contract," and so repugnant to that clause of the Constitution of the United States which refused to any state the power to pass a "law impairing the obligation of contracts." In this conten-

tion every position taken by Mr. Webster was fully sustained, the distinguished chief justice, John Marshall, delivering the opinion of the Court. And the prosecution of this, the famous "Dartmouth College Case," not only at once placed Webster in the front rank of constitutional lawyers, but the decision of the learned court, as voiced by Marshall, has always been considered the most far-reaching, in all its effects, for weal or for woe, of all the judgments that Court has rendered during its entire history.

Although, as we have said, it is impossible to give here any detailed account of the great number of Colleges and Universities that are now established in this country, yet, as the totals probably so far exceed any conceptions of those not familiar with the facts, before leaving the subject of colleges we shall give the latest available statistics as presented by the Bureau of Education, and which may be relied upon as practically correct for the present time. There are in the United States 493 "Universities, Colleges, and Technical Schools," which employ 18,520 male and 2,571 female instructors, and have an enrollment of 177,560 male and 51,792 female students. The total income of these institutions (1905-6) was $40,705,120; their libraries contained 11,310,509 bound volumes; their scientific apparatus was valued at $25,626,268; and their grounds and buildings at $236,253,175; while the total of their productive funds was placed at $236,613,929. Whatever other suggestions these unparalleled summaries may convey, they proclaim more emphatically than any words could do that it is no less the purpose of the sons of the twentieth century, than it was of the Pilgrim Fathers of the seventeenth, to make sure that the "light of learning may not die out, nor the study of God's word perish."

That a more or less well-defined system of Collegiate education should have been early worked out in the colonies is not surprising, as a very large number of the settlers from the date of the first arrivals were graduates of English or Continental Universities. They brought with them clearly defined ideas of what the higher institutions of learning should be. But of primary or secondary systems of schools there were no examples existing in England, and none on the Continent that seem to have so impressed themselves upon the colonists as to endure the process of transplanting. Their first essays in the direction of the nurture of education looked uniformly toward the establishment of colleges, with but little practical thought as to the sources from which the College must derive its student support. Consequently for two hundred years after the foundation of the Virginia, Massachusetts Bay, and Connecticut settlements the Colonists were experimenting as to elementary and secondary education with very dubious results. So obstinate seemed the conditions to be overcome, and so unsuccessful their early ventures, that for the first half century preceding the Revolutionary War there was a general decline along these lines throughout the colonies. This was attributed in part, perhaps, to the unsettled social and political conditions that prevailed as a result of the many Indian wars, and to the growing troubles with the mother country; but it was more especially due to the lack of a lively appreciation of the need of such schools, and of the vital relation they bore to the colleges they had labored so enthusiastically and devotedly to establish, and of which they were so justly proud. Even so early as 1701 the Massachusetts General Court complained that the fundamental law of 1647, which required every town of fifty families to open an elementary school, and every town of one hundred families, a grammar school was "shamefully neglected by diverse towns and the penalty thereof not required." As the penalty for non-compliance with the statute was fixed at the low sum of five pounds, many localities found it much cheaper and far less troublesome to pay the fine than to maintain the school. After the war an effort was made in Massachusetts to remedy the evils that had crept in and to meet new conditions

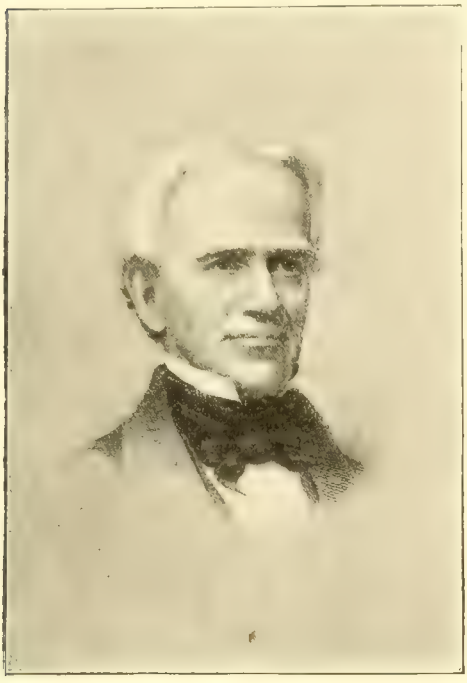
by the passage of the school law of 1789. By that act, among other things, the *District School System* was established to meet the needs of rural populations too far removed from the town to enjoy the benefits of its school. Towns of fifty families were to support an English school at least six months during the year, at which reading, writing, the English language, arithmetic, orthography, and decent behavior were to be taught, which was a marked enlargement of the curriculum of the existing schools. The terms of schools in towns of one hundred, one hundred and fifty, and two hundred families were fixed so that sessions should be more continuous; while the penalties for failure to comply with the provisions were raised to ten pounds in the case of elementary, and thirty pounds in the case of grammar schools. The law required that all teachers should be college graduates, and should "produce satisfactory evidence thereof;" and further made citizens of the United States alone eligible as teachers, a reflection of the animosities resulting from the war. This law continued in force until 1826, when the system of control of school affairs in each locality was placed in the hands of *School Committees* of not less than five persons, who were to be elected at the annual town meetings. In 1837, however, the greatest step in advance was made by the creation of the State Board of Education, of which the distinguished Horace Mann was made the first Secretary. Then followed the development of the general system of primary and secondary education which has made of the schools of the state models that nearly every other state in the Union has copied.

The decline in the efficiency of the grammar schools in the latter part of the eighteenth century, however, gave rise to another class of institutions which has exerted a far-reaching influence. These were the *Academies,* which were the direct successors of the grammar schools, and the forerunners of the present day High Schools. Many of these Academies were local affairs, and so not possessed of great permanency or influence; others were institutions of broad scope and well founded, which drew students from all parts of the country. The first of these institutions to become well established and to take out a charter was the Germantown Academy, near Philadelphia, in 1753. The first to incorporate in Massachusetts was the Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass., in 1780; and at about the same time the Phillips Academy at Exeter, N. H., was also chartered. The third to be established in New England was the Dummer Academy, which was chartered in 1782, though it had been in successful existence since 1761, and was the pioneer Academy of New England. In the latter year Lt. Gov. Dummer bequeathed his mansion and three hundred and twenty acres of land for the establishment and support of the school which was opened in Byfield, Mass. It achieved marked success from the start, which was largely due to the personal influence of its principal, Samuel Moody, who was one of the most noted educators of his century. Under his wise and intelligent supervision the Dummer Academy early became, according to a historian of these institutions, "the best type of an English grammar school that had existed on American soil." Mr. Moody was a graduate of Harvard, and his appointment as principal of the Academy was for life, and he could only be removed in case the Overseers of Harvard College adjudged him "immoral and incompetent." These academies multiplied rapidly all over the country, and before 1820 there was hardly one of the older states where they were not to be found, doing the best educational work that had been done; and many of them with established reputations that reached far beyond the confines of their own states. Some of these, in addition to those already named, were the Leicester, Mass., Academy (1784); the Newark, N. J.; the Wilmington, N. C.; the Warren, R. I.; the Philadelphia, and the renowned Moravian Academies at Bethlehem and Nazareth, in Pennsylvania. At first the

schools were chiefly open to boys alone, public opinion not yet having advanced to the more enlightened plane which would admit of the highest school advantages common to both sexes. But the rapidly growing popularity of these Academies began early to excite among the girls a desire for school advantages which rapidly developed into a demand, so that during the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries many of these institutions became coeducational, while others were chartered for the exclusive use of women. In 1784 Leicester Academy threw its doors open to both sexes, with equal advantages for all. The Penn Charter School of Philadelphia had been coeducational from its foundation. The Dwight School for Girls at Greenfield, Ct., was opened in 1785. In 1803 the celebrated Academy at Bradford, Mass., was founded for both sexes; but after a few years the boys were forced out, and it has since been, and is now, one of the best and most distinguished of the higher schools for women alone. Between 1820 and 1870 the Academies and Seminaries devoted exclusively to women multiplied on every hand. In 1821 Emma Willard founded her renowned Female Seminary at Troy, N. Y., which was chartered in 1837; in 1822 Catherine Beecher opened her girls' school at Hartford, Ct.; in 1823 the Adams Academy at Derry, N. H., was established,—the first school in New England to be chartered for the exclusive benefit of girls. Mary Lyon, who later founded that most beneficent institution, Mt. Holyoke Seminary, was a teacher at the Adams Academy. In fact so rapid was the spread throughout the country of these Seminaries and Academies devoted exclusively to the higher education of girls that in 1875 they numbered more than three hundred. This number has since that date gradually declined because of the greater privileges accorded girls in the development of the High School system. These Academies, as a class, were generally styled "Free Academies," although in practically all cases fees were required for attendance, and they rarely received any state or municipal aid. The earliest founded institutions of the class, which gave to the later ones their general character and direction, had for their prototypes the great so-called public schools of England, such as Eton and Rugby. These English schools are richly endowed, the salary of the head-master of Eton being twenty-five thousand dollars a year; and admission to them has generally been dependent upon connection with some particular church, high social position, or some other form of caste or class distinction. And it is only in the sense that the American Academies were open to "all sorts and conditions" of youth that they have been "free," in contrast with the exclusiveness of the English Schools. Prof. Dexter has prepared a tabulated statement of the Academies in active operation in all the states in 1850. New York heads the list with 887, having 49,328 pupils; Pennsylvania follows with 524, and 23,751 scholars; and in all the states there were 6,085 such Academies, having a teaching force that numbered 12,260, and an enrollment of 263,096 pupils.

Though an account of the development of the High Schools would seem naturally to follow a consideration of the Academies which the former so largely superseded, yet no intelligent idea of the rise of the High School system, nor of the latter day common-school system, can be obtained unless one is somewhat familiar with the revolution in educational theories and methods which began in the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century. This was in harmony with the general awakening along all intellectual lines that characterized that period. Its influence was dominant in Science, Literature, the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. As we have endeavored to show, for the fifty years previous, Colleges and Academies had multiplied rapidly, and had been steadily though slowly raising their standards of scholarship; but these were the schools for the few, all of them demanding fees for tuition and subjecting

the scholar to other expenses, which only a limited number of the people were able to meet. And all the time the facilities afforded the many, the schools for the people, had been deteriorating in character and had become almost entirely neglected, in many places. Prof. Dexter,



HORACE MANN

in his "History of Education in the United States," has so well summarized these conditions, that we quote his words: "In 1837 the State of Massachusetts was paying but $2.73 per pupil for the education of its children, a sum only about one-tenth that of the present cost, and less than even the poorest communities of the South are now devoting to it. There was absolutely no such thing known as the pedagogical supervision of the schools, and not a public institution for the training of teachers in the country. Such were the educational conditions in the East, when, in 1837, Massachusetts first organized its State Board of Education. The far-reaching influence of this move was due to two things: first, the fact that general conditions were ripe for a period of educational progress; and, second, that the right man was at hand to become its leader. Neither one could have accomplished much without the other, but the combination was a most happy one. To it we may ascribe the tremendous growth in common-school education which the country has since seen." What Luther was to the religious reformation; what Cromwell was to the political revolution in England, Horace Mann has been to the public common-school system which now pervades every part of our country, and of which all the American people are justly so proud. He was born in Franklin, Mass., in 1796, and, left a fatherless lad at the age of thirteen, his boyhood days were days of hardship and continued struggle. As he was not able to attend school more than a few weeks in a year, the meagre advantages open to youth situated as he was impressed themselves upon his mind. Speaking of his instructors later in life he said, "they were very good people, but very poor teachers." Mann was an insatiate reader and had such reverence for books that, as he once said, "I would as soon stick a pin into my own flesh as into the pages of a book." At the age of nineteen he came in contact with his "first real teacher" and fitted for college in six months, entering Brown University, from which he graduated in the class of 1819. After graduation he taught Latin and Greek for two years at Brown, then took up the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1823, opening an office in Dedham, Mass. In 1827 he was sent to the Legislature and represented Dedham in that body until 1833, when he removed to Boston, and was the same year elected to the State Senate. From his first entry into political life he took a lively interest in every measure of reform. It was through his personal exertions that the State Lunatic Asylum was established at Worcester, and he was the first chairman of its board of trustees. He was president of the State Senate when the State Board of Education was established; and, though higher official positions were certainly within his grasp, he resigned his offices and gave up a

lucrative law practice, to become the first Secretary of the Board in order that through the opening thus afforded him he might work out an entire change in the whole system, or lack of system, in public education.

As has been said, "During twelve years of his secretaryship Mr. Mann's accomplishments were little short of stupendous. Rarely have great abilities, unselfish devotion, and brilliant success, been so united in the course of a single life." And in a "Supplementary Report" made after his election to Congress in the Spring of 1848, Mr. Mann said: "From the time I accepted the Secretaryship in June, 1837, until May 1, 1848, when I tendered my resignation of it, I labored in this cause an average of not less than fifteen hours a day. From the beginning to the end of this period I never took a single day for relaxation, and months and months together passed without my withdrawing a single evening to call upon a friend." In Congress Mr. Mann was, from the first, a fearless and pronounced champion of anti-slavery principles, and early saw the true trend of the conflict; for in his first speech he said: "I think the country is to experience serious times. Interference with slavery will excite civil commotion in the South. *But it is best to interfere. Now is the time to see whether the Union is a rope of sand or a band of steel.*" Nominated for governor by the Free Soil party in 1852, he was the same day elected president of the new Antioch College, at Yellow Springs, Ohio; and failing of election as governor, he accepted the presidency of the college, devoting the remainder of his life to the further expansion of his educational ideals, and espousing especially the principle of coeducation, which Antioch had adopted, being a close second to Oberlin College, which first opened its doors freely to both sexes. Mr. Mann was also most happy and fortunate in his married life, his wife, Mary Tyler Peabody, and her sister, Elizabeth Preston Peabody, both being leaders in all movements looking to the betterment of social and educational conditions, both skillful and interesting writers and speakers, and pioneers in the Kindergarten work in this country. We believe it is not too much to say that no other great cause has ever been more distinctly marked by the impress of the thought and activities of one man, than has the cause of elementary and secondary education, in fact of education in general during the past forty years, received its impulse and taken its direction from the life-work of Horace Mann; and not the least evidence of this, nor the least of the tributes to his memory, is the fact that even now not a year passes without his name being given to some new elegant school building in the growing cities of the middle and far West,—the affectionate and reverent homage of thoughtful and intelligent men and women to a wise, earnest, and unselfish public benefactor.

The chief principles for which Mann contended when he took up his work as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education and for which he labored throughout his term, may be roughly summarized as follows:

1—The abolition of the District School System as established by the Act of 1789, which he characterized as "the most unfortunate law on the subject of Common Schools ever enacted in the State." He advocated the town as the unit of administration, and intelligent supervision.

2—The apportionment by the State of adequate public school funds.

3—The extension of the school year. In 1837 one-third of the children within the state were without any school advantages whatever, and a large proportion of the remainder attended school only two or three months in winter, or a few weeks in summer. In 1839 the minimum school year for all districts was fixed at six months, a term which has been steadily lengthened until now every child in the state must take at least seven full years, of forty weeks each, in school.

4—The establishment of Normal Schools for the training of teachers.

5—The building of good, clean, sani-

tary schoolhouses,—"fit temples of science."

6 The uniformity of text-books. When Mr. Mann began his labors he found over three hundred different sets in use in the state.

7—The establishment of public libraries as the adjuncts of the school system.

What Mann achieved along these lines during his eleven years of service can hardly be hinted at here. But there was hardly a point which he aimed at that was not approximately reached during that period, or such permanent direction given to educational thought and administrative forces that the results were secured later on. In 1839 two Normal Schools were established, for the education of teachers. In 1846 Special Agents of the Board of Education were appointed, adding greatly to its efficiency. In 1854 city and town superintendents were authorized. In 1869 towns were empowered to expend public funds for the conveyance of children to schools, in an effort to settle the question of the consolidation of rural schools. In 1882, after fifty years of controversy, the District School System was finally abolished. In 1883, evening schools were authorized, and in 1884 absolute uniformity of text-books was secured by enactment of the free text-book law. In 1891 a law was passed requiring of every town free High School instruction and the school year was extended to eight months; and in 1902 a law became operative which required every town and city to employ a superintendent of schools, either singly or in combination with other towns. This brief though imperfect summary of school legislation will serve to show how clearly the development of the educational system of the state down into the present century has been along the lines laid down by Horace Mann nearly seventy years ago.

It is an interesting coincidence that in 1837 Connecticut, and in 1843 Rhode Island, established Boards of Education similar to that of Massachusetts, of each of which, in turn, Henry Barnard became Secretary,—a man whose place in the educational history of the country, both in the aim and sincerity of his work and in the light of results achieved, is second only to that of his great contemporary and fellow-worker, Horace Mann. And we have considered so fully the development of the common-school system of these New England States simply because it marks with considerable exactness the trend of development in all the Eastern States as well as in the newer states of the West,—subject, of course, to variations made necessary by individual local conditions.

One of the earliest results of the new spirit that was pervading educational movements was the establishment of Normal Schools. The need of these schools as nurseries for teachers had been recognized for years, but no direct legislation had been taken in any state looking toward their establishment. The father of the movement was Mr. James F. Carter, who, in 1820, published an essay treating of an "Institution for the Training of Teachers," and endeavored to test his principles by the founding of a private school at Lancaster, Massachusetts. This was not a success, but Mr. Carter's enthusiasm was not checked; and when in 1853 he was elected to the Legislature he at once began a campaign in the interests of a public school for the same purpose. As he was the author of the bill creating the State Board of Education, he had abundant opportunity to press his measure in debate, with the result that, in 1839, the State opened two public normal schools, one located at Lexington for women and the other at Barre for both sexes.

In nearly all cases the Normal Schools are open to both sexes, though women largely predominate. A distinctive feature of all these schools is the Practice School, in which the prospective teachers constituting the student body are given an opportunity to observe the work of expert teachers, and also to give instruction themselves. In many of the larger cities the municipal governments have established training schools for teachers and

are in this way able to supply their own needs. The earliest of these schools was the Girls' Normal, of Philadelphia. The Boston Normal was established in 1852, and the Chicago Normal under the direction of Colonel Francis Parker achieved an enviable reputation. In addition to these classes of Normal Schools many of the leading colleges have established complete pedagogical departments, with elaborate equipment; and later still has come the distinctive Teachers' College, of which the most highly developed examples are the New York State Normal College, at Albany, N. Y.; the Teachers' College connected with the Columbia University, conducting the Horace Mann School; and the School of Education of the University of Chicago. The systematic study of methods and interchange of thought is maintained among teachers by a variety of Institutes, State Educational Associations, with stated annual meetings usually lasting through a week; and, over all, so to speak, the National Educational Association,—"The N. E. A.,"—whose annual meetings, usually of a week to ten days in July, are events of national importance.

One of the mooted questions in the whole history of educational growth has been what amount of education, or opportunities for procuring an education, a city or state is bound to provide for its children. It has been generally conceded that every town or city should make it possible for every child to get the rudiments of an education; but beyond this many taxpayers have been indisposed to go. But a vast growth of liberal sentiment has been manifest during the last forty years, with the result that every self-respecting community now demands that the state shall provide a sound education for all its children. Hence we have in every city and town the High Schools, offering the best advantages whether one wishes to fit for college, or to make the High School course round out one's student life. As has been said before, the place of the Academies which, a half century ago, were the only finishing and college preparatory schools, has now been taken by the High Schools, though many of the older and more historic Academies still survive, and are doing noble work. But the tendency has been to go even farther, and have the state furnish all its children who will avail themselves of it, the highest University education. This purpose has been accelerated, too, by the fact that so many of the so-called private colleges were the schools of a sect, or some particular faction or party. Consequently the State Universities are non-sectarian and non-partisan, and some of them have taken foremost positions as educational institutions. One of the most active spirits in this movement was Thomas Jefferson, who was the direct cause of the founding of the Virginia State University at Charlottesville, which became the model on which many others were constructed. These Universities have been mostly confined to the Western States,—the State in being carved out of the public domain receiving allotted lands for educational purposes. The movement was greatly strengthened by the passage in 1862 of the Morrill Act, which provided a grant of thirty thousand acres for each senator and representative in Congress. The amount realized from the sale of these lands, varying from $50,000 to $750,000, was to be devoted to the support in each state of a higher institution of learning, at which technical and agricultural branches should be taught. Many states have made their Agricultural College a department, in reality, of their State University; others have established an entirely separate and distinct institution, usually in a different part of the state. Prominent among these state universities are those of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and California, which take high rank among the foremost Universities in the land in every respect.

As a typical representative of these institutions a brief sketch of the history of the University of Michigan, located at Ann Arbor, will in a general way tell the story of all. In 1826 the United States

Congress set apart two entire townships in the then Territory of Michigan for the foundation of a future college. This was established by the first legislature of the new state in 1837, though not opened to receive students until 1841. The University is practically entirely supported by the state, and is open to all youth of the commonwealth, of both sexes, upon the payment of a matriculation fee of five dollars, though an annual charge of from twenty to thirty-five dollars is made for incidental expenses. In 1850 a Medical School was added; and in 1859 the Law School was opened, which has developed into one of the most thorough and renowned law schools of the West. The grounds surrounding the buildings embrace about fifty-five acres. A fund established by the sale of lands yields approximately forty thousand dollars a year, which is supplemented by a state tax of one-sixth of a mill; while the legislature

JAMES B. ANGELL.

has ever been generous in its appropriations to meet the further needs of the institution. The faculty now numbers about three hundred and sixty, and close to five thousand students were in attendance during 1908. The government of the institution is vested in eight regents elected by the people. The high standing and scholarly reputation of this University are in a marked way a monument to the intelligent and untiring devotion of its President, James B. Angell, who has been its directing spirit since 1871; while he, in turn, by his notable services to the whole country in various official positions, and his vigorous support of all movements making for good citizenship, has conferred no less distinguished honor upon the University. Dr. Angell celebrated his eightieth birthday January 7, 1909, at about the same time resigning his office. This resignation the governing Board declined to accept, except in form, creating a new office of Chancellor of the University especially in honor of the retiring president, so that he should be relieved of the active duties and cares of the presidency while at the same time his wise supervision and invaluable experience should be retained in the service of the institution. His successor as president has not yet been named. The most prominent possible candidate talked of is United States Senator Beveridge, though it is not known to the public whether he would accept the honor.

Another development along the line of advanced education has been the gradual establishment of schools for post-graduate work. In most cases provisions have been made by way of extending academic work for such advanced study; while in the case of the younger of the Universities,—as Johns Hopkins, Cornell, Chicago, the graduate departments have received the most careful attention and consideration from the beginning. During the first half of the nineteenth century it was considered necessary to go to the European Universities if one wanted to take a higher than the bachelor's degree. Edward Everett is said to have been the first to take such a foreign degree, he having received his Ph. D. degree from Göttingen, in 1819. Later the custom became somewhat common, and so our own Universities were led to provide opportunities for advanced study with a view to securing the higher degrees. Yale seems to have

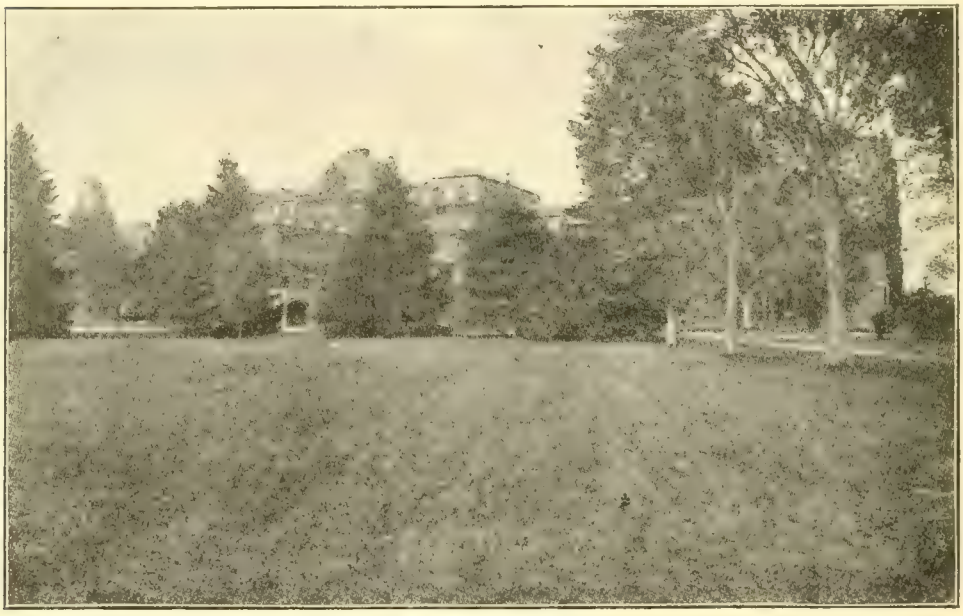
led off in this work and conferred the Ph. D. degree on three men in 1861, though no distinct graduate school was organized until 1872. The Harvard Catalogue of 1860 was the first to announce any definite plans for graduate instruction there, though the M. A. degree was the only one conferred until 1872, when the Doctor's degree began to be regularly conferred on students who had pursued definite prescribed courses of study for three years after graduation, and had presented a satisfactory thesis. Down to about this time it had been the custom to give the M. A. degree to all applicants two or three years after graduation, who had read any general course, and were willing to pay the fees for the same. But with the increasing appreciation of graduate work came the determination to make its titles more valuable, so that it became universal to require specified advanced study with an examination before the M. A. degree could be conferred, the same as in the case of the Doctor's degree,—the determined effort of all institutions, as well as of all graduates, being to make these two degrees represent actual work done, and to take from them every element of merely honorary distinction. A report made by the Federation of Graduate Clubs showed that out of 3,204 graduate students in twenty-four leading universities, 35.4 per cent were taking literature and language studies; 20.6 per cent historical; 14.2 per cent natural science; 18 per cent philosophical studies; 11.1 per cent mathematics.

The most important advance of all, however, of the last century has been in the provision of advantages for the education of women, either in co-educational institutions, or in Women's Colleges. The first steps in co-education were taken in the early days when girls were gradually given some of the advantages boys alone had previously enjoyed. Then the necessities of the occasion forced towns to educate the boys and girls together. Later, school buildings were erected with a strong partition wall extending the entire length and one was the "girls' side," and the other, the "boys' side." Developing a little further, finding that no serious results followed this closeness of contact, the walls were gradually knocked out of the old buildings, and omitted in the new ones; and the boys and girls in common shared equal privileges. As the

MARY LYON.

many prejudices, physically and morally founded, against the higher education of women began to disappear under the influence of an enlightened public opinion, many of the old Academies added somewhat to their courses, and so became "Seminaries," or even "Colleges." This was especially true in the Southern States, where twenty such Colleges were founded before 1850, while there were only two in the Northern States, Mt. Holyoke Seminary, at South Hadley, Mass., and Rockford College, at Rockford, Ill. Mt. Holyoke was opened as a Seminary in 1837, and 1893 took on a full college organization. Its founder, Mary Lyon, was one of the most distinguished teachers, as well as noblest women of her generation. With its beautiful and healthful location, its fine new buildings and equipment, Mt. Holyoke is now doing superb work of the highest character. Of the later institutions for the higher educa-

tion of women two classes exist — one, like the State Universities, offering the women exactly the same advantages and facilities that the men have; and the other, the Women's Colleges, established upon distinct and separate foundations. The oldest of these, undoubtedly, is Elmira College, of Elmira, N. Y., which was founded in 1855, and gave from the start a course of instruction as extensive and thorough as that given by the men's colleges of the period. The first of the high grade, distinctly women's colleges, however, was Vassar, which was founded in 1865 by Matthew Vassar, a wealthy brewer of Poughkeepsie, New York. It was his intent that this institution should be for women what Harvard and Yale were for men; and from the start the requisites for admission, as well as the curriculum, have been maintained at a high standard. About the same time Wells College, at Aurora, New York, was established, starting as Wells Seminary in 1868, but taking a charter in 1870, since which time it has maintained a high standard. For many years the number of students was limited to seventy-five, though this number has been exceeded latterly; but its attendance has never been large compared with that of its sister institutions. The year 1875 was a red-letter one in the matter of women's education, for then both Smith and Wellesley Colleges opened their doors, and both have since taken and maintained the foremost rank among similar institutions, and have also become the most popular as demonstrated by their constantly growing classes. Wellesley was founded at Wellesley, Massachusetts, by Henry F. Durant, who had been one of Boston's most noted lawyers, the partner of Gen. B. F. Butler, but who was so affected by the death of an only son that he gave up his practice, and devoted the remainder of his life, and his wealth, to religious causes,—among which he classed the College he founded,—a "College for the glory of God by the education and culture of women," as he expressed it. Early in its career Wellesley was most fortunate in securing the services of Alice Freeman as president, whose devotion to all measures looking toward the uplifting of her sex, in every walk of life, gave her a unique and most honorable position among the many noble American women. The college rapidly assumed a high standard of excellence under her wise



VASSAR COLLEGE.

administration, and its reputation as an educational institution of the noblest ideals and achievements was firmly established. In 1887 she resigned the presidency to become the wife of Harvard's distinguished professor of moral philosophy, George H. Palmer. Though withdrawn from official positions, she maintained her active interest in the cause of education, and in the intellectual and social advancement of women, until her seemingly untimely death, in the midst of her many activities, in 1901, at the age of forty-six. During the early years of that institution she served as Dean of the Women's department in the new University of Chicago, giving it the benefit of her wide experience and rich culture in the establishment of its system of coeducation. Wellesley has a beautiful campus of over four hundred acres, and a fine lake for boating. Smith College, situated at Northampton, Massachusetts, in the beautiful Connecticut valley, was founded by Sophia Smith, who gave four hundred thousand dollars for that purpose. Smith, unfortunately, has a small campus, which is already comparatively crowded with buildings,—a feature in which it compares very unfavorably with Vassar, Mt. Holyoke, and Wellesley, all of which have ample and beautiful grounds. The success of Smith has, however, been marked from its first year, and its classes now number from three hundred to four hundred each year. Though now thirty-four years old it has had but one president, L. Clark Seelye, formerly professor of English Literature at Amherst College. A later and most promising aspirant for honors among Women's Colleges, is Bryn Mawr, founded at the town of the same name a few miles from Philadelphia, in 1885, by Joseph W. Taylor. By many educators Bryn Mawr is given first rank among the women's colleges. Its productive funds are larger than those of any other of this class of institutions, and its equipment, especially along scientific lines, is unsurpassed; and it is said to have a larger number of women taking advanced work than any other of the exclusively women's colleges.

ALICE FREEMAN PALMER.

In addition to these independent institutions there is a class of Women's Colleges of a very high order, affiliated with universities for men. The best known of these are Radcliffe College, affiliated with Harvard; Barnard College, affiliated with Columbia; the H. Sophie Newcomb Memorial College, holding a similar relation to Tulane University in New Orleans; also the College for Women at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio; and the Women's College of Brown University, at Providence, R. I. Certainly a most remarkable growth is here recorded as well as a most remarkable change in public sentiment. That "tender and interesting branch of the community," which the good people of Gloucester in 1790 thought had been much neglected in their schools, has come into a rich heritage.

The many and varied educational ideas that have been adopted within the last third of a century are nearly bewildering.

There is hardly a good beach anywhere on the Atlantic or Pacific coast that does not know the Summer School. Many of these have unquestionably been established for commercial purposes only, and have been financial schemes. But the majority have been honestly conducted study centres, where the summer vacation has been used to the greatest advantage and benefit. The pioneer in this movement and the most conspicuous example of its beneficences has been, of course, The Chautauqua. The outgrowth of a religious camp meeting at Lake Chautauqua, near Jamestown, N. Y., in 1874, the development into a summer school was gradual but most comprehensive in its results. For more than a quarter of a century thousands have attended its meetings and followed its courses of study, which have been most wisely directed by Bishop J. H. Vincent and the late President W. R. Harper, of the University of Chicago. General culture has been the end aimed at rather than special instruction or training. Oratory, music, art have been the drawing attractions,—all of the highest character, and so productive of the happiest results both from the educational standpoint, and from that of recreation.

Photo. Copyrighted by J. E. Purdy, Boston.
WILLIAM R. HARPER.

We have endeavored to give a general review of the lines along which Education has been developed in this country; and the study is a most interesting one. So long as the spirit and enthusiasm which are so characteristic of the common thought of the people of our country shall continue, we can certainly look for the permanency of those political institutions which demand a higher average of education than can be found elsewhere.

LVI.

AN ERA OF PRINCELY GIFTS.

Contrast Between Early Gifts and Those of To-day.— Different Sources of Wealth.— Total of Gifts Above $5,000 for 1903-1907 Inclusive Upward of $1,100,000,000.— Animating Impulse in Such Gifts.—"There is Something Pathetic About a Great Gift."— Stephen Girard and His Benefactions.— His Estate Valued at $9,000,000.— Girard College and Its Peculiar Restriction as to Ministerial Visitors.—Notable Gift of John Lowell.—The Lowell Institute and Its Work.— The Lyceum Lectures in New England.— Estimate of Value of Lowell's Beneficence by Hon. Edward Everett.— George Peabody and His Royal Liberality.— Letter of Thanks from Queen Victoria.— The J. F. Slater and Daniel C. Hand Bequests for the Freedmen.— Beneficent Action of Miss Anna T. Jeanes.— The Enoch Pratt Library.— Johns Hopkins; His University and Hospital.— Influence of Death of Son on Leland Stanford and Wife.—"The Children of California Shall Be Our Children."— The Leland Stanford Junior University.—"The Lolita Armour Institute of Bloodless Surgery."— The Newberry and Crerar Libraries in Chicago.— Peter Cooper and Cooper Union.— John Jacob Astor's Gift to City.— James Lenox and His Library.—"The Finest Collection of Books and Art in New World."— J. Pierpont Morgan's Many Liberal Benefactions.— Samuel J. Tilden's Notable Gift to New York.— The Tilden Library Foundation.— Joseph Pulitzer Gives $2,000,000 to Establish His School of Journalism.— Peculiar Gift of Mrs. Russell Sage.— The True Measure of the Value of Gifts.— Carnegie and His Many Notable Gifts.— Rockefeller's Beneficence; The University of Chicago, and General Education Board.— Influence of Robert C. Winthrop on Direction of George Peabody's Great Benefactions.— Indirectly, also, of Those That Have Followed.— Opinions of President Daniel Coit Gilman.

"Generosity once aroused cannot remain inactive, for it is a quality whose beauties are enhanced by its exercise."— PLINY.

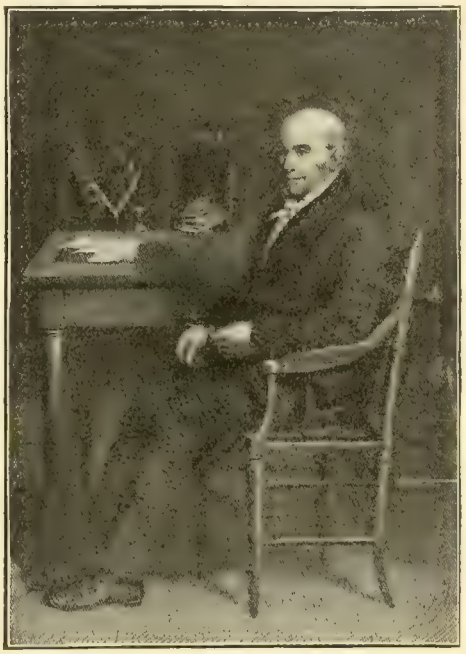
ONE of the earliest settlers in Boston, writing to friends in old England, in 1643, said: "After we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for worship, and settled the civill government, one of the next things wee longed for and looked after was to advance learning and to perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the Churches, when our present ministers shall lie in dust. And as wee were thinking and consulting how to effect this great work it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard (a godly gentleman and lover of learning, then living among us) to give the one-half of his estate (it being in all about £1700) toward the erecting of a college, and all his library. After him another gave £300; others after them cast in more, and the publique hand of the State added the rest." In the year 1907, Mr. Rockefeller added by one act thirty-two million dollars to the eleven million he had already given to establish the "General Board of Education of the United States." These gifts of John Harvard and of Mr. Rockefeller illustrate well the extremes of a generous system of beneficence that has characterized the

American people. In the earliest days nearly all the gifts were for educational purposes, "that the light of learning might not go out, nor the study of God's word perish;" as hospitals, homes for the destitute and afflicted, and similar institutions which have latterly been so liberally endowed, were comparatively unknown until the last century. During the period covered by this volume hardly a decade has passed without some princely gift for the public good, while during the last two decades the prodigality of a few men has been simply bewildering. This era of liberal benefactions divides itself naturally into two periods, the dividing line chronologically being about the year 1890. Previous to that date the men who opened their purses and their hearts bestowed upon worthy causes the accumulated savings of earnest and wise endeavor in the business or the professional world, the results of their own untiring industry, supplemented by careful economy, and unostentatious living. Since then, by the peculiar change in business methods and conditions, a few men have amassed enormous wealth under systems of monopoly and special privilege, so that even the income from their investments and business holdings has become a burden, and many have apparently felt forced to give in order to quiet the stirrings of conscience, or to temper the severity of a hostile public criticism. So vast has the volume of these great donations become that a careful statistician has placed the total of known gifts in amounts exceeding five thousand dollars during the years 1903 to 1907, inclusive, at upwards of *eleven hundred million dollars;* and this is exclusive of all private charities, of sums given by churches and societies for missionary or other causes, and of all special contributions like those for the relief of the sufferers by the destruction of San Francisco and similar calamities. During 1907 the known gifts of three persons, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Carnegie, and Mrs. Sage, reached the enormous sum of $156,459,928.

It would be a most interesting study could we trace to its source in the mind and heart of the giver the occasion of each of these noble benefactions. In many cases it has undoubtedly been the desire to make an ostentatious display of great wealth, which shall achieve for its possessor a world-wide notoriety; in others, a religious purpose to wisely use the talents that have been entrusted to the holder by the Creator; in others vanity, and an ambition to perpetuate one's name; while in others, a larger number we are prone to believe, a heart touched by sorrow has been the impelling force to benevolent action. Dickens wrote: "There is nothing innocent or good that dies and is forgotten. An infant, a prattling child dying in the cradle, will live again in the better thoughts of those who loved it, and play its part through them in the redeeming actions of the world. Oh! if the deeds of human creatures could be traced to their source, how beautiful would even death appear; for how much charity, mercy, and purified affection would be seen to have their source in dusty graves." In her book entitled "Famous Gifts and Their Givers," Mrs. Bolton has said: "There is often something pathetic about a great gift. The only son of Leland Stanford dies, and the millions which he would have inherited are used to found a noble institution on the Pacific Coast. The only son of Henry F. Durant dies, and the sorrowing father and mother use their fortune to build Wellesley College. The only son of Amasa Stone is drowned while at Yale College, and his father builds Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, to honor his boy and bless his city and state." And we know that one of Mr. Rockefeller's noblest gifts of millions to establish an institution to further medical research was the impulse of a heart burdened with grief over the death of a favorite grandson from diphtheria.

In 1750, near Bordeaux, France, a son Stephen was born to Pierre Girard and his wife Anne Marie. The family was possessed of considerable wealth, and Louis XV. had knighted Pierre for bravery on

board the squadron at Brest during the war between France and England. When Stephen was eight years of age his right eye was destroyed by an accident; and as his playmates ridiculed his appearance he became morose and ill-natured. The death of his mother, too, during his early youth further affected his disposition, so that he became subject to fits of extreme ill temper. His step-mother having children of her own had little love to bestow upon the unfortunate lad, and she became very impatient with Stephen's rebellious disposition. After a stormy scene in the home when the boy was about fourteen, he was ordered by his father to submit or leave his home, to which the motherless boy replied, "Give me a venture on any ship that sails from Bordeaux and I will go at once where you shall never see me again." The matter was soon arranged and Stephen started out in life as cabin boy. From that time until he was twenty-three he sailed from Bordeaux and was then given command of a vessel. His father had given him about three thousand dollars, and with this he had traded judiciously, considerably increasing the amount. In 1774 he sailed away from his native city never to return. Reaching New York he traded from there with the West Indies until 1776 when, on a return trip, he ran into Delaware Bay in a fog only to learn that a British fleet was lying outside. Getting into Philadelphia he opened a store in Water street, and disposed of the cargo he had brought in to good advantage. During that winter he fell in love with and married the beautiful young daughter of a shipbuilder with whom Girard was planning for new vessels to continue his trade after the war should be over. His married life seems to have been a happy one, though the wife was eleven years younger than he, and hardly more than a child. In 1785, when Girard was thirty-five, came the great sorrow of his life; for then a melancholy settled upon his young wife which resulted in hopeless insanity. His grief was aggravated, too, by the birth of a daughter shortly after his wife's affliction,—named for her mother, Mary Girard,—who lived only a few months. Girard then became a recluse, working day and night to kill his grief. He was uniformly successful in his ventures, and made money rapidly for those times; but he allowed himself no rest nor any pleasures. In 1793 Philadelphia was visited with a scourge of yellow fever, and the situation became deplorable in the extreme. All who could get away from the city fled to other places, and great numbers of those who remained sickened and died without care. Then the cold and unapproachable Girard came forward and volunteered his services; and for two months he spent from six to eight hours every day in the hospitals and the rest of the time, frequently all through the night, he helped to remove the dead from the houses, and cared for the sick. To a friend he wrote: "The deplorable conditions to which fright and sickness have reduced the inhabitants of this city demand succor from those who do not fear death, or who at least do not see any risk in the epidemic which now prevails here.

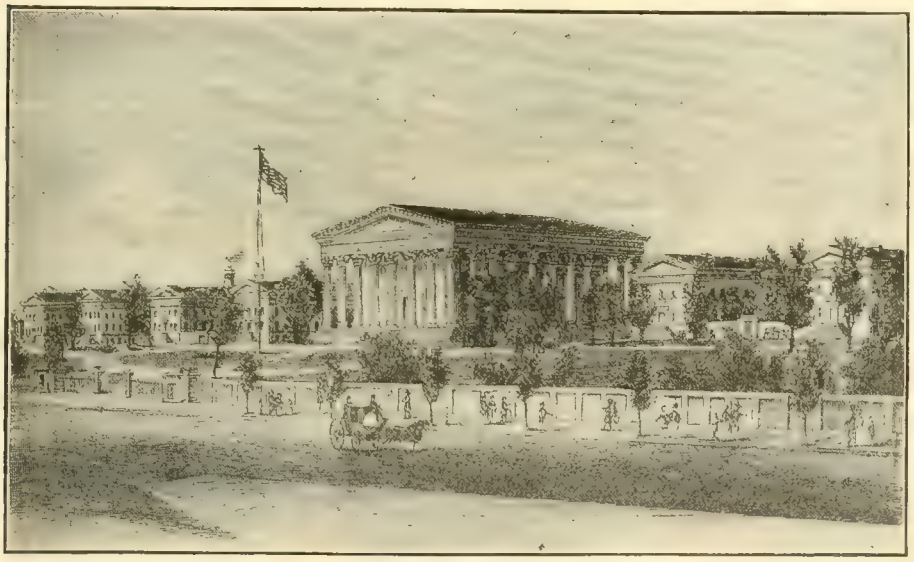


STEPHEN GIRARD.

This will occupy me for some time; and if I have the misfortune to succumb, I will have at least the satisfaction to have performed a duty which we all owe to each other." Busy as he was as merchant and visitor of the sick, for he rendered similar services through two subsequent scourges of the fever, Mr. Girard found time to do his duty as a citizen, serving several times in the City Council and for twenty-two years as Warden of the Port. When the charter of the Bank of the United States expired in 1811, Girard had about a million dollars on deposit with Baring Bros., in London, and immediately used the whole of it to buy stock of the bank. He then opened in Philadelphia the Bank of Stephen Girard, with a capital of $1,200,000. On two occasions he made important loans to the government when in financial distress, and his money and credit were ever at the service of the Treasury Department. During the war with Great Britain he was really the mainstay of the government, continually making large advances down to the establishment of the second United States Bank, of which he became a director, and whose policy he largely influenced. In 1814, when the government could obtain only twenty thousand of five million dollars that were needed he promptly furnished the entire amount; and when later the interest on the public debt could not be paid, he wrote the Secretary of the Treasury that he would wait for his money or take it in treasury notes. In 1815 his wife passed away, and his heart was again sorely bruised. "I shall never forget the last and closing scene," wrote a friend, "when Mr. Girard, filled with emotion, stepped forward, kissed his wife's cheek, and his tears moistened his face." Work, work was the only panacea for his grief. "I do not value fortune," he wrote to a friend. "The love of labor is my highest ambition. I observe with pleasure that you have a numerous family; that you are happy in the possession of an honest fortune. This is all that a wise man has to wish for. As for myself, I live like a galley-slave. When I rise in the morning my only effort is to labor so hard that when night comes I may be enabled to sleep soundly."

After a long and active career, generally regarded as a recluse and considered miserly, though his quiet benefactions were numerous and liberal, Girard was attacked by an influenza which developed into pneumonia, and he quietly passed away on the 26th of December, 1831, just a short time before his eighty-second birthday. Having been born a Catholic he remained within that communion until his death, believing it was "better for a man to die in the faith in which he had been born." He often expressed his admiration for the Friends, however, and acknowledged that he strove to model his life after their virtues. The city accorded him a public funeral, and the press of the day declared that so great a concourse of people had never before been seen on any similar occasion in the city. When his will was opened it was learned that the memory of his sufferings as a motherless and homeless boy had remained by him and that his quietly borne griefs had directed the course of his benevolence. His estate was valued at $9,000,000. In his will he said: "I have been for a long time impressed with the importance of educating the poor, and placing them, by the early cultivation of their minds and the development of their moral principles, above the temptations to which, through poverty and ignorance, they are exposed; and I am particularly desirous to provide for such a number of poor male white orphan children as can be trained in an institution a better education, as well as more comfortable maintenance, than they usually receive from the application of public funds." Accordingly after making a long list of bequests to the City of Philadelphia, and the City of New Orleans; to numerous hospitals, notably the one that carefully protected and cared for his lamented wife for so many years; to numerous relatives, captains of vessels, and employees, he left two million dollars and the residue of his estate to trustees to erect and maintain "a college

for poor white male orphans." He entered into the most minute details as to its buildings, directing that they should be "constructed of the most durable materials and in the most permanent manner, avoiding needless ornament." The material to be used was marble or granite, and he even specified the size of the stones that should be placed in certain parts of the structures. The trustees, it is feared, hardly followed out the spirit of the donor's instructions, as they proceeded to erect one of the most beautiful and ornamental buildings, of Greek architecture, in the country. The main building is surrounded by a colonnade formed by thirty-four Corinthian columns, each of which is said to have cost thirteen thousand dollars. Four other buildings of white marble were erected for dormitories, recitation rooms, etc., the whole being completed in 1847, at a total cost of close to two million dollars. Happily the residue of the estate, invested chiefly in Philadelphia real estate, has increased rapidly in value, and is now estimated at from eighteen to twenty millions, so that the college is richly endowed. Mr. Girard also owned valuable coal lands outside the city which are said now to produce annually about two million tons of coal, which is a large source of revenue for the institution. The college was opened January 1, 1848, when one hundred orphans were admitted to its privileges. In the fall one hundred more were admitted, and the following April a third hundred. By his will Mr. Girard had directed that the college should be open to all fatherless white boys, but preference should be given to those born in Philadelphia; then to those born in the State of Pennsylvania; next, to those born in New York, where the founder first landed in the United States; and lastly to the fatherless boys of New Orleans, with which city Girard had carried on a lucrative business. He directed that the boys must enter between the ages of six and ten years and must remain until they were from fourteen to eighteen, when they were to be bound out by the mayor until they were twenty-one to learn some useful trade, or to become trained in Agriculture,—the tastes of the boys to be consulted in this regard. Each boy has three suits of clothes while in the institution, and on leaving is given a trunk containing clothing and books to the value of from seventy-five to one hundred dollars.



GIRARD COLLEGE.

In accordance with the instruction of the testator the entire grounds, originally

embracing forty-five acres, were to be surrounded by a brick wall "ten feet high and sixteen inches thick, covered with a heavy marble capping." The seclusion thus enforced, coupled with one clause of the will, has given many an erroneous idea of Girard's religious attitude. "I enjoin and require," reads the will, "that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatsoever in said college, nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of said college." For this requirement, the donor has been assailed and vilified by clergymen and church members all over the land until it became true that the average person who knew of the college regarded it as little better than a pagan or heathen institution, from which God and all religious influences were barred, simply because ministers were excluded. This restriction is, of course, peculiar and unnecessarily rigid. But Mr. Girard had had peculiar experiences and was, by common consent, a very peculiar man as well as eccentric, and possessed of very positive convictions. There are, nevertheless, probably few colleges or schools in the country where, in accordance with the founder's will, more careful attention is paid to the religious and moral teaching of the students. Referring to this clause in his will, Mr. Girard said: "In making this restriction I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever; but as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans who are to derive advantage from this bequest free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce. My desire is that all the instructors and teachers in the college shall take pains to instill into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality so that on their entrance into active life they may, from inclination and habit, evince benevolence toward their fellow creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as the matured reason may enable them to prefer." There is on the grounds a handsome gothic chapel where the students gather for worship morning and evening, the exercises being non-sectarian in character, and consisting of a hymn, reading from the Bible, and prayer. On Sundays the boys assemble in their class-rooms at nine in the morning and two in the afternoon for religious reading and instruction; and at 10:30 A. M. and 3 P. M. they meet in the chapel for worship, addresses being made by the president, or some invited layman.

Many thousands of fatherless boys have shared the blessings of Mr. Girard's beneficence, and have been prepared for a more intelligent appreciation of their privileges and duties as citizens of this great Republic. We have dwelt at greater length upon the character of the founder and of the institution he founded because of the peculiarity of both, and because it was the first great gift for public uses by a citizen of the United States. And there is certainly much of interest in the fact that a practically orphaned French boy, a lonely wanderer during his youth in many lands, whose every association and surrounding were such as to lead him from the paths of virtue and high purpose, should preserve noble ideals and purity of life, and become one of the most useful citizens of a great and renowned city of our country, as well as one of the staunchest supporters of our national government in its hours of sorest financial need. No man born on the soil and nourished in all the noblest sentiments of patriotism ever showed more devotion to his native land than did this exile from his homeland manifest for his adopted country. Just west of the main college building is a monument erected to the memory of graduates from Girard college who gave their lives for their country during the Civil War. On one side are the names of those whom the college delighted to honor; on the other are engraved these words from Mr. Girard's

will: "And especially do I desire that by every proper means a pure attachment to our Republican institutions and to the sacred rights of conscience, as guaranteed by our happy constitutions, shall be formed and fostered in the minds of the scholars."

The first of the many noble benefactions that have made the United States the most distinguished nation, and the last century the most notable period in the intellectual and social history of the world, to become available for instruction as well as the entertainment of the people, was the unique bequest of John Lowell, Jr., of Boston, of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to establish what has since been known as the Lowell Institute. During the second quarter of the last century Boston and New England were pre-eminently the centres of culture and intelligence in this country, whose influence was radiated throughout the land, so that down to the present day it is manifest even in the lately settled portions of the far West. One of the most popular and common methods of gratifying the thirst of the people for a more intimate knowledge of the Creator and His created universe was by lectures which were delivered weekly or oftener in every town of any size throughout the eastern states, which had for their purpose not entertainment merely but the imparting of useful and stimulating information to all who came within the range of their influence. During the winter of 1837-8, twenty-six distinct courses of lectures were delivered in Boston alone, and that count does not include courses of less than eight lectures; and it was estimated that upwards of thirteen thousand people attended the full number of lectures in the several courses. While the greater part of these entertainments were designed for popular instruction, the live questions of the day were also frequently discussed, so that their influence in the realms of politics, religion, and sociology was far reaching. As a distinguished Unitarian minister who had large experience in the formation and management of these courses has said: "The Lyceum rose to a great power and fell away and practically died within a quarter of a century. But it killed slavery; it broke the power of superstition in theology; it made women free; it created a universal demand for higher culture."

No one so intimately and intelligently acquainted with the trend of the thought and aspirations of the times as was Mr. Lowell could fail to see that here was a field which afforded opportunities for the accomplishment of vast good by any person or persons who should occupy it and work along well-considered and carefully prepared lines, with abundant financial resources at their command. Few men better understood all the elements that combined to make up the distinctive life of the New England of his time, than did the generous founder of this Institute; and few families had more actively contributed to its material, intellectual, and moral well-being than had his. His grandfather, Judge Lowell, was one of the staunchest patriots, even in Boston, during the Revolutionary War, was a member all through those trying years of the General Court, and in 1779 was chosen a member of the Convention for framing the constitution for the State; and, with James Bowdoin and John Adams from the Boston delegation, was placed upon the committee of twenty-four who were chosen to report on a Declaration of Rights, and the form of a constitution. In 1781 he was chosen a member of the Continental Congress, and on the adoption of the Constitution he was appointed by President Washington to the bench of the District Court of Massachusetts. In 1801 he was further honored by an appointment as Chief Justice of the Circuit Court for the First Circuit, under the new organization of the judiciary which then was made. He was for eighteen years a member of the Corporation of Harvard College, to whose interests he was ever warmly devoted. Judge Lowell was not more distinguished for his legal and judicial ability than for his fine literary taste, his active benevolence, and brilliant and charming social

qualities. The maternal grandfather of the founder, Jonathan Jackson, was hardly less eminent than Judge Lowell, and was one of the most successful and influential of the class familiarly known as "Old Boston Merchants." But his activities were not confined to commercial affairs. He was a member of Congress, and having inherited a large property for those days, he contributed liberally to sustain the credit of the Commonwealth during the dark days of the Revolution, and at its close was a large creditor of the State. During the latter part of his life Mr. Jackson was Treasurer of the State, as well as of the University at Cambridge, —holding the latter office until the time of his death in 1810. Judge Lowell had three sons: John, who, after graduating from Harvard College and law school, devoted most of his time to literature, both as student and writer; Charles, after graduating at Cambridge, first studied law and then theology, and was for more than fifty years pastor of the famous West Unitarian Church of Boston, and was the father of one of the most noted of all America's writers and statesmen, James Russell Lowell; and Francis Cabot, the father of the subject of this sketch, who distinguished himself, in association with his brother-in-law Patrick Jackson, by early introducing cotton manufacture into the United States, and who was the founder of the City of Lowell, which was named in his honor. John Lowell, Jr., therefore, entered life surrounded by every blessing and influence which generations of the highest culture, integrity, and wealth could furnish. Nor was he unworthy of the noble traditions he inherited. Born in 1799, even as a boy he was thoughtful and studious, and at the age of eleven accompanied his father to England and Scotland, where the latter wished to study the process of cotton manufacture. Upon his return to the United States in 1813, young Lowell entered Harvard, but his health did not permit of his completing his college course. Three years later he made two voyages to India, the first to Batavia, returning by way of Holland and England, and the second to Calcutta. His favorite reading during his early life was accounts of voyages and travels, and his knowledge of the geography of the world is said to have surpassed that of men of finished education. He had a passion for travel and in early life made plans to explore Africa and the far East. After returning from India he engaged in commercial pursuits; but as all his ventures were in Indian trade, and at that time all connection with those distant ports was by sailing vessels only, he found abundant time to follow up his favorite lines of reading and study. "He spared no time," says his biographer, "for the frivolous pleasures of youth, less perhaps, than his health required for its relaxations and for exercise. Few subjects in science or literature escaped his attention; and an uncommonly retentive memory rendered available for future use all the knowledge which he was so diligent in acquiring. He rapidly formed one of the best selected and most expensive private libraries in the city, and acquired a familiarity with its contents not always possessed by the owner of many books." But he also believed that he owed a duty to his city and Commonwealth and served several terms in the Common Council, and the State legislature, where "he was distinguished for his assiduous attention to his duties, and for the practical and business-like view he took of every subject under discussion. Indeed, it was his characteristic to do thoroughly whatever he undertook." In the years 1830 and 1831, within a few months, his whole life was changed by the sad loss of his wife and two daughters, his only children. As soon as he had recovered somewhat from the shock his thoughts turned to travel, and in the fall of 1832 he started on a long journey, which proved to be his last. He seems to have had a foreboding that his life would not be a long one; and so, with no one now dependent upon him, before leaving his native land, he set aside by will a large portion of his estate to establish the Lowell Institute. The object of

his bequest, as set forth in the original will, "is the maintenance and support of public lectures to be delivered in Boston upon philosophy, natural history, the arts and sciences, or any of them, as the trustee shall from time to time deem expedient, for the promotion of the moral and intellectual and physical instruction or education of the citizens of Boston." He had, apparently, no definite plans for his tour when he first started out, his chief aim being to secure diversion from his overwhelming grief. But as he proceeded his plan took more definite form, and in an early letter he mentioned his purpose, if possible, to enter the Chinese Empire by way of the Indian frontier; and alluding to the distant prospect of his return home, he said "I must first see the circle of the earth." Leisurely he traveled across Europe, visiting unusual places and scenes, and eventually arrived in Egypt, where he proceeded to study all the conditions of the country, and investigate its ruined cities and temples. Here he was attacked by an intermittent fever which was long continued and sapped his vitality. But regaining his health in a measure he pressed on toward India. While crossing the Red Sea his little vessel was wrecked on an island, and he nearly lost his life, while the hardships and exposure to which he was subjected caused a recurrence of his fever. He and his little company were rescued after a few days, and reached Mocha, January 1, 1836; and it was from there, on the 17th, that his last letters were written. Leaving Mocha January 23d he reached Bombay February 10th, where, after an illness of three weeks, he passed away, March 4, 1836, being a little less than thirty-seven years of age.

While in Egypt, after a partial recovery from his illness, Mr. Lowell, amid the ruins of Thebes, wrote a codicil to his will, giving more explicit directions to his Trustee as to the administration of his trust, of which the following are the most important and interesting: "As the most certain and most important part of true philosophy seems to me to be that which shows the connexion between God's revelations and the knowledge of good and evil implanted by Him in our nature, I wish a course of lectures to be given on natural religion, showing its conformity to that of our Saviour. For the more perfect demonstration of the truth of those moral and religious precepts, by which

JOHN LOWELL, JR.

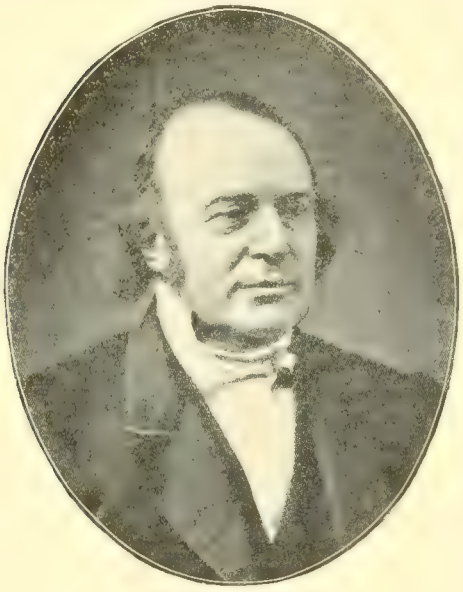
Copy of only portrait extant. Painted in Egypt at the time of the execution of will endowing Lowell Institute.

alone, as I believe, men can secure happiness in this world and that to come, I wish a course of lectures to be delivered on the historical and internal evidences in favor of Christianity.

"As the prosperity of my native land, New England, which is sterile and unproductive, must depend hereafter, as it has heretofore depended, first, on the moral qualities, and secondly, on the intelligence and information of its inhabitants, I am desirous of trying to contribute to this second object also; and I wish courses of lectures to be established on

physics and chemistry, with their application to the arts; also on botany, zoology, geology, and mineralogy, connected with their particular utility to man.

"After the establishment of these courses of lectures, should disposable funds remain, or, in process of time be accumulated, the trustee may appoint



LOUIS AGASSIZ.

courses of lectures to be delivered on the literature and eloquence of our language, and even on those of foreign nations, if he sees fit. He may also, from time to time, establish lectures upon any subject that, in his opinion, the wants and taste of the age may demand."

Upon this foundation the first lecture was delivered December 31, 1839, by the Hon. Edward Everett, one of the most distinguished orators and statesmen of Massachusetts. His address was chiefly a memorial of the founder, though the general purposes of the trust were outlined. This lecture was immediately followed by a course on the "Evidences of Christianity," by the Rev. J. G. Palfrey; and from that day to this most valuable courses have been given by the most distinguished scholars and leaders of thought of this country and Europe. Mr. Lowell's ample provision for the expense of this work admits of the payment of such amounts for the lectures as shall attract the most notable men from any part of the world, and amply repay them for all expenses of travel, as well as for the preparation of the best work they can produce. To name the men who have occupied the platform on this foundation is to call the roll of all the men distinguished in science, literature, philosophy, theology, and art of the whole English speaking world during the last seventy years. Not only have the lectures themselves served to advance the cause of learning, but unexpected and indirect benefits have resulted. At the suggestion of Sir Charles Lyell, the eminent geologist, who had just completed a course of lectures on Science, the trustee was led to invite Louis Agassiz to come to this country, and lecture upon Comparative Embryology. This course was so well received, and the lecturer so highly appreciated, that he was induced to deliver another course on the subject of "Glaciers," which was the first series of illustrated scientific lectures ever given here,—Professor Cooke of Harvard having assisted Professor Agassiz by the use of a lantern which he had invented to illustrate his own lectures on Chemistry before the Institute. Agassiz was so much pleased with his reception and the lively interest manifested by the people in scientific subjects that he became desirous of remaining permanently in the country; and to make such a course possible, Mr. Abbott Lawrence founded the Lawrence Scientific School in connection with Harvard College, guaranteeing Professor Agassiz's salary as professor of Zoology and Geology. In 1872 Professor John Tyndall delivered a course of lectures before the Institute on "Light and Heat," for which he was paid ten thousand dollars; but so delighted was he with the character of his audiences and with the interest in scientific studies he found prevailing here, that he gave the entire amount he had been paid for his services to establish scholarships at Harvard, Columbia, and the University of Pennsylvania, with the

result that each of these institutions has since had men studying abroad, as the outcome of Professor Tyndall's interest in higher education here. In all, more than six thousand lectures have now been delivered since the beginning of the Institute's work in 1839. Moreover, as the reputation of the Institute is now as great in Europe as in America, and it is recognized as a distinguished honor to be invited to address its audiences, the lecturers make elaborate and careful preparations; and many of the best published books on all subjects of knowledge are lectures which the writers had prepared at the invitation of the trustee. By the terms of Mr. Lowell's will ten per cent of each year's income is added to the principal which, with judicious investments, has more than doubled the original gift. As a result it has been possible to make many other provisions to extend the influences of the Institute. By arrangement with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology any persons, male or female, may attend, without expense to themselves, the same courses of lectures that are given to the students of that college, thus securing for outsiders the same privileges, in effect, which it accords to its own students. These courses are generally given in the evening so that men and women employed during the day may attend. For many years, too, instruction in science has been given to the teachers of the city, both by lessons and lectures, under the supervision of the Boston Society of Natural History. In 1872 the Lowell School of Practical Design was established for the purpose of promoting Industrial Art in the United States, which has proved a most beneficent development of Mr. Lowell's comprehensive scheme. This school has a drawing room and a weaving room. The course of study covers three years, and students are taught the art of designing and making patterns from prints, ginghams, silks, laces, carpets, oilcloths, etc. In the weaving room are chain looms for dress-goods, woolens, cassimeres, ginghams, and one Jacquard loom. This branch of the work has fitted hundreds of students to fill most profitable positions as designers.

The management of the entire Lowell fund, with the power to select lecturers, was left by the founder to one trustee, who should choose his successor; and he directed that such trustee should be "in preference to all others some male descendant of my grandfather, John Lowell, provided there be one who is competent to hold the office of trustee, and of the name of Lowell." For several years Professor Abbott Lawrence Lowell has served with marked ability as such trustee. He has also for many years been an efficient trustee of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and in June of the current year (1909), upon the retirement of President Eliot, he will become President of Harvard University.

In his address referred to above the Hon. Edward Everett said of Mr. Lowell's bequest: "The sum generously set apart by him for this purpose is, with the exception of the bequest of the late Mr. Girard of Philadelphia, the largest, if I mistake not, which has ever been appropriated in this country by a private individual for the endowment of a literary institution. The idea of a foundation of this kind, in which, unconnected with any place of education, provision is made, in the midst of a large commercial population, for annual courses of instruction by public lectures, to be delivered gratuitously to all who choose to attend them is, I believe, original with Mr. Lowell. I am not aware that among all the munificent establishments of Europe there is anything of this description upon a large scale." And estimating the beneficent influences that would radiate from Mr. Lowell's gift, and mindful of the eager desire of the lonely, ill, and bereaved traveler that his bequest should have the most far-reaching influence for good, as manifested by the codicil to his will written among the ruins of Thebes, the distinguished orator said: "The few sentences penned, with a tired hand, by our fellow citizen, on the top of a palace of the Pharaohs, will do more for human

improvement than, for aught that appears, was done by all that gloomy dynasty that ever reigned. I scruple not to affirm that, in the directions given by him for a course of popular instruction, illustrative of the great truths of natural religion and the evidences of Christianity, and unfolding the stores of natural science and useful knowledge, to be dispensed without restriction to an entire community, there is a better hope that mental activity will be profitably kindled, thought put in salutary motion, the connection of truth with the uses of life traced out, and the condition of man benefited, than in all the councils, rescripts, exploits, and institutions of Sesostris and his line. Let the foundation of Mr. Lowell stand on the principles prescribed by him and no language is emphatic enough to do full justice to its importance. These are blessings which cannot die. They will abide when the sands of the desert shall have covered what they have hitherto spared of the Egyptian temples, and they will render the name of Lowell, in all wise and moral estimation, more truly illustrious than that of any Pharaoh engraved on their walls. These belong to the empire of mind, which alone of human things, is immortal; and they will remain as a memorial of his Christian liberality, when all that is material shall have vanished as a scroll."

Of late years much attention has been given to free education in the South and many notable gifts have been made to further the good cause. The pioneer, however, in this movement was a distinguished son of Massachusetts, George Peabody. Born at Danvers in 1795, after receiving only a common school education, he became a clerk in a store at the age of fourteen. Five years later he removed to Georgetown, D. C., to take charge of a store belonging to his uncle, John Peabody. Shortly after, he became a partner of Elisha Riggs in the dry-goods business, the headquarters of the firm being removed to Baltimore the next year, and in 1822 branches were established in Philadelphia and New York. By the retirement of Mr. Riggs in 1829, Mr. Peabody became the head of the house. Having accumulated great wealth for that time, he transferred his interests to London, England, in 1837, establishing the banking house of George Peabody & Co. He had previously formed important financial connections there, and in 1835 had successfully negotiated the sale of eight million dollars' worth of the bonds of the State of Maryland, thus sustaining the credit of the Commonwealth. His commission of two hundred thousand dollars he returned to the State, for which a vote of thanks was extended to him by the legislature. This was his first large gift. He materially served his native land by furnishing the funds required to arrange and display the exhibits from the United States at the great London exhibition of 1851; and the same year he established his custom of giving Fourth-of-July dinners, the first of which was attended by the Duke of Wellington and many other distinguished persons, while the Queen sent portraits of herself and Prince Albert to adorn the hall. Mr. Peabody always derived great satisfaction from these annual banquets, convinced that they contributed materially to a better understanding between the people of his native and adopted country. In 1852 he gave $30,000 to establish the Peabody Institute and Library at South Danvers, subsequently adding $170,000 to this amount, and giving $50,000 for a similar institution in Danvers; and in recognition of his munificence the people of South Danvers in 1868 changed the name of their town to Peabody. In 1857 Mr. Peabody revisited the United States, and while here gave $300,000 to found the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, an amount which he later raised to $1,000,000. He also made various gifts to educational institutions at that time. In 1862 he prepared plans for lodging houses which he proposed to erect for the poor of London, donating for that purpose $2,500,000 in all. In 1866 he again visited the United States, and his departure from England called forth the following inter-

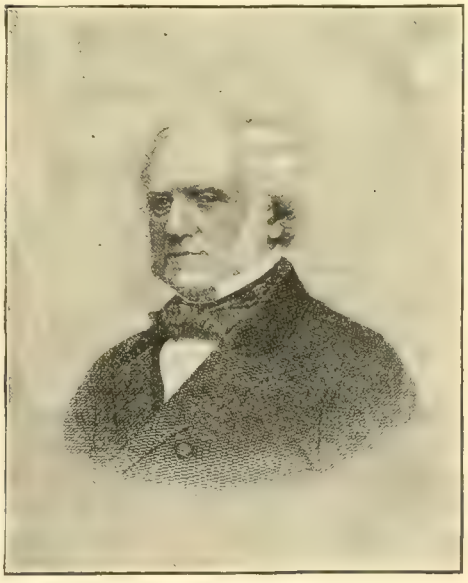
esting letter in recognition of his services to his adopted country:

"The Queen hears that Mr. Peabody intends shortly to return to America, and she would be sorry that he should leave England without being assured by herself how deeply she appreciated the noble act, of more than princely munificence, by which he has sought to relieve the wants of the poorer subjects residing in London. It is an act, the Queen believes, wholly without parallel; and which will carry its best reward in the consciousness of having contributed so largely to the assistance of those who can so little help themselves. The Queen, however, would not have been satisfied without giving Mr. Peabody some public mark of her sense of his munificence; and she would gladly have conferred upon him a baronetcy or the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, but that she understands Mr. Peabody to feel himself debarred from accepting such distinctions. It only remains, therefore, for the Queen to give Mr. Peabody this assurance of her personal feelings; which she would further wish to mark by asking him to accept a miniature portrait of herself which she will desire painted for him, and which when finished can either be sent to him in America, or given to him on the return which she rejoices to hear he meditates to the country that owes him so much."

To this letter Mr. Peabody replied:

"Madam:—I feel sensibly my inability to express in adequate terms the gratification with which I have read the letter which your Majesty has done me the high honor of transmitting by the hands of Lord Russell. On the occasion which has attracted your Majesty's attention of setting apart a portion of my property to ameliorate the condition and augment the comforts of the poor of London, I have been actuated by a deep sense of gratitude to God who has blessed me with prosperity, and of attachment to this great country, where, under your Majesty's benign rule, I have received so much kindness, and enjoyed so many years of happiness. Next to the approval of my own conscience, I shall always prize the assurance which your Majesty's letter conveys to me of the approbation of the Queen of England, whose whole life has attested that her exalted station has in no degree diminished her sympathy with the humblest of her subjects. The portrait which your Majesty is pleased to bestow on me, I shall value as the most gracious heirloom that I can leave in the land of my birth, where, together with the letter which your Majesty has addressed to me, it will be regarded as an evidence of the kindly feeling of the Queen of the United Kingdom toward a citizen of the United States. I have the honor to be

Your Majesty's most obedient servant,
George Peabody."



GEORGE PEABODY.

Shortly after arriving in the United States on this occasion Mr. Peabody presented $150,000 to Harvard University to establish an Institute of Archæology, and a like amount for the department of physical science at Yale University; and he laid the foundation for the endowment most closely associated with his name, The Peabody Education Fund, by a gift to trustees of $2,100,000, which in 1869

was increased to $3,500,000. He also gave upward of $200,000 to various charities while on his visit. The letter of Mr. Peabody announcing the creation of the Education Fund explains the objects he had in view. After referring to the educational needs of "those portions of our beloved and common country which have suffered from the destructive ravages, and the not less disastrous consequences, of civil war," he said: "With my advancing years, my attachment to my native land has but become more devoted. My hope and faith in its successful and glorious future have grown brighter and stronger; and now, looking forward beyond my stay on earth, as may be permitted to one who has passed the limit of threescore and ten years, I see our country, united and prosperous, emerging from the clouds which still surround her, taking a higher rank among the nations, and becoming richer and more powerful than ever before. But to make her prosperity more than superficial, her moral and intellectual development should keep pace with her material growth; and in those portions of our nation to which I have referred, the urgent and pressing physical needs of an almost impoverished people must for some years preclude them from making, by unaided effort, such advances in education, and such progress in the diffusion of knowledge among all classes, as every lover of his country must earnestly desire. I feel most deeply, therefore, that it is the duty and privilege of the more favored and wealthy portions of our nation to assist those who are less fortunate; and, with the wish to discharge, so far as I am able, my responsibility in this matter, as well as to gratify my desire to aid those to whom I am bound by so many ties of attachment and regard, I give to you, gentlemen, most of whom have been my personal and especial friends, the sum of one million dollars to be by you and your successors held in trust, and the income thereof used and applied in your discretion for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the southern and southwestern states of our Union; *my purpose being that the benefits intended shall be distributed among the entire population, without other distinction than their needs and the opportunities of usefulness to them.*"

In 1869 Mr. Peabody made his last visit to the United States, at that time giving $150,000 to found the Peabody Museum at Salem, Mass., and $165,000 to other institutions and to charities. Shortly after returning to London he was taken suddenly ill, and passed away on the 4th of November of that year. By command of the Queen the remains were laid in Westminster Abbey, where funeral services were held on the 12th of November, it being the first time in history that the gates of that venerable and historic edifice had been opened for the obsequies of a private citizen of another country; and it was there that it was the wish of the Queen as well as of the English people that his remains should find their final resting place, surrounded by those of the noblest and most distinguished of England's dead. But his oft-expressed wish to lie beside his mother in his native land, and his cry of "Danvers! Danvers! don't forget," which were almost the last words he said, were respected and his body was conveyed to American shores on the newest and finest frigate of the British Navy —the "Monarch," from which it was received by an American squadron under the command of Mr. Peabody's long-time friend, Admiral Farragut, the interment being made at South Danvers, now Peabody. Mr. Peabody had never married, and notwithstanding his vast liberality left an estate valued at upward of $5,000,000, which was bequeathed to relatives and friends.

When it is considered that Mr. Peabody was also a most liberal and generous giver in a private way; and when one further considers the vastly changed conditions under which the great fortunes of the last twenty years have been accumulated, it may certainly be questioned whether this distinguished citizen and

benefactor of two countries should not, even now, be placed at the head of the list of America's princely givers. In his eulogy of Mr. Peabody on the occasion of the funeral services at Danvers, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop said: "It would afford a most inadequate measure of his munificence were I to sum up the dollars and pounds he has distributed. Tried even by this narrow test his beneficence has neither precedent nor parallel. But it is, as having attracted and compelled the attention of mankind to the beauty, the nobleness, the true glory of living and doing for others; it is, as having raised the standard of munificence to a degree which has made it a new thing in the world; it is, as having exhibited a wisdom and a discrimination in selecting the objects, and in arranging the machinery, of his bounty; it is, as having discarded all considerations of caste, creed, nationality, in his world-wide philanthropy, regarding nothing human as alien to him; it is, as delighting as much in devising modes of bestowing his wealth, as he had ever done in contriving plans for its increase and accumulation,—literally throwing out his bags like some adventurous aeronaut, who would mount higher and higher to the skies, and really exulting as he calculated, from time to time, how little of all his laborious earnings he had at last left for himself; it is, as having furnished this new and living and magnetic example, which can never be lost to history, never be lost to the interests of humanity, never fail to attract, inspire, and stimulate the lovers of their fellowmen as long as human wants and human wealth shall coexist upon the earth,—it is in this way that our lamented friend has attained a pre-eminence among the benefactors of his age and race like that of Washington among the patriots, or that of Shakespeare or Milton among poets."

One of the earliest of the Scientific institutions of the United States was the "Smithsonian Institution" at Washington. James Smithson, the founder, the natural son of Sir Hugh Smithson, later the Duke of Northumberland, and Mrs. Macie, a niece of the Duke of Somerset, was born in 1754. He graduated from Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1786, with the reputation of excelling all others in his knowledge of Chemistry, and in 1787, as "a gentleman well versed in various branches of natural philosophy and particularly in chemistry and mineralogy" he was recommended for election to the Royal Society, later serving as its vice-president. He spent most of his life in travel and on the Continent, everywhere making minute observations of the climate, physical conditions, and geological structure of the locality visited, as well as the character of its minerals, and the methods employed in mining and smelting ores. He was a frequent contributor of important papers to the transactions of the Royal Society and of the French Institute, of which he was also an active member for many years. It is said to have been his purpose to leave his entire fortune to the Royal Society; but as a result of some misunderstanding he changed his plan and shortly before his death in 1829 made a brief will giving the income of his entire estate to his nephew during his life, and the estate itself to his children should he marry. In case he should not marry, the entire property was bequeathed "to the United States for the purpose of founding an institution at Washington for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The nephew dying unmarried about five years later, the property fell to the United States, and in 1838 there were paid into the National treasury $508,-318.45. "Mr. Smithson," says Professor Simon Newcomb, "is not known to have had the personal acquaintance of an American, and his tastes were supposed to have been aristocratic rather than democratic. We have thus the curious spectacle of a retired English gentleman bequeathing the whole of his large fortune to our government to found an establishment which was described in ten words, without a memorandum of any kind by which his intentions could be divined, or the recipient of the gift guided in apply-

ing it." Smithson's illegitimate birth aroused in him a strong desire for posthumous fame; and he wrote at one time, "The best blood of England flows in my veins; on my father's side I am a Northumberland; on my mother's I am related to kings; but it avails me not. My name shall live in the memory of man when the titles of the Northumberlands and the Percys are extinct and forgotten." And it is surmised that it was in some degree to realize that ambition that he made the peculiar disposition of his fortune. What form or scope the "institution for the increase of science among men" should take was the subject of long and serious deliberation by the national Congress, but in 1846 an act was passed establishing the "Smithsonian Institution," and Regents were appointed. It was directed that the institution should have a library, a museum, and a gallery of art, while the regents were empowered to take such other steps as should tend to promote the objects of the bequest. By gradual development along comprehensive and broadening lines the benefits radiating from Smithson's bequest have become of inestimable value, and supplement almost every phase of educational activity throughout the country. Some years ago the library became a part of the Congressional library while the art museum became an adjunct of the Corcoran gallery; but in 1896 it was withdrawn from that gallery and re-established in more suitable quarters in the Institute buildings. It was then judicially declared to be the National Art Gallery, and has since received gifts of several notable collections containing, particularly, specimens of the best work of the most distinguished American artists. The work of the Institute has been chiefly directed toward the making and encouragement of original research along all lines of Natural Science in the broader sense of the term. It has become a sort of educational clearing house; and the humblest citizen of this, or any other country, may freely apply to it for information upon practically any subject of knowledge,—except, perhaps, the languages, literature, and history,—with the assurance that his communication will be received and given careful consideration, and that the desired information will be forthcoming if available. It is, in fact, hardly too much to say that on Smithson's generous foundation has been built up the most useful, all things considered, single educational foundation in the United States. And it is a most gratifying consideration that our government is intelligently and wisely executing the trust imposed upon it by this generous foreigner and stranger "to create an institution for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

In his eulogy on George Peabody, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop estimated that not the least of the beneficent results of Mr. Peabody's munificence would be that it would attract and compel "the attention of mankind to the beauty, the nobleness, the true glory of living and doing for others;" and there are at least five of the later "princely givers" whose benefactions can be traced with considerable directness to Mr. Peabody's inspiring example. The conditions of the people of the South at the close of the civil war excited feelings of the warmest sympathy in the hearts of their brethren at the North; and Mr. Peabody's principal gift, as has been said, was the foundation of the "Educational Fund" whose benefits were to accrue "*to the entire population (of the South) without other distinction than their needs and the opportunities of usefulness to them.*" To many, however, the intellectual and moral condition of the freedman particularly appealed, and two notable gifts soon followed Mr. Peabody's for the uplifting of the colored race. John F. Slater, born at Slaterville, R. I., in 1815, was the son of Samuel Slater, who was the pioneer in the establishment of cotton mills in this country, having started his first mill in December, 1790. John entered the mills at an early date and becoming familiar with every detail of the business was placed in charge of one of his father's mills at Jewett City, Ct., when only sev-

enteen years of age. As a result of close application to business, strict integrity, and rare judgment he soon became the head of the entire business, his father having died in 1835, and rapidly accumulated an ample fortune. During the civil war he became interested in the cause of the freedmen, contributing liberally for their relief; and later he determined to give to trustees one million dollars for the purpose of "uplifting the lately emancipated population of the Southern states, and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education." When asked just what he meant by "Christian Education" he explained "that in the sense which he intended, the common school teaching of Massachusetts and Connecticut was Christian education. That is, leavened with a predominant and salutary Christian influence." This gift aroused great interest in the United States. The Congress passed a vote of thanks and caused a gold medal to be prepared and presented to Mr. Slater. The income from this gift, which has averaged above sixty thousand dollars a year, has been used in Normal schools to fit students for teachers, and for industrial education. Among the first trustees were ex-President Hayes, the late Bishop Phillips Brooks, and ex-Governor Colquitt, of Georgia.

Closely following Mr. Slater's benefaction for the poor blacks came that of Daniel C. Hand, who was born at Madison, Ct., in 1801. At the age of sixteen he moved to Augusta, Ga., and entered the store of an uncle who had a large business in that city, and in Savannah. He eventually became his uncle's successor, and one of the most prosperous merchants of the South. During early manhood he lost his wife and their young children, and for more than fifty years lived a lonely and secluded life. Though strongly attached to the Southern people from his long residence among them, he ever abhorred slavery; and realizing the helpless condition of the emancipated slaves, in 1888 he transferred to the American Missionary Society $1,000,894 to be known as the "Daniel Hand Educational Fund for Colored People," the income from which should be used "for the purpose of educating needy and indigent colored people of African descent, residing, or who may hereafter reside, in the recent slave states of the United States of America;" limiting, as he directed, the sum to be given to any one person in any one year to one hundred dollars. At Mr. Hand's death in 1891 it was found that he had made the Missionary Society his residuary legatee for the purpose of increasing the same fund, and about five hundred thousand dollars was turned over to that body; while it is believed that the termination of certain life-uses will add two hundred thousand dollars more to the fund, which will make the total of his gifts to the worthy cause about $1,750,000.

Another and recent benefaction for the uplifting of the negro in the South was the gift of a Philadelphia Quakeress, Miss Anna T. Jeanes. She had for many years been a generous giver in large and small amounts to local institutions and causes, her larger benefactions being $200,000 to the Spring Garden Institute; $100,000 to the Hicksite Friends; $200,000 to schools maintained by the Quakers in her native city; and $200,000 to the "Home for Aged Friends," where she spent the later years of her life. In 1907 she transferred to Booker T. Washington, of the Tuskegee Institute and H. B. Frissell, of the Hampton Institute, one million dollars to be known as the "Fund for Rudimentary Schools for Southern Negroes," to be used "in assisting in the Southern United States community, country, and rural schools for the great class of negroes to whom the small rural and community schools are alone available." Miss Jeanes was, the same year, the innocent cause of a somewhat extended discussion of the question of intercollegiate athletics, as she offered to the President and Trustees of Swarthmore College the residue of her estate, upward of a million dollars, provided the students of the college should not thereafter ever engage in intercollegiate sports. After long deliberation

the Trustees declined to accept the proposed gift on the ground that they had no right to determine the future policy of the college by any such binding agreements.

The establishment by Mr. Peabody of the Institute in Baltimore, whose service is limited to students and those making special research,—a reference library,—

JOHNS HOPKINS.

prompted a wealthy merchant of that city to confer a like benefit on the general public; and in his benefaction Enoch Pratt was not only the follower of Peabody, but was also the forerunner of Carnegie. Mr. Pratt was born in North Middleboro, Mass., in 1808. After graduating from the Bridgewater Academy, he entered a store in Boston. In 1831, when twenty-three years of age, he removed to Baltimore, establishing himself in business there as a commission merchant. A large measure of success attended all his business career, and he became one of the most prominent business men and influential citizens of his adopted city. In 1882 he gave to the city $1,058,000 to establish a free public library, $225,000 of which should be devoted to the building, and the remainder to be invested by the city for the purchase of books. In consideration of the gift the city bound itself to raise fifty thousand dollars annually for maintenance of the library; and Mr. Pratt later provided fifty thousand dollars for four branch library buildings.

Mr. John W. Garrett, who was president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from 1858 until his death in 1884, left among his papers a long account of a dinner he gave to bring George Peabody and Johns Hopkins together; and he emphasizes the fact that at the feast Mr. Peabody dwelt *long and lovingly upon the theme of how much the pleasure of giving transcended the pleasure of making money.* And Johns Hopkins University and Hospital were the results. Mr. Hopkins was of Quaker descent, and was born in Anne Arundel County, Md., in 1795. His early life was spent on the farm, though he obtained a good education at a private school. At the age of seventeen he went to Baltimore to become a clerk in his uncle's grocery store, and in a few years he had saved enough money to establish himself with a partner in the same business. Three years later with his two brothers he founded the grocery house of Hopkins and Brothers. He amassed wealth rapidly, retiring from business in 1847, when he became president of the Merchant's Bank, and a director of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, being chairman of the road's finance committee from 1855 until his death in 1873. He was one of the staunchest friends that the corporation had, and on two or three occasions staked his entire fortune to carry it through financial crises. From early life he was a lover of good books, and until its end kept in touch with the best literature. He was also an intelligent and constant student of the Bible. In 1867 he obtained from the State a charter for a corporation under the direction of a board of trustees "for the promotion of education in the State of Maryland." To further this cause he gave to the trustees the sum of $4,500,000 to found a Hospital which should be "free to all, regardless of race or color," and $3,500,000 to endow a University. Just what form this new University should take was left

to the determination of the trustees, which proved to be a serious question for them to decide. A careful investigation of conditions, however, led that body to believe that the imperative need was an institution where young men could pursue courses of study in advance of the ordinary college courses, particularly in those branches of learning not provided for in the schools of law, medicine, and theology. The opportunities then afforded in this country for post-graduate study were meagre in the extreme, and most students wishing to take higher academic degrees were driven to the German universities. It was, therefore, determined that Johns Hopkins should be primarily a University with advanced courses of lectures and efficient laboratories, the undergraduate department being a secondary consideration. In few cases have results so emphatically demonstrated the wisdom and confirmed the judgment of trustees. The University, under the able direction of the President, Daniel Coit Gilman, at once took a position as the first institution in the country for post-graduate work, and has ably held that position down to the present day, although since about 1890 Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and Chicago, have offered such vastly increased facilities for advanced study that Johns Hopkins no longer has the free field that it had during the first fifteen years of its existence. Its department of History in particular, which was organized, developed, and presided over by Professor Herbert B. Adams from 1877 until his death in 1902, has done most efficient work; and it is undoubtedly true that at the beginning of this century more professors of history in the other colleges of the country had done their advance work and taken their doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins, than at all the other universities of the country combined. Unfortunately the University has suffered materially at times from lack of funds, as the bulk of its endowment consisted of securities of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; and as the value of these has fluctuated greatly in the past thirty years, and dividends have been somewhat uncertain, the results to the College have been deplorable. Since the rehabilitation of that road, however, the income has been more certain and abundant; and in 1907 Mr. William Wyman of Baltimore donated a valuable tract of sixty-five acres in the suburbs for a new site to which the University could be moved from its present cramped quarters, conditioned upon its other friends raising one million dollars, which was quickly done. This, happily, promises renewed activity and increased efficiency for the years to come. Of all the great gifts for the advancement of learning which this chapter records few have been more effective or produced more lasting results than that of Baltimore's princely merchant, Johns Hopkins.

The Leland Stanford Junior University is the noble expression of the grief of its founder and his wife for the loss of an only and dearly beloved son. Indeed all the accounts of the father's and mother's love for this son savor rather of worship than of a natural, parental love; and the benefaction of the parents took its form from the early avowed purpose of their son. In conveying the estates to the trustees, Mr. Stanford said: "Since the idea of establishing an institution of this kind for the benefit of mankind came directly and largely from our son and only child, Leland, and in the belief that had he been spared to advise us as to the disposition of our estate he would have desired the devotion of a large portion thereof to this purpose, we will that for all time to come the institution hereby founded shall bear the name and shall be known as the Leland Stanford Junior University."

Leland Stanford was born at Watervliet, N. Y., March 9, 1824. His father was a prosperous farmer, but was also deeply interested in construction of roads, bridges, etc., and was an ardent supporter of De Witt Clinton's scheme for the Erie canal to connect the great lakes with New York harbor,—a characteristic interest which Leland seems to have inherited.

The boy worked on the farm during his youth attending the local school and occasionally making extra money by some shrewd youthful venture. When eighteen years of age his father bought a piece of woodland and told Leland he might have all he could make from the sale of the wood if he would cut off the trees. From this undertaking, he cleared twenty-six hundred dollars. He went to school at an Academy in Clinton, and later studied law in an office in Albany and was admitted to the bar. During the gold fever of 1848-50 two of his brothers went to California, and were making money rapidly in merchandising, when in 1852 Leland determined to follow them. For four years he managed a store at Michigan Bluffs. He quickly established a reputation for strict integrity and honesty, as well as for kindness and generosity, and made strong friends wherever he went, among all classes of men, and was thoroughly trusted by all. Previous to the Civil War California had been strongly Democratic; but Stanford had adopted the principles of the new Republican party; and in 1860 he was elected a delegate at large to attend the National Convention, where he earnestly supported Lincoln. After the latter's inauguration, at his and Secretary Seward's request, Stanford spent several weeks in Washington, advising as to the best means to keep California loyal to the Union, as the Southern leaders had hoped to create the same conditions in the frontier states of California and Oregon that existed in the border states of Missouri and Kentucky, which would necessitate the detachment of large bodies of troops from the Northern armies to control the situation on the Pacific Coast. In 1861 Stanford accepted the nomination for governor of California on the Republican ticket; and though he had been badly beaten in the contest for the same office in 1859, he was elected this time by a large majority. He early realized the importance of a trans-continental railroad; and his interest was most heartily fostered at Washington, as the imperative need of some means for quickly transporting troops to the West Coast, in case of an emergency, was strongly felt. Although the undertaking to construct a road over the Rocky and Sierra Nevada mountain ranges was generally regarded as wholly impracticable, yet his enthusiasm and energy finally enlisted the co-operation of C. P. Huntington, a hardware merchant of Sacramento and his partner Mark Hopkins. Later Charles Crocker, who was then also a merchant in Sacramento, agreed to join forces with them, and the Central Pacific Railroad Company was organized, in June of 1861. Our space does not admit of any detailed account of the progress of that stupendous undertaking; only to say Governor Stanford turned the first shovelful of earth early in 1863, and drove the first spike that connected the Central with the Union Pacific at Promontory Point, Utah, May 10, 1869, thus establishing through rail connection from Omaha, Neb., to the Pacific Coast. It was no easy matter to raise money for such an enterprise during the Civil War, and this difficulty had led the government to make unusually liberal land grants to encourage investment. At first alternate sections of land for ten miles on either side of the road were granted to the Company, and $16,000 per mile in bonds for the easily constructed portions of the road, and from $32,000 to $48,000 per mile for the difficult portions over the mountains. In 1864 Congress increased the land grant to alternate sections in a belt extending twenty miles on each side of the track, making a total of 12,800 acres per mile of road, and putting the company in possession of an aggregate of close to nine million acres. Of course the original contractors realized immense fortunes from the undertaking, and their wealth has since dominated all political and economic conditions in the state. Mr. Stanford, realizing the bright future before California, invested heavily in large tracts in the fertile valleys, holding sixty thousand acres in one, twenty-two thousand in another, and smaller tracts in various localities. But his favorite ranch

was the Palo Alto Estate of 8,400 acres in the beautiful Santa Clara Valley, about thirty miles south of San Francisco. Here he made his home, erecting a costly house and great stables and conservatories. He was especially fond of his horses, and the Palo Alto stable soon became one of the most noted in the land. Here were raised some of the most royal members of the horse kingdom, as Electioneer, Arion, Sunol, Piedmont, and others, who were almost literally worth their weight in gold. Mr. Stanford loved his horses as he loved his family; and Gen. Frank Walker once described a visit to the stables where he was struck by the gentleness of the horses, who would rub their noses all over their master, and fearlessly come up to visitors to be petted. Asking Mr. Stanford how he contrived to keep his horses so gentle, he replied, "I never allow a man to speak unkindly to one of my horses; and if a man swears at one, I discharge him."

Shortly after the death of his son, to turn the father's thought from his grief and enforce a change of scene, his friends urged him to allow his name to go before the Legislature as a candidate for the United States Senatorship; and being elected, he took his seat March 4, 1885.

The relation between Mr. and Mrs. Stanford and their only child seems to have been one of rare love and affection, as well as one of companionship. Born in May, 1868, Leland Junior was a bright and affectionate child, but was never strong or of good health. He was blessed with a sunny and bright disposition, and showed intellectual qualities that promised future usefulness. He was kind and generous to a fault, and tender and considerate of everyone, and of animals. Many interesting stories are told to illustrate these characteristics; and his collection of stray, lame, and homeless dogs was a rare one. His father and mother were disposed to yield to his every impulse, and many of their earlier large benefactions were made at his suggestion. When an effort was being made to establish Kindergartens in San Francisco, a lady having the matter in charge called on Mrs. Stanford in the city home, where she told of the needs of the poor children; and it is related that Leland put his hand in his mother's, saying, "Mama, we must help these poor children." "Well, Leland," said his mother, "what do you wish me to do?" "Give Mrs. Cooper five hundred dollars now and let her start a school, and then come to us for more." The money was at once given, and the account further states that between 1879 and 1892 Mrs. Stanford gave one hundred and sixty thousand dollars as a fund for the San Franciscan Kindergartens, and that her name was down for eight thousand dollars a year for their support.

Early in life Leland realized that he would sometime become possessed of great wealth, and he formulated many plans for its useful expenditure; and while yet a boy he had considered the founding of a great institution of learning. He was

LELAND STANFORD.

greatly interested in a museum for which he early began making collections, for which his parents gave him two large rooms in their San Francisco home; and he became deeply interested in art and archæology. He was nearly ready to enter Yale when his parents decided to make a long trip abroad, of which he should have

the benefit; and in Athens, Rome, and all the art centres his father and mother allowed him to buy liberally of treasures for his museum and for the larger institution he ever had in mind. While in Rome symptoms of the fever developed and he was hurried to Florence; but in spite of all that medical art could do he passed away March 13, 1884. The grief-stricken parents brought the body back to his first home at Palo Alto, where it was laid away in a costly tomb that had been prepared, on Thanksgiving Day, November 27, 1884. Then declared the father, "*the children of California shall be our children.*"

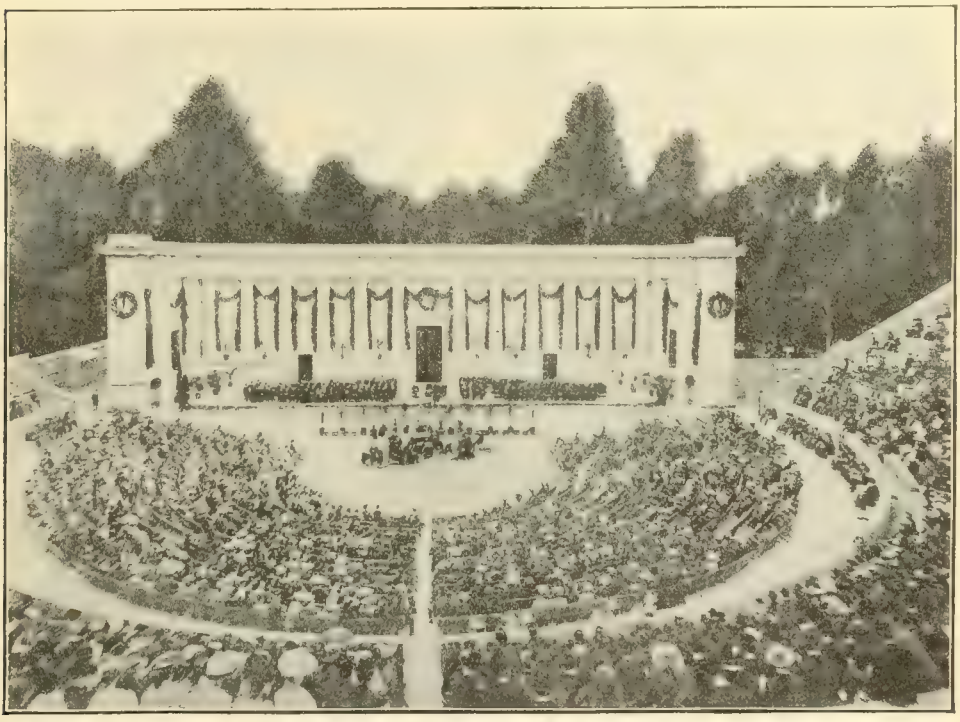
"From this crushing blow," says Mrs. Bolton, "Mr. Stanford never recovered. For years young Leland's room was kept ready and in waiting, the lamp dimly burning at night, and the bed clothing turned back by loving hands as if he were coming back again. The horses the boy formerly used were kept unused in pasture at Palo Alto and cared for for their young owner's sake. The little yellow dog whose broken leg he had set was left at Palo Alto when the boy went to Europe. When his body was brought back the dog knew only too well what had happened; and after the body was placed in the tomb the faithful creature took his place in front of the door, from which he could not be coaxed even for his food, and where one morning he was found dead. He was buried near his devoted friend." And Congressman Sibley of Pennsylvania has told how, three years after the death of Leland, he and Mr. Stanford "went together to the tomb of the boy, and the father told amid tears and sobs how, since the death of his son, he had adopted and taken to his heart and love every friendless boy and girl in all the land, and that, so far as his means afforded, they should go to make the path of every such an one smoother and brighter." This love for young people was manifested during their life in Washington while Congress was in session. They gave an annual dinner to the Senate pages, with a gift for each one, and at Christmas each received a five-dollar gold piece. A dinner was given every winter to the telegraph and messenger boys of the city, with gifts of money, gloves; etc. Every Orphan Asylum and Charity Hospital in the city was also liberally remembered at Christmas. And Mr. Sibley further relates that he and his partner bought a young colt of the Senator for which they paid $12,500. He immediately took out his checkbook, and drew two checks for $6,250 each for two different Homes for friendless children; and with a twinkle in his eye, he said, "Electric Bell ought to make a great horse, he starts in making so many people happy in the very beginning of his life."

The bereaved father and mother lost no time in preparing their plans for the great monument to the memory of their beloved son and on the nineteenth anniversary of his birth, May 14, 1887, the corner-stone of the first building of the University was laid at Palo Alto; and in a little over four years, Oct. 1, 1891, the doors of the institution were opened for students of both sexes, the donor declaring to his trustees that "the rights of one sex, political or otherwise, are the same as those of the other sex, and this equality of rights ought to be fully recognized." And in reference to his purpose in founding the University Mr. Stanford said: "The object is not alone to give the student a technical education, fitting him for a successful business life, but it is also to instill into his mind an appreciation of the blessings of this government, a reverence for its institutions, and a love for God and humanity."

Mr. Stanford lived to see his University opened and doing successful work. The old Spanish Mission architecture, so common in Southern California, was adopted as the prevailing style for the buildings, the plans having been originally drawn by Richardson, the distinguished Boston architect. "The plan contemplates a number of quadrangles in the midst of a great park of 8,400 acres. The central group, consisting of two quadrangles, one entirely surrounding the other, is completed; and its twelve one-

story buildings are connected by a continuous arcade facing a paved court five hundred and eighty feet long and two hundred and fifty wide, with an area of three and a quarter acres. This court is adorned with palms and many of the bright flowers that grow in such profusion in that country. The buildings are of a buff sandstone."

Mr. Stanford and his trustees were fortunate in being able to secure the services of the distinguished educator and naturalist David Starr Jordan for president of



THE GREEK THEATRE, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

the University, who is still doing noble work in that office. At his death Mr. Stanford left all his estate in his wife's control, as he always considered all benefactions as much her interest as his own. She provided liberally for its needs until her death, when the entire estate passed to the University. The value was estimated at about thirty millions, making Stanford, for the present, the most liberally endowed educational institution in the world.

The University of California, most beautifully situated at Berkeley on San Francisco bay, and directly opposite the Golden Gate, has been the recipient of many valuable gifts from Mrs. Phœbe Hearst; and it is generally understood that it will later become an object of far greater benefaction from the same source. A notable gift was made to this University by C. F. Doe, of San Francisco, in 1907, he bequeathing six million dollars to the Regents to establish a memorial library. This sum becomes payable in installments as the estate may warrant, but two and a half million dollars were set apart as the first installment, and a superb library building of majestic proportions is now being erected.

Of course the most notable of the many princely gifts that are connected with the name of the city of Chicago, is the establishment and endowment of its great University. As this has been so largely the work of one man, however, it will be more particularly referred to in connection with Mr. Rockefeller's many benefactions. The career of the Armours, and the development of their enormous pack-

ing business, is too well known to call for any mention here. One of the well-known institutions of the city is the Armour Mission, of which the founder of the house, P. D. Armour, was a constant and liberal supporter. The Mission also has a free kindergarten, and a free dispensary; and to insure for this work a constant revenue, Mr. Armour built the "Armour Flats" near it, having two hundred and sixteen apartments that rent from seventeen to thirty-five dollars a month. Mr. Armour's principal gift, however, was a million and a half dollars to build and endow the "Armour Institute," a technical school of high order which has done excellent work. His later gifts, and those of his sons, have increased the endowment to upwards of three million dollars.

A few years ago extended accounts appeared in the papers of the visit to this country of the renowned Dr. Lorenz, of Germany, whom Mr. J. Ogden Armour had induced to come here in the hope that the doctor's system of "bloodless surgery" might restore to normal condition his little crippled daughter, Lolita. While in this country Dr. Lorenz treated also many cases of poor people gratuitously, and all his work, including that in the family of Mr. Armour, seemed to be uniformly successful. As a thank offering for the benefits received by his little daughter Mr. Armour, in 1902, provided grounds and a building, and set aside three million dollars for the endowment of the "Lolita Armour Institute of Bloodless Surgery," under the direction of Frederick Mueller, an advanced student of Professor Lorenz, who had been his assistant in the operation on Mr. Armour's daughter.

One of Chicago's most generous givers has been Dr. D. K. Pearsons, who was born at Bradford, Vt., in 1820; and after graduating from college and the medical school, began the practice of his profession in Chicopee, Mass., in 1849. In 1857 he moved to the middle West, and was engaged in farming in Illinois for three years when he settled in Chicago, engaging in the real estate business. Having accumulated a large fortune he retired from active business in 1887, and has since interested himself in the welfare of many of the smaller colleges of the West, which he has helped liberally by donations ranging from fifty thousand to three hundred thousand dollars. In nearly every case, he has conditioned his gifts upon the raising of a considerably larger amount by the friends of the institution to be benefited. In this way he has given during the last twenty years upwards of three and a half million dollars, placing him high up on the roll of liberal benefactors of educational institutions.

Chicago has been particularly fortunate in the matter of endowments for libraries, and will soon have three of the finest library buildings in the United States, with collections of books worthy of the buildings that house them. Walter L. Newberry, who was born at East Windsor, Ct., in 1804, having fitted for the Military Academy at West Point, was rejected on account of physical conditions. He then turned toward the West, engaging in the dry-goods business in Detroit from 1828 to 1834, when he removed to Chicago, then a city of three thousand population, and started in the banking business. Shortly after settling there he invested a small amount of money he had brought with him in forty acres of land on the North side, in the very centre of the district that early became the aristocratic residence section of the city, and still retains that distinction. At his death, in 1868, he left an estate valued at five million dollars to his wife and two daughters; if the daughters died unmarried, half the property after the death of his wife should go to brothers and sisters, and half to found a library. Both daughters died unmarried, and the widow in 1885, so that the trustees came into possession of $2,500,000 for library purposes. As a result the "Newberry Library" was established on the North side, the building being three hundred by sixty feet, though the plan calls for the doubling of the latter dimension. There

is now room for one million books, which will be increased to space for four million when the addition to the present library is made. The trustees made a most happy selection of a librarian, securing the services of Dr. William F. Poole, very familiarly known for his useful service to all students in the preparation of "Poole's Index" to periodical literature. Upon his death, in 1894, John Vance Cheney, the distinguished author and poet, was selected as his successor,—a case where its two librarians have conferred distinction upon the institution which they served. As the City Public Library was already well established and equipped, it was decided to make the Newberry a public reference library.

John Crerar, the son of Scotch parents, was born in New York and at the age of eighteen became a clerk in a mercantile house. In 1862 he went to Chicago and engaged in the iron business, as well as having interests in several railroads. He was never married, but lived quietly at the Grand Pacific Hotel until his death, in 1889. He was a very liberal man during his later life, and at his death left various sums ranging from five to fifty thousand dollars to several friends; "$20,000 to each of his first, $10,000 to each of his second, and $5,000 to each of his third cousins;" one hundred thousand dollars to his church (the Second Presbyterian), and a like sum to its missions; to ten charitable organizations, fifty thousand dollars each; one hundred thousand dollars for a statue of Abraham Lincoln; and from ten to twenty-five thousand dollars to each of several other organizations. The residue of his estate was left to trustees to establish the John Crerar Library on the South side of the City, the Newberry being already determined upon for the North side. Referring to this bequest Mr. Crerar said in his will: "I desire the books and periodicals selected with a view to create and sustain a healthy moral and Christian sentiment in the community. *I do not mean by this that there shall not be anything but hymn-books and sermons; but I mean that dirty French novels, and all skeptical trash, and works of questionable moral tone, shall never be found in this library. I want its atmosphere that of Christian refinement, and its aim and object the building up of character.*" For the home of

JOHN CRERAR.

this library a magnificent marble building will soon be completed on the Lake Front Park (Michigan Avenue) near the Art Museum, and but about four blocks from the City library. The trustees of the Crerar have adopted more particularly the scientific line for its development, while the special field of the Newberry is the arts, literature, and the humanities, with the City library to meet the ordinary demands of general readers. The libraries of the three institutions work together in perfect harmony, and by this arrangement each is enabled to do more in its particular line than if it was obliged to attempt to cover the whole range of knowledge. As the distance from the Crerar to the Newberry is only about half a mile, with the City library situated on the direct line between them, together they practically form one foundation not unlike the

Astor-Lenox-Tilden Foundation of New York; but, we are disposed to believe, better able to serve the student public more conveniently in their separate quarters than will the New York Foundation be able to do in its one great building.

The Washington University at St. Louis, Mo., was especially favored by many of its friends toward the close of the last century. To further this movement two St. Louis merchants, R. S. Brookings and S. Cupples, transferred to the trustees of the University a business property known as Cupples Station, which was paying an income of ten per cent on five million dollars. As a recognition of his services in this undertaking, Mr. Brookings was made an honorary graduate

PETER COOPER.

of Yale in 1899, "in acknowledgment of services rendered to the cause of higher education as president of the Board of Trustees of Washington University, St. Louis, in which capacity he succeeded in interesting many citizens to contribute funds necessary to practically refound the University, including a site of more than one hundred acres, new buildings of the highest class and equipment, increased endowment, etc."

One of the oldest and most useful institutions of New York for the purpose of advancing technical education is the "Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art," founded by Peter Cooper. It would be almost easier to enumerate the different enterprises that Mr. Cooper did not engage in during his early life than to name those that he did. His father was by trade a hatter, and Peter, born in New York in 1791, "as soon as his head could be seen above the table" began to assist in the work. After many experiments, in all of which he was, in a measure, successful, he purchased a large glue factory located between 31st and 34th streets, New York; and when a few years later the lease on the land expired, he bought ten acres of land in Brooklyn, and moved the business there, where it has since been profitably continued. In 1828 he bought three thousand acres within the city limits of Baltimore and erected the Canton Iron works, which was the first of the great works in this industry in the country. He determined to dispose of his Baltimore interests, and a part was bought by Boston capitalists who reorganized the Canton Iron Co., Cooper taking a large part of his price for the property in stock of the new company on the basis of forty-four dollars a share, which he afterwards sold at the rate of two hundred and thirty. He was also largely identified with the development of the iron industry throughout the eastern part of Pennsylvania. But not alone industrial and commercial affairs received his attention, for he was identified with all the movements in his native city looking toward better civil conditions and the advancement of learning; and being a trustee of the first Public School Society founded to promote public schools in New York, when that body was merged in the Board of Education, he was made a School Commissioner. He has, however, been most widely known for his interest in industrial education, of the need of

which his own experience had profoundly convinced him. With the idea of furnishing a home for the proper instruction of the working classes he purchased the block bounded by Third and Fourth avenues and 7th and 8th streets; and from his own plans the Cooper Union was formed. The corner stone was laid in 1854, and five years later, upon the completion of what was then one of the remarkable buildings of the city, Mr. Cooper transferred the property in fee simple to six trustees, who were empowered to devote the rents and income to a scheme of education which should include, in the founder's own words, "instruction in branches of knowledge by which men earn their daily bread; in laws of health and the improvement of the sanitary conditions of families as well as individuals; in social and political science, whereby communities and nations advance in virtue, wealth, and power; and finally in matters which affect the eye, the ear, and the imagination, and furnish a basis for recreation to the working classes." Free courses of lectures on social and political science were established, also a free reading room; and collections of works of art and of scientific subjects were provided, and a school for the instruction of women in the art of design, by which they may gain a livelihood. The building with its improvements has cost nearly $750,000, and an endowment of $200,000 was provided to maintain the reading room and library. The annual expense of the schools and lectures, varying from sixty to seventy-five thousand dollars a year, has been largely covered from rents derived from parts of the building not occupied by the Union. More recently endowments amounting to a half million dollars or more have been provided by Mr. Cooper's heirs, the Coopers and Hewitts; and the sphere of the Union's influence has been greatly enlarged. Few institutions in any city have a more enviable record for the real benefits conferred upon those most needing such assistance and entertainment, and for more than fifty years its great halls, and reading and lecture rooms, have nightly been filled to overflowing by an interested, eager body of men. Some few years since a large bronze statue of the venerable founder, executed by St. Gaudens, was set up in the little triangular park in front of the building, between the junction of Third and Fourth avenues.

It is hardly necessary to relate any incidents of the life of John Jacob Astor, so much has been written about the family. Born in the little town of Waldorf, near Heidelberg, Germany, in 1763, he helped his father, a butcher, until he was sixteen, when he determined to join an elder brother in London, who worked in the piano and flute factory of an uncle. Having no money he set out on foot for the Rhine; and resting under a tree on his first day's walk he formulated his resolutions for his future life, it is said, in a brief sentence,—"*I will be honest, industrious, and never gamble.*" Eventually reaching London he remained there until 1783, working with his brother, and learning the English language. Having saved seventy-five dollars, he invested twenty-five in seven flutes, purchased a steerage passage to New York for a like amount, and put the balance in his pocket. On the passage he fell in with a furrier who told him that money could be made by buying furs from the Indians on the frontier and selling them to dealers. As soon as he arrived in New York he entered the employ of a Quaker furrier, and learned all he could about the business, in the meantime selling his flutes and using the money to buy furs. How his business grew the whole world knows. As he accumulated money he invested it in real estate in the city; and as a result of his simple living, profitable business, and rapid advances in real estate values, he was worth twenty million dollars when he died in 1848. Wishing to leave some bequest of value and use to his adopted city he consulted his friends Washington Irving, Dr. Cogswell, and Fitz-Greene Halleck, the poet, who advised him to found a public library. Accordingly he bequeathed to trustees the sum of four hundred thousand dollars for that pur-

pose. His eldest son, William B. Astor, left and gave during his lifetime the further sum of five hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and in 1889 John Jacob, the grandson, gave eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars further to en-

JOHN JACOB ASTOR.

large the building and increase its usefulness. The completed building has a frontage of two hundred feet on Lafayette street, in 1848 far up-town, but now in the heart of the wholesale business district of the city. The library was for many years the most used and most useful library in the country; and at the time of consolidation under the Tilden foundation had about three hundred and fifty thousand volumes. It has many very rare and costly books, one of which is a copy of Wyclif's translation of the New Testament made in 1390 A. D., before the age of printing, which, says the learned librarian, Mr. Saunders, "so closely resembles the black letter type as almost to deceive a practiced eye." Here also is the second printed Bible, on vellum, date 1462, for which nine thousand dollars was paid.

Robert Lenox, a Scotch merchant who had accumulated a fortune, came to this country and settled in New York in 1784. Among his early ventures here was the purchase of a farm of forty acres whose centre would be approximately where Fifth Avenue and Seventy-second street meet to-day. For this he paid altogether about ten thousand dollars, which he considered too much, but he forbade his heirs selling it for some years as he believed there "*would ultimately be a village there.*" His only son, James, was born in New York in 1800, was educated at Princeton and Columbia, and studied law though he never practiced his profession. He went to Europe soon after completing his education and began to collect rare and curious books, which became the passion of his life. He was hardly less devoted to art than to literature; and gave fifty years of his life to the making of a library and forming a gallery of art which unquestionably surpassed any collection, in its combined features, which has been seen in the new world. He had fallen in love with, and proposed marriage to, a young lady who, for some reason, rejected him; and both remained single for the remainder of their lives. Mr. Lenox then made his library his mistress, becoming a confirmed recluse and retiring entirely from the social world. In 1839 his father died, leaving him several million dollars, which enabled him to gratify his tastes without stint. In 1870 he conveyed to his native city his library and art collection, together with the magnificent building he had erected to contain them. This, the Lenox Library, covered the block on Fifth Avenue between Seventieth and Seventy-first streets, the building being of limestone with a front of two hundred feet and depth of one hundred and fourteen feet. The Library and art collection were valued at one million dollars, and the building and grounds were worth as much more, making, all its features considered, one of the most royal gifts ever made to any city. The library is one of the richest in the world in Bibles, containing one of the

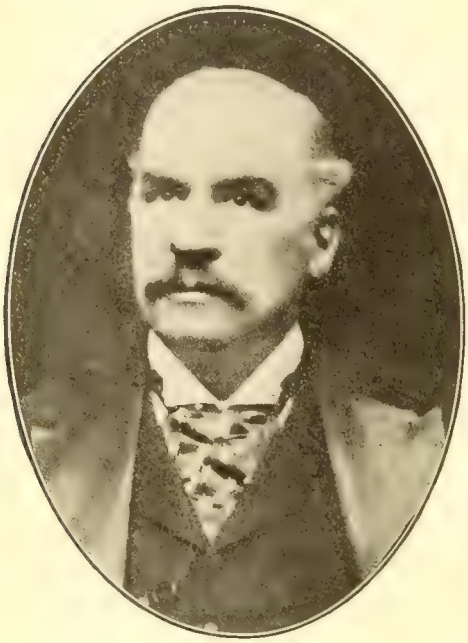
three or four existing copies of the Mazarin Bible, the first book printed from movable type; and there are in all twenty-two hundred English Bibles, dating from 1493, and twelve hundred Bibles in other languages, including five copies of Eliot's Indian Bible. It is hardly less rich in Americana, Shakesperiana, and the works of, and about, Milton. In 1887 the last surviving sister of Mr. Lenox gave to the trustees ten lots adjoining the Library, which are of great value; and in 1879 Robert Lenox Kennedy, a nephew and president of the Board of Trustees, added to the Art Gallery Munkacsy's great painting, "Milton Dictating Paradise Lost," which is said to have cost one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. James Lenox, the founder, was an exceptionally peculiar man, though a most useful citizen. He was for several years president of the American Bible Society, to which he gave most liberally. Princeton College and Theological Seminary were each also greatly enriched by his bounty. In addition to these gifts which could hardly be kept from the public knowledge, he was constantly giving to worthy causes, but on condition that the name of the donor should be kept absolutely secret. On one occasion he gave seven thousand dollars to a lady for a charitable purpose, exacting from her the usual pledge of secrecy. But she failed to keep it. Sometime after she appealed to him to aid another worthy cause, which he acknowledged he was disposed to do, but declined because the lady had exposed him on the previous occasion. His home life, if such it may be called, was most secluded. Many distinguished people of this country and coming from Europe, including the Marquis of Dufferin when he was Governor General of Canada, desired to call on him, but he declined to see one and all. And it is related that a distinguished and widely known scholar who was prosecuting some researches for which he could not find the material outside of Lenox's collection appealed to him to be allowed access to it. The request was granted, but the scholar was not permitted to cross the threshold of the library. A large and convenient room was set apart for him in the spacious Lenox mansion for such time as should suit his pleasure to use it, and books were taken to him as he needed them by the private librarian; but though his work continued for some weeks, the writer saw neither the library nor Mr. Lenox. And as he neared the end of life, his request was that no details should be given out for publication, nor even the hour of his quiet funeral announced.

In 1886 Samuel J. Tilden, one of New York's most noted lawyers and most influential citizens, died, leaving an estate valued at upwards of five million dollars. It was his intention that practically the whole of this, together with his private library of twenty thousand volumes, should go to the city to establish a public circulating library, which up to that time was practically unknown there. His will was contested, however, with the result that the library fund amounted to only about one-half of the original amount.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

As the long legal battle delayed the execution of the trust, the subject of a consolidation of the Lenox and Astor libraries with the Tilden foundation came to the front, and it was finally decided to take such a step, and create one great central

library. Accordingly the New York Public Library—Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations,—was established by consolidation on May 23, 1895. The new corporation had an endowment of $3,446,500 and owned besides the very valuable sites of the Lenox and Astor libraries. It possessed at that time about four hundred



J. PIERPONT MORGAN.

thousand volumes, a number that has been nearly doubled up to the present day. Steps were successfully taken to secure the old reservoir site on Fifth Avenue between Forty and Forty-second streets as a location for a new library building; and authority was secured from the State legislature to issue bonds to the extent of five million dollars to erect a library building worthy of the city, and of the treasures that would be stored within it. Work on the new building was begun in 1902, and it is anticipated that it will be completed and ready to open to the public in 1909. The structure is a massive and imposing edifice, built of white marble, 366 feet long and 246 feet wide. As at present planned there will be shelf room for a million and a half volumes; but an ample vacant lot in the rear will admit of an extension that would accommodate from four to five million volumes. In 1901 Mr. Carnegie proposed to give to the city $5,200,000 to establish sixty-five branch libraries, on condition that the city would provide sites, and bind itself to raise ten per cent of the amount annually to support these branches. The gift and conditions were both accepted, and several of the branches are already in use, and others are being provided as fast as suitable sites can be procured.

A very generous giver of whom the world has heard little was Mrs. Mary Macrae Stuart, widow of Robert L. Stuart, the head of one of the old firms of sugar refiners. At her death in 1891 she bequeathed the R. L. Stuart Fine Art Collections, valued at a half million dollars, to the Lenox Library, on condition that the collection should not be exhibited on Sunday; and to various religious and charitable societies connected with the Presbyterian Church, and to hospitals and relief societies in New York city, she distributed more than six million dollars. It was her wish to give largely to the Museum of Natural History and the Museum of Art; but her deadly fear that they would be opened on Sunday restrained her.

One of New York's liberal benefactors, and with good reason, has been and is Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. Various amounts from fifty thousand to a quarter of a million have been given by him to aid several good causes of which we have no record. But his known gifts during the past few years have amounted to more than six and a half million dollars, and have been distributed somewhat as follows: To the University of the South, $2,000,000; to the Harvard Medical School, $1,000,000; to establish the Lying-in Hospital near St. George's Church, New York city, $1,350,000; to St. John's Cathedral, $500,000; to the Young Men's Christian Association of New York, $100,000; to the Loomis Cancer Hospital, $500,000; to a fund to preserve the Palisades of the Hudson, $125,000; for a library at Holyoke, Mass., $100,000;

for a Parish House and Rectory for St. George's Church, $300,000; and to the New York Trades Training School, $500,000. St. George's Church is one of the great democratic churches of the Episcopal communion, with a widely extended parish embracing thousands of the poor on the east side. The mission work of the church covers a wide area and is lovingly prosecuted. Mr. Morgan has for years stood back of this work and has been liberal in its support. Many and costly have been his gifts to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of which he is now the president; and while there is no public record of his liberality toward that institution, it would undoubtedly represent at least another million dollars.

The Vanderbilts have given in all over a million dollars to the Vanderbilt University of Nashville, Tenn., and it is known that the gifts of the family to various hospitals in the city have been large. Different members of the family, too, have been generous benefactors of Yale University, having given the money for several of the finest buildings on the campus. For many years the Rev. Dr. Greer, of St. Bartholomew's Church, acted as the almoner of the private charities of the family, which it is understood have been very liberal.

A somewhat novel foundation was laid by Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, owner and managing editor of the New York "World," when, in 1902, he gave two million dollars to establish a School of Journalism in connection with Columbia University. The donor had had this purpose in mind for many years, and as early as 1892 had laid his plans before President Low of the University, who rejected them. After studying the subject more carefully for several years Mr. Pulitzer again approached the President, then Nicholas Murray Butler, and his scheme was approved and his gift accepted. In the North American Review for May, 1904, Mr. Pulitzer outlined his plans and explained his purpose. "Before the century closes," he said, "Schools of Journalism will be as universally accepted as features of a general education as are schools of law and medicine. It is objected that the journalist must be born, not made; but the only position that it occurs to me a man in our Republic can successfully fill by simple fact of birth is that of idiot. The objection that everything needed is now taught in the regular college course appears to have some force. It is possible that it may be advanced with sincerity by intelligent newspaper men who know nothing of colleges, or by intelligent college men who know nothing about newspapers. But it is superficial. It is true that many of the subjects needed for the general education of a journalist are already covered in college; but they are too much covered. The spirit of specialization is everywhere, and there is specialization in newspaper offices. The editor of a New York paper confined to the editorial page is as much surprised as the reader when in the morning he reads the news column. The news editor does not know what editorials there will be; the musical critic could not write of sporting events; the man with the priceless sense of humor could not record and interpret the movements of the stock-market. The men in all these fields are specialists. The object of the School of Journalism will be to dig through this general scheme intended to cover every possible career or work in life, every profession, to select and concentrate only upon the things which the journalist wants, and not waste time on things he does not want."

One of New York's richest men had long held an unenviable reputation for niggardly and even miserly characteristics, and that was Russell Sage. Though interested financially in many railroads, banks, and financial institutions, one of his chief sources of great profits in recent years has been the loaning of money "on call" to brokers and others who get into tight places when there is a panicky condition or crisis on the stock market. For such loans enormous rates of interest are charged, running sometimes as high as fifty per cent, or even, in extreme cases, to one hundred per cent. For this pur-

pose Mr. Sage, of course, always kept millions of ready money in the banks, and could act at once. These transactions, coupled with general hardness in business relations, scarcely tended to establish a position of honor and esteem among his business associates, nor to make for him a warm place in the hearts of his fellowmen, though his integrity and public and private life were above reproach. He had, for some reason, been led to make some gifts to Cornell University, amounting in all, perhaps, to half a million dollars; but beyond that, so far as we can learn, he had not opened his heart or purse to further any public causes. Consequently when he passed away there was but little public mourning, and few regrets were expressed; but an eager curiosity was

Photo. Copyrighted by Rockwood, N. Y.
MRS. RUSSELL SAGE.

manifested to know what disposition he had made of the very many millions of dollars he was known to possess. It was somewhat of a disappointment, therefore, when it was learned that all had been left to his wife, without public bequests of any significance. In 1907, however, Mrs. Sage announced gifts to various institutions and organizations aggregating $4,180,000, at the same time stating that she had set aside ten millions for the perpetual endowment of the "Russell Sage Foundation," whose object was stated to be the "improvement of social and living conditions in the United States." The means to be employed in this beneficent work are very broad, including "research, publication, education, the establishment and maintenance or aid of charitable or benevolent activities, agencies, and institutions." With its extensive resources and freedom in the range of means to be employed, it is anticipated that the Foundation will take up the larger and more difficult problems connected with the "cause of adverse social conditions in the United States, including ignorance, poverty and vice." The administration of the Fund is in the hands of eight trustees who are responsible for the expenditure of the income, and who are permitted to invest any part of the Fund "in plans for social betterment which themselves produce income." At the end of the year only the more general plans for the administration of the Fund had been formulated; and it was expected that some months would be required to survey the field, determine lines of policy to be followed, and to organize working machinery. The Board of Directors is unique in the proportion of women it includes, and is as follows: Mrs. Russell Sage, Pres., Robert W. DeForest, Cleveland H. Dodge, Helen Gould, Robert C. Ogden, Mrs. W. B. Rice, and Louisa Lee Schuyler.

Lowell wrote:

"Not what we give but what we share,
For the gift without the giver is bare."

If the poet's measure of the value of a gift is the true one, then it is difficult to classify Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Carnegie as "great givers" in the same sense that we have classed nearly all those mentioned in the preceding record. Of course, everything that is given is a gift; but the virtue of the act is popularly felt to lie in the fact that the gift has cost the

giver some little sacrifice, or has perceptibly cut into his wealth if the gift is a great one. In other words, the essence of the gift-idea seems to be lacking if one only turns over to another what he cannot under any circumstances use, and the parting with which he cannot under any circumstances feel. In nearly all the cases we have described above the donor parted with the bulk of all his property, with the result that it meant something to him, though he may still have retained enough to enable him to live in affluence, and have an ample residue to divide among relatives and friends at his death. But in the case of the great so-called philanthropists just named it is hardly possible that either should ever in any degree have felt the loss of the amounts they have distributed during the past fifteen years. Indeed it would probably be found true, if the facts could be known, that, averaging the amounts donated by these men over the years during which they have been indulging in their prodigality, neither of them has ever given more than a good percentage of his income, without touching the principal at all. Moreover, as we have before suggested, the conditions under which the great givers previous to about 1890 acquired their wealth were vastly different from those which have since obtained. Then fifty or even sixty years of earnest, self-denying, unceasing struggle barely served to accumulate a few million dollars under the most favorable circumstances; while latterly a few years have sufficed to enable the especially privileged to roll up more millions than the rich merchant of thirty or forty years ago had thousands. And it is not unreasonable to look upon Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Carnegie and their class, who have acquired millions of dollars as the result of special legislation and privilege, as self-appointed trustees to collect from the people of the country great amounts which they take great satisfaction in returning to them in a measure, but in such a way as may suit their particular fancies, or most effectually exalt the trustees themselves in the estimation of amazed and admiring peoples. That this is not mere fancy, Mr. Carnegie himself has borne witness. At the great celebration in 1907 of the eleventh anniversary of the founding of the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburg, when the distinguished founder had gathered about him noted men from all parts of the world as his guests from the time each left his home until he should reach it again, Mr. Carnegie made a somewhat remarkable address. Referring to the grandeur of the buildings and the magnificence of all their appointments and accessories, he said: "I have been in a dream all the morning and I am not awake yet. I really cannot understand it all. I confess to you as I have had to confess to several, that I am totally unable to realize that I have had any part in creating this Institute (up to that date he had given it nineteen million dollars). Yesterday when I was telling Mrs. Carnegie that I felt that Aladdin and his lamp had been at work, that genii had created this Institute, she said: 'Yes; and we did not even have to rub the lamp' . . . I said to myself, 'Yes, you gave Mr. Frew (president of the Board of Trustees) a little piece of paper addressed to Mr. Franks, saying he would honor the draft. Very well, I did, but I have never seen the bonds which they tell me I possess,—never! I know Mr. Franks says he has them, and that is all . . . As far as I know there are as many bonds lying in the vault as there were before." This being Mr. Carnegie's mental attitude there can be but little of the giver in the gift, which, measured by Mr. Lowell's dictum, must be very bare.

Mr. Rockefeller first achieved the reputation of a great benefactor by his gifts to establish and help maintain the University of Chicago. There is one admirable feature in his disposition of his riches and that is the modest manner in which it is done. There are no great banquets, there is no sounding of trumpets, nor any noise; and so far as we can learn he has never but once allowed his name to be made a part of the title of any fund

that he has created. As a devoted member of the Baptist Church, very many of his larger benefactions have taken the direction of its activities. His custom in giving to the University has been to provide funds alone, others being looked to to provide the buildings and the working paraphernalia of a great university; and it is

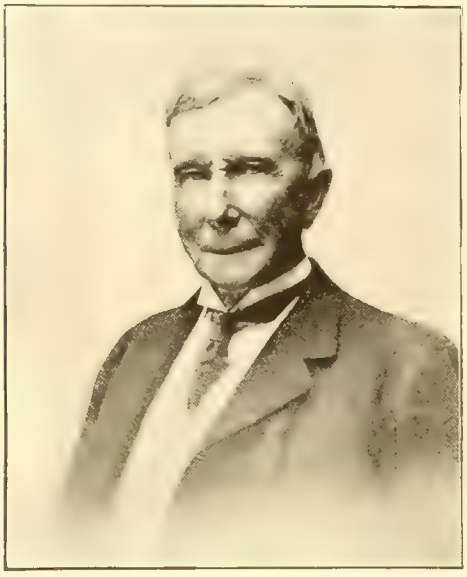


Photo. Copyrighted by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER.

only on rare occasions or emergencies that he has departed from that usage. The total of his gifts to the University to date is not far from twenty-four million dollars. Mr. Rockefeller's methods in making his donations have been most systematic and are based on the following rules:

1—The gift must be proportionate to the need of the cause.

2—Gifts are practically always conditioned upon the raising of an equal or larger amount by other parties interested in the beneficiary institution or cause.

3—A rigid investigation of the worth of the cause is made by an expert before the gift is made. So true is this the case that before he would contribute toward the erection of the new buildings of so old and well-known an institution as the Harvard Medical School he required a written report from his agent as to every feature of the work of the school, its equipment, and its measure of usefulness in its field.

In 1902 President Harper of the University of Chicago reported gifts to the amount of eight million dollars from anonymous benefactors to establish and endow the Rush Medical School as a department of the University. It was later made public that Mr. Rockefeller contributed six million dollars of this amount.

As his benefactions have been so numerous in sums ranging from fifty thousand to five hundred thousand dollars, chiefly to colleges, theological seminaries, and professional schools in all parts of the country, it is only possible for us here to refer to his most notable gifts. These include $1,000,000 to the Harvard Medical School; $2,600,000 to establish the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research; $2,000,000 to the Louisville, Ky., University; $2,000,000 to the City of Cleveland for a park; $500,000 to the Teachers College of New York City. His most remarkable benefaction, for which the foundation was laid by a gift of $1,000,000 in 1902, has been the endowment of the General Education Board. His original donation was supplemented by one of ten million dollars three years later; and in 1907 the world was astonished by the announcement that he had turned over to the Board of Trustees a further sum of thirty-two millions. This was, of course, the greatest single gift ever made, and brought the total of his benefactions for that cause up to forty-three million dollars.

Mr. Carnegie's great donations have been directed toward the erection of fine library buildings all over the country. In every case he has a representative look the field over to determine about how much the existing conditions in any town or city, and the outlook for the future, would warrant his giving. The size of the gift is proportioned to the size of the city or town to be benefited and under all circumstances a guarantee is required that the city will annually raise an amount equal to ten per cent of the gift (in some cases fifteen per cent) for the

maintenance of the library. These donations have varied in amount from the $5,200,000 given to New York City, the $3,000,000 given Philadelphia, and the $1,000,000 given to St. Louis, down to the ten or fifteen thousand dollars that build the modest but attractive library building in the smaller cities and towns,—in the far West particularly. It is impossible to get any reliable estimate of the total amount that has been dispensed in this way but it must be upwards of seventy-five million dollars. In nearly all cases the name "Carnegie" appears on the face of the building, so that the benefactor has enduring monuments in every part of the land to perpetuate his name.

The most favored recipient of Mr. Carnegie's bounty has been the Carnegie Institution at Pittsburgh, Pa. Starting in 1889 with the modest donation of $500,000 for a library in that city, his total gifts to it aggregate more than nineteen million dollars,—the purpose and scope of the original institution having been steadily broadened, until it has now become a very important institution of learning. Including this foundation the total of Mr. Carnegie's gifts to the City of Pittsburgh now exceed thirty-two million dollars. In 1901 "The Carnegie Institution for Higher Research" at Washington, D. C., was endowed with $10,000,000, and the same year the fund of $4,000,000 for the super-annuated and disabled employees of the Carnegie Company was established; in 1903 he gave $10,000,000 to the Scotch universities; $2,500,000 to his native city of Dunfermline; and $1,500,000 for the "Temple of Peace" at The Hague, as a home of future Peace Conferences and the permanent Board of Arbitration; and in 1904, the "Hero Fund" was endowed with $5,000,000. Among his more recent benefactions, also, should be mentioned one of $1,500,000 for a club house in New York City for the American Society of Engineers, and one of $750,000 to erect in Washington a headquarters and office building for the Bureau of American Republics. In 1905 Mr. Carnegie created the Teacher's Pension Fund, giving to trustees $10,000,000 for the purpose, which carried joy and rejoicing to the faculties of many American colleges. By the deed of gift teachers in State institutions are exempted from its provisions, as, also, are those of any institution requiring that a majority of its trustees, faculty, or students should belong to any specified sect, or which impose in any way theological tests. Excluding these classes it was found that ninety-three colleges and technical schools could derive benefits from this fund. These institutions have now about thirty-nine hundred professors, whose salaries

Photo. Copyrighted by Rockwood, N. Y.
ANDREW CARNEGIE.

aggregate $7,720,000; and the effort will be made to give to each professor upon retirement an annuity equivalent to one-half of his salary.

We have endeavored to give some idea of the men and women who have been the chief actors in the great movement of beneficence that has so distinctly marked the last century of American life as

unique in a high sense, as well as a brief account and summary of their notable benefactions. We are prone to look upon the last quarter of the period particularly as one of pure commercialism, characterized by a waning of the nobler sentiments and aspirations that dominated the earlier era of more simple life. But the thoughtful regard for others that has led so many

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

to give largely of their means that unknown thousands—yes, millions—may begin life in greater comfort and become better equipped for its strifes, is reassuring and prophetic of a more extended cultivation of the sympathetic spirit that makes all life brighter and more wholesome. As was stated in the beginning of this chapter, however, even the great summaries made of gifts covered only the *known benefactions* in excess of five thousand dollars. How many more millions have been given in smaller amounts, where the giver has more truly been given with the gift, is only known to Omniscience and the parties directly concerned. But surveying the whole movement, it is certainly an uplifting and cheerful one, and touches the heart of the reader as it has moved the affections of the recipients of the blessings flowing from the beneficence of the givers. If one has read this record of noble generosity with any attention, he will have been impressed with the far-reaching influence of George Peabody's liberal impulses and acts. Many have acknowledged that their inspiration came directly from him, while the character of the gifts and the methods of giving of many others look back to the same source. President Daniel C. Gilman, who, as the head of Johns Hopkins University for twenty-five years, then as president of the Carnegie Institute in Washington, and as trustee of two or three of the great benefactors, has had the widest opportunity to study and become acquainted with the motives and thoughts of great givers, has suggested an interesting point. In a brief paper on five benefactions, which appeared in the "Outlook," he said: "To the present writer it has always been a matter of curiosity to discover who was the author of the instruments by which Mr. Peabody completed his endowments. It is his belief that much is due to the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, whose wise counsels, unusual foresight, and remarkable gifts of expression are shown in all the provisions laid down by Mr. Peabody. He was an admirable ally of that great benefactor. Freedom from political and ecclesiastical control, large liberty of action as to the methods to be employed, and confidence in the integrity, wisdom, and experience of the men selected to be trustees are among the chief characteristics, first, of Mr. Peabody's gifts, and then, of all that have followed in their train."

If this be true, and no one can read the life of Mr. Peabody without being impressed with his close reliance upon Mr. Winthrop's advice and help, then a place high on the roll among the "princely givers" should be made for the cultivated, refined, eloquent, Christian gentleman, whom fifty years ago Boston and Massachusetts ever delighted to honor, Robert C. Winthrop.

LVII.

THE CONQUEST OF THE NORTH POLE — 1909.

Polar Exploration Prosecuted for nearly Four Centuries.—Its History Divided Naturally into Three Periods.—Characteristics of Each.—Importance of Ancient and Mediæval Commerce between Europe and the Orient.—Early Trade Routes.—The "Wealth of the Indies."—Effect of the Mohammedan Conquests.—Europe Shut in upon Herself.—Birth of Polar Exploration in Commercial Distress that Followed.—Significance of Voyages of Columbus and Magellan.—Beginning of the Search for a Northwest or Northeast Passage to Cathay.—History of Early English and Dutch Ventures.—Well Determined Routes for Exploration at Beginning of Nineteenth Century.—Most noted Expeditions of the last Century.—Sir William Parry's Four Ventures.—Sir John Franklin's Notable Achievements and Melancholy Fate.—Great Number of Relief Expeditions.—Discovery of the Northwest Passage.—Amundsen and the *Gjoa*.—Exploits of the Three Noted American Explorers,—Kane, Hayes and Hall.—Terrible Experience of the Crew of the *Polaris*.—De Long and the *Jeannette* Expedition.—Nordenskiöld Makes the Northeast Passage.—Nansen's Famous Drifting Expedition in the *Fram*.—Notable Expedition of the Duke of the Abruzzi.—Attempts to reach the Pole by Balloon and Air Ship.—Announcements of Cook and Peary that They had Reached the Pole.—Previous Experiences of Each.—The Voyage of the *John R. Bradley*.—Dr. Cook's Dash for the Pole.—His return and Reception.—The *Roosevelt* and Commander Peary's Remarkable Achievements.—Some Considerations Regarding the Controversy Over the Claims of the two Explorers.—Both Successful, though Dr. Cook first at the Pole.—Only Alternative.—Chronology of Arctic Exploration.

"It is not what Man does which exalts him, but what Man would do."— BROWNING.

SOME thirty years ago an English historian of Arctic ventures, himself an explorer of considerable note, wrote as follows: "While scientific research is the actuating motive now-a-days for expeditions toward the polar regions, it has not always been so. Various causes have impelled men in this work during past ages. The hopes of finding an open northwestern or northeastern route to the Orient, the formation of colonies, reported mineral discoveries, fisheries, and other commercial speculations have been the direct causes of hundreds of ventures. *Now*, the motive is nobler. We have no need for an icy route to Cathaia; we have no expectation of commercial advantage from the exploration of the North Pole. We simply hope once and forever to settle a scientific problem, or set of problems. *If it is to be done, England will do it.*" The writer was then inspired with the enthusiasm which possessed all Englishmen of the period over the preparations, already about completed, for the departure of the *Alert* and *Discovery* for the North Pole,—an expedition which was designed as the supreme effort of the greatest naval power of the world, the "ruler of the seas," to surmount all obstacles, and "settle forever" all the scientific problems connected with polar research, including the discovery of the

Pole itself. This was a government undertaking, and represented the best material and the highest intelligence of the Royal Navy, as well as the accumulated experience of a long succession of renowned explorers of Arctic seas. It was the full flowering of a period of heroic endeavor that spanned fully three centuries. Every detail of the preparation was supervised by men of long experience in frozen zones. The *Alert* was a Royal Navy steam sloop of seven hundred and fifty tons, and one hundred horse power, which had been greatly strengthened for this particular service. The *Discovery* was a powerful whaling-bark purchased by the government, and fitted with auxiliary steam power; while a third vessel, the *Valorous,* accompanied the other vessels to Greenland as a storeship and base of supplies. The chief command of the expedition was given to the then Captain, later Admiral Sir George Nares; while the other one hundred and twenty officers and men who constituted the crews of the vessels were "selected from the very pick" of the whole British Navy. No expedition designed for polar research ever set out with a more complete and expensive equipment of every character than did this; and never did a a people place their entire confidence in the complete and absolute success of an undertaking apparently with better reason than did the English people base their hopes on the ultimate success of this venture. But when, after fifteen months of by no means fruitless investigations in the Arctic region, the *Alert* anchored at Queenstown, October 27, 1876, the first message her commander wired to the British Lords of the Admiralty contained these words: "The Pole is impracticable." During the week ending September 6, 1909, however, each of two American explorers announced to the President of the United States the results of their separate endeavor, in practically the same words: "I have the honor to place the North Pole at your disposal."

Polar exploration has now been prosecuted for nearly four hundred years. All through these centuries expeditions have followed each other with considerable regularity; yet there have been intervals when constant and repeated disasters have dulled the spirits of the keenest adventurers. Hardly a decade has passed, however, without one or more efforts being made to penetrate the frozen seas of the Arctic or the Antarctic zone; and the unparalleled sufferings and hardships endured by survivors have seemed only to whet the appetites of hardy navigators for ever more dangerous enterprises. But, paradoxical as it may seem, the far greater number of these ventures have not aimed at reaching the Pole, nor, apparently, have even had its existence especially in mind. The history of Arctic exploration divides itself quite naturally into three periods,— the first, from the early part of the sixteenth century to the nineteenth; the second, covering the first three quarters of the nineteenth century; and the third ending with the arrival at the coveted Pole of Cook in 1908, and Peary in 1909. The ventures of the first period were purely commercial, representing efforts to find a route north of America or Asia to the Orient. In studying the record of these expeditions one hardly finds a reference to the Pole itself, except as it may be mentioned in the sailing directions of a navigator, just as a reference would be made to any other point of latitude or longitude. During the second period the search for the northwest and northeast passages was continued and rewarded; but the interests of Science rather than of Commerce began to receive the chief consideration, though towards the end of the period incidental reference is found to the determination to reach the Pole. In the third period, scientific research is still the nominal purpose of the numerous and costly expeditions, and the search for the Pole is incidental; whereas, in fact, the moving consideration with the explorers themselves has been a keen ambition to be the first at the Pole, with the claims of Science as incidental. The "Call of the Wild" has never been made to deaf ears;

and it is well that curiosity and ambition have at last been gratified, and the conditions existing at the "top of the world" have been investigated. The real situation has been well summed up by one of the most distinguished of the recent explorers, Nansen. "Of itself," he says, "that mathematical point which makes the northern termination of the axis of our earth is of no more importance than any other point within the unknown polar area; but it is of much more importance that this particular point be reached, because there clings about it in the imagination of all mankind such fascination that till the Pole is discovered all Arctic research must be affected, if not overshadowed, by the yearning to attain it. For this reason I want the Pole discovered, and it ought to be discovered, that we may get it out of the way, and leave a clear field for pure scientific exploration." Certain it is, that the expeditions that have been truly fruitful in discoveries of benefit to humanity were those of the second period, with a few scientific explorations of the third. The others have been spectacular, and have borne about the same relation to the true interests of polar exploration that the races for the *America's* Cup bear to the real interests of ocean navigation.

Much of the romance of early history is associated with the active trade relations which existed for more than thirty centuries prior to the discovery of America between the far East and the lands bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. Tyre and Sidon were but the earlier representatives of this intercourse, and their names were for centuries the synonyms of commercial power and wealth; while the glories of Solomon's kingdom but reflected the advance in civilization which this commerce had fostered. Though this interchange of Oriental and Occidental products had gone on for hundreds of years, the conquests of Alexander the Great (B. C. 336–323), extending to the far confines of India, greatly accelerated the means of intercourse and the facilities for trade. Very early three or four distinct trade routes were established between the Indian and Mediterranean ports, which were hardly varied for nearly two thousand years. Of these, one led from the Mediterranean across the Isthmus of Suez, and thence to Ceylon and India by the Red Sea and Indian Ocean; a second reached the Indian Ocean by way of Antioch, Bagdad, and the Persian Gulf; a third followed the coast of Africa by land from Tangiers to Egypt, and thence by Damascus to Bagdad; while the fourth, which from the seventh century of our era onward became the one most used by Christian nations, passed farther to the north through Asia Minor and south of the Caspian Sea, thus avoiding conflict with the "infidel Mohammedans." Over these various routes vast caravans of merchants with their wares were constantly passing, bringing to Europe the riches of India, as well as of the far East, which Chinese traders brought to the Indian ports. The first three of these caravan routes have an interest apart from their commercial importance; as it was to traders traversing one of the first two on their way to Egypt that Joseph's brethren sold him, while the third route passed through Galilee and down the plain of Esdraelon to the Phoenician coast. Over it were constantly swarming the merchants of all nations and tongues to whom such frequent reference is made in the Gospels, and in the history of the very early Christian Church.

After the rise of the Mohammedan to power the northern route became vastly the most important and rich cities grew up all along its course. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the Byzantine country was the richest in the world, and probably the most highly civilized. "Constantinople," says Finlay, the Greek historian, speaking of this period, "was as much superior to every city in the civilized world, in wealth and commerce, as London now is to other capitals."

But during all these centuries Europe could produce for its people little more than the bare necessities of life. Everything savoring of luxury, whether for

food, clothing, or house comforts and adornment, came over these trade routes from the Orient; and it is but natural that the eyes of the civilized world were largely turned toward its shores. As one has said: "Europe stood with her back to the Atlantic;" that was, as it was often described on the maps of that day, *Mare Tenebrosum*, the "Sea of Darkness." It was from the East alone that the people looked for light, comfort, and culture. There lay the spice islands; the lands of ivory, of ebony, and of gold; of diamonds and pearls, sapphires and all precious stones; of cotton and silks, and all the beautiful fabrics and forms into which they were worked; of fragrant gums, and all curious things and curious arts. Into this land of fabled wealth, riches, and delight, no European was known to have entered before the thirteenth century; with the result that all scholars, geographers, and merchants gave free rein to their imagination, picturing its shores and streams as dotted with beautiful cities, all of whose buildings were of ivory and marble and the rarest stones, roofed with pure gold; while the very walks were paved with rare and costly gems. Even the apocalyptic vision of the New Jerusalem which entranced the vision of the Seer of Patmos paled before the glory and beauty of the cities of Cathay and Cipango, as pictured by the credulous writers of the Middle Ages.

But with the advent of the fifteenth century a blighting change threatened the commerce and civilization of Europe. The Turk had begun his advance through Asia Minor, and was slowly investing Constantinople; and with his advance came the obstruction of all means of communication with the far east by land, and the ruin of all the commerce of the great western trade centres. Europe was more shut in upon herself than ever before or since; and Polar Exploration had its birth in the commercial distress which followed. The eager attention of kings, statesmen, merchants, and navigators was directed toward the discovery of a new route to the Orient; and gradually the conviction grew that it must be sought over the western ocean, and not toward the east. Steadily the belief gained strength that by sailing due west across the Atlantic Ocean the land of spices and of gold would be reached by a safe and easy route. Fortunately, too, a wrong conception of the geography of the earth favored this belief. For, though the geographers had estimated the total circumference of the globe with a good degree of exactness, they had so far over-estimated the extent of the land area from the west coast of Europe to the east coast of Asia as to reduce the breadth of ocean to be traversed in going west to Cathay to less than three thousand miles.

It can hardly be questioned that the two most momentous voyages in the world's history were those of Columbus and Magellan. One revealed to an unsuspecting world the existence of a new continent; the other demonstrated beyond question the sphericity of the earth, and that in the southern seas, at least, one sailing continuously in an easterly or westerly direction must surely arrive at the point of his departure. As is well known Columbus died in the belief that he had found the new route to the Indies; and it was not until in 1512 Balboa, from a "peak in Darien," discovered the broad Pacific Ocean, that the truth began to dawn upon the consciousness of Europe that a new continent, and not Cathay, had been reached, and that the way to the coveted isles of spice and of pearls must be sought anew. In 1577–80, the globe was circumnavigated a second time by Sir Francis Drake. Naturally, therefore, when the full meaning of Magellan's and Drake's achievements was realized, geographers and merchants began to draw the inference that, if both the new continent and Africa were surrounded at the south by navigable seas, it was undoubtedly true that the same conditions existed at the north; and it was not long before the search of three centuries for a Northwest or Northeast Passage to Cathay and Cipango (Japan) began.

As an extended chronological record of

arctic exploration is presented at the end of this chapter, no attempt will be made in our limited space to give detailed accounts of more than the especially notable voyages of the second and third periods, covering practically the last one hundred years, those being selected which most conspicuously illustrate the sublime courage and heroic endurance of the men who have, step by step, disclosed the secrets of the Polar regions. But to properly appreciate any narrative of the conquests achieved by these hardy adventurers, one should endeavor to get some clear idea of the conditions that really confronted them. Looking at modern maps one sees the bays, straits, islands, and capes of what is now known as British North America, of Greenland, and of northern Europe and Asia, all clearly indicated, their connections and bearings shown, and the latitude and longitude of each locality definitely marked. The so-called Arctic Explorers of the present generation set out in large, powerful, completely and comfortably furnished and equipped steam vessels, to explore waters and lands that have all been mapped out for them and charted, or, at least, have been so thoroughly investigated as to enable one to judge intelligently of the conditions and obstacles that must be encountered and overcome in any particular region, at any given season of the year. But when the inquisitive navigators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries started out to explore these regions, in their little cockle-shells hardly larger than the tenders of the modern vessels, *absolutely nothing* was known of the entire area north of Newfoundland on the east, or of Columbia river on the west coast of America. The same was true of all the region north of the mainland of Europe and Asia. The few maps and charts that were in use simply misled those who trusted to them in every case, as all their drawings and data were imaginary and bore no relation to the conditions that were found to exist, as successive expeditions gradually opened up the country. Each explorer worked upon the basis of the few facts which his predecessors had established; and each in turn "added to the known something from the unknown." But the modern maps of North America and of Asia could not be outlined as to their northern lands and waters for nearly three centuries after the explorations chronicled here began. It is necessary, also, that one should attempt to realize the immense distances and areas that the plans of these daring adventurers embraced. Greenland, for example, which has stood across the path of so many explorers, is more than 1500 miles long, and over 600 miles wide. The distance from its east coast to Bering Strait is more than 4000 miles; while from the southern end of Hudson Bay to the northern extremity of Grinnell Land is upwards of 2000 miles. A roughly drawn parallelogram, measuring 2500 miles from north to south, and 3000 miles from east to west, with an extension of another thousand miles of its northern line, would indicate approximately the area within which North American exploration has been conducted. Nor has the search for the Northeast Passage been a less arduous undertaking. From North Cape, the extreme northerly point of Europe to the eastern shore of Kamchatka, or to Bering Strait, the distance is more than 5000 miles; while the northern cape of Siberia projects farther into the Arctic region, about 78° lat., than had been reached by more than a half dozen expeditions prior to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Only by keeping such facts as these somewhat clearly in mind can one value rightly the magnificent courage and enterprise of the men who undertook these ventures, or intelligently sympathize with them in their indescribable sufferings, and dismal and heartbreaking failures.

The expeditions that have been notably successful in achieving beneficent results during the last century have been those of Parry, Franklin, Kane, McClure, Hayes, Hall, Nordenskiöld, Greely, Nansen, Amundsen, Duc d'Abruzzi, and Peary. All of these have played distinguished parts in determining the course of the

long sought northern passages to the East, in the collection and classification of valuable scientific data, in mapping and charting hitherto unknown lands and seas, and in settling beyond question the most available routes for Arctic exploration, and the best methods of meeting and overcoming the various obstacles that must be encountered. The expeditions that have become most impressed upon the popular mind, however, because of their unique and original methods, or on account of the unparalleled sufferings and hardships endured, have been those of Franklin, Hall (the *Polaris*), De Long (the *Jeannette*), Andrée, and Nansen (the *Fram*).

William Edward Parry, who became one of the most persistent and, in many respects, one of the most successful explorers, was born in 1790, and at the early age of thirteen entered the navy. During the war of 1812 he served on the American coast, and in 1818 made his first Arctic voyage under Captain Ross. The latter rendered a marked service to his followers by confirming the accuracy of Baffin's survey of the bay bearing his name. But while entering Lancaster Sound, Ross was arrested, as is reported, "by a vision of a range of mountains closing the bottom of the Sound," though seen by few or none in the ship except himself. These he named Croker Mountains, and they have served to furnish one of the very few humorous features of Arctic exploration. Without attempting to verify the existence of these mountains, Ross put about, and returned to England. The following year, 1819, Parry sailed as commander of an expedition, in the *Hecla*, with Lieut. Liddon, as second in command, on the *Griper*. Their aim was the common one of discovering the elusive Northwest Passage, and to this end they entered Lancaster Sound, and, sailing directly over the mountains seen by Ross the year before, reached the south side of Melville Island, where the ships were caught in the ice, and they were forced to establish winter quarters. But this one season's work had well nigh demonstrated the existence of the passage they were in search of, as reference to a large map or globe will clearly show. Winter Harbor, where the ships were locked in, was nearly at the westerly limit of the many lands and islands that lie between Baffin Bay and the broad expanse of ocean that stretches away beyond Bering Strait. But it was late in August of the follow-

IN WINTER QUARTERS.

ing year before the ships were released from the ice, when it was determined to retrace their course and return to England. This expedition reached a point farther west within the Arctic Circle than had been attained by any other explorer, and so was awarded the prize of £5000 which the English government had promised. In 1821, and again in 1824, Parry led other expeditions into the same regions, discovering new channels and straits, which ultimately made possible the southerly route to the west, that, when outlined by the work of several explorers, became the accepted Northwest Passage. In 1827 Parry made his fourth, and in many ways his most celebrated, attack upon the Polar seas. On this venture he planned to supplement the use of his vessel by the use of small boats and sledges,— the first attempt at a new method of exploration that has since become universal. In the *Hecla* he reached a safe haven in Spitzbergen on June 18, and on the 22d set out on his journey in small boats, provisioned for seventy-one days. With a few companions he reached the ice after covering about eighty miles, when the boats were transferred to runners, and the advance continued. But the smooth ice they had been led to expect by many reports did not materialize; and the greatest speed they could attain was nine or ten miles in a day, being constantly delayed by huge ice hummocks, and soft snow. The party traveled by night entirely, when the glare of the sun on the snow was less blinding, and when its heat did not soften the snow as at mid-day. The slow progress made forced him to abandon all idea of reaching the Pole, though after a few days smoother ice was gained. The effort was then to reach the "farthest north," which was eventually attained at 82° 45′, an altitude not gained by any other explorer for nearly fifty years. He had thus placed to his credit the record both for the "farthest west," and "farthest north." In the meantime, however, the prevailing winds changed, and Parry discovered that however many miles they covered each day, they did not get farther north, as the ice was bearing them in the opposite direction faster than they could go forward. In fact, a summary of their record showed that though they had traveled more than three hundred miles over the rough ice and through half frozen water they had advanced but about one hundred and seventy miles. He was, therefore, forced to abandon the quest and return. In recognition of his distinguished service, Parry was knighted in 1829, and in 1832 was made a Rear-Admiral in the Royal Navy.

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN.

Captain, or as he is more commonly known, Sir John Franklin had a long and varied experience as a seaman in every part of the world before he entered upon his career of Arctic exploration. As his biographer says: "Like Cook, Dampier, and Nelson, his first essay was on board a merchant ship (into which he had been sent to disgust him of the sea), and like them the hardships of a sailor's life were more than counterbalanced in his opinion by the charms of its unceasing change, novelty, and excitement." At the age of fourteen, in 1800, he entered the Royal Navy as a petty officer, participating the following year in the famous sea-fight at Copenhagen; and in 1805, as midship-

man on the *Bellerophon*, he took part in the battle of Trafalgar. During the following years he served chiefly in the Southern seas and the Pacific Ocean. Though his fame rests mainly upon his last expedition, his greatest results as an explorer were achieved on his land journeys in 1819–22, and 1825–27. Leaving York Factory, the Hudson's Bay Company post at the mouth of the Nelson River, in September, 1819, his party wintered at Fort Enterprise. The ice did not break up in the Coppermine River until June, when the party descended it in birch canoes to the Arctic Sea, which they found comparatively free of ice. Turning to the east, the shores of a great bay, which Franklin named "George the Fourth's Coronation Bay," were explored, the party reaching a cape at 110° W. longitude, which was named Point Turnagain. From this time until they arrived at their old quarters at Fort Enterprise, and secured relief from Chipewyan, the sufferings of the party defy description. Day after day, without food, with a temperature of from 30° to 50° below zero, they endured tortures worse than death. Mosses, old boots, leather clothing, were their only subsistence for days. But even under such adverse conditions, more than 5500 miles had been covered by the party before they again reached York Factory, and a very important land area explored, as well as one of the important parts of what was to prove the true course of the Northwest Passage determined.

One would suppose that the hardiest adventurers would have been content with these experiences. But in July 1825, Franklin, Dr. Richardson, and Back, with Kendall and Drummond, new members of the party, again arrived at Chipewyan, and at once proceeded to Great Bear Lake, where they wintered. In the Spring they descended the Mackenzie river about 1,100 miles to the sea. Franklin then took a westward course, while Dr. Richardson, with Kendall, went to the east. Franklin explored the coast for more than four hundred miles, until stopped by an immense barrier of rock and ice, which he named Return Reef. At the very time that Franklin and his party were at Return Reef, Captain Beechey, in the *Blossom*, who had been sent out to supplement Franklin's work, was at Point Barrow, only one hundred and forty miles farther west. Beechey had entered the Arctic Ocean through Bering Strait. Leaving Return Reef, Franklin made his way back to Great Bear Lake, where Dr. Richardson and his party soon joined him, after having explored the coast east as far as the Coppermine river, thus uniting the distances explored by the Franklin parties on their two expeditions.

In 1845 the British Admiralty determined to make one more effort to find the Northwest Passage. Two vessels, the *Erebus* and *Terror*, were accordingly fitted out, furnished with auxiliary steam power, and provisioned for three years. The command was given to Sir John Franklin, then about sixty years of age. The expedition sailed May 19, and reached Disco, on the west coast of Greenland, early in July. On the 26th of July the fleet was sighted by a whaler, after which every trace of the party was lost. For nearly two years no fears were entertained as to their safety. Then, however, English naval authorities, many of whom had served in the polar seas, concluded that the vessels were probably fast in the ice of Melville Sound, and movements were begun to rescue them. More than forty relief and search expeditions were sent out during the next fifteen years, only two or three of them finding any clues, or securing any evidence of the fate of the Franklin party. In 1853 Dr. Rae set out in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the following year incidentally learned from a party of Esquimaux that six years before about forty white men were seen dragging a boat and sledges, who made signs to indicate that their vessels had been crushed in the ice, and that they were in search of a place where they would find deer, as their provisions were exhausted and they were starving. Later, the natives reported, they found more than thirty bodies, and some graves, on the

mainland. Dr. Rae also succeeded in securing many relics from the Esquimaux, silver plate and other things that were known to have been in possession of the officers of Franklin's expedition. This report, and the evidence of the relics Dr. Rae brought back, was so conclusive that the English nation was convinced as to the fate of the great explorer and his companions, and a reward of £10,000 that had been long promised to any who should furnish certain evidence of the fate of the expedition, was given to Dr. Rae and his party.

Notwithstanding this discovery, however, expeditions continued to be sent out, in the hope that the remainder of Franklin's much larger force might yet be found alive. The most successful of these was the one organized through the efforts of Lady Franklin, which sailed from England in June, 1857, in the *Fox*, under the command of Captain McClintock. Early in the fall the vessel was caught in pack ice and drifted in it for 242 days, in constant danger of being crushed. On April 24 of the following year a storm broke up the ice, and the *Fox* was released, and repaired on the Greenland coast. McClintock then pushed into and carefully examined Eclipse Sound, Peel Strait, Regent's Inlet, and Bellot Strait, where he was obliged to go into winter quarters. In February he was able to send out sledge parties in different directions. Little by little further evidence of the loss of the Franklin party was discovered; and it was not long before one of the sledge parties found important records of the expedition at Point Victory, on King William Land. One item of the record read as follows: "April 25, 1848-H. M. Ships *Terror* and *Erebus* were deserted on 22 April, five leagues N. W. of this, having been beset since 12th September, 1846. The officers and crews, consisting of 105 souls, under command of Captain F. R. Crozier, landed here in lat. 69° 37′ N., long. 98° 41′ W. Sir John Franklin died on the 11th June, 1847, and the total loss by deaths in the expedition has been to this date, nine officers and fifteen men." This report was signed by Captains S. Crozier and Fitzjames. Below, a supplementary line was added: "And start to-morrow, 26th, for Back's Fish River." On that melancholy journey, one by one they fell by the way, and, as an Esquimau reported, "As they fell, they died." Not one survived to tell the tale of their exploits, nor of their sufferings. It is most interesting to note, however, that the point at which the vessels foundered was not far from the identical spot, Point Turnagain, which

A CONSTANT COMPANION.

Franklin had reached on his first land expedition; so that he was, in reality, the first discoverer of the Northwest Passage, though he did not live to report his discoveries, and to enjoy the honors that were his due. His fame has, however, endured; and even down to the present day it is unquestionably true that when one speaks of, or discusses, Arctic exploration, the name and distinguished services of Franklin first come to mind.

Of the twelve vessels sent out from England in 1850 to search for traces of the Franklin party, two,— the *Investigator,* under command of Captain McClure, and the *Enterprise,* Captain Collinson,— were despatched by way of the Pacific Ocean and Bering Strait. In 1852, among the six sent out were the *Resolute* and the *North Star.* These entered the Arctic Archipelago through Lancaster Sound, then proceeding through Barrow Strait to Melville Island. Immediately upon going into winter quarters

at Dealy Island, on the south side of Melville Island, parties were sent out from the *Resolute* to deposit provisions at certain points for the use of sledge parties the following spring. One of these parties found at Winter Harbor, where Parry made his winter quarters in 1819, records left by Captain McClure, which showed that in April 1851, he, with his vessel, was in Mercy Bay, just across Banks Strait, thus demonstrating that the discovery of the Northwest Passage had been completed, after more than three centuries of heroic endeavor. Of course, all were ignorant of what Franklin had accomplished. The two discoveries, however, in no way conflicted, as Franklin's route was to the east and south of Prince Albert Land and Banks Land, and much more circuitous; though if either had been practicable for navigation, the southerly would have been less obstructed by ice as a rule than the other, as the experience of Amundsen later proved. McClure's course had been very direct from Bering Strait to Melville Island, where he reached from the east the "farthest west" attained by Parry. The *Investigator* was held fast in the ice for two years, when, in 1853, assistance reached McClure from the *Resolute*. Owing to the unusual ice conditions both vessels had to be abandoned, and their officers and crews returned to England the following year on the *North Star,* McClure and his crew thus being the first men to pass through Bering Strait, traverse the Northern Sounds and Straits, and reach the Atlantic Ocean through Baffin Bay. This accomplishment of the Northwest Passage was officially recognized by the English government by the bestowal upon McClure and his companions of the bounty of £10,000 which had been pledged for this purpose.

The first vessel, however, to make the entire Northwest Passage was the little Norwegian fishing smack, the *Gjoa,* under command of Roald Amundsen. The *Gjoa* was only seventy feet long, sixteen feet beam, and of forty-seven tons burden. She was cutter-rigged, and a small petroleum engine furnished auxiliary power. Amundsen's primary object was scientific observation and investigation, though he had in mind the making of the Northwest Passage if the conditions should be auspicious, just as, in 1907, Dr. Cook's expedition was fitted out primarily for hunting, but with an eye to a dash for the Pole if conditions were favorable. Leaving Christiania, Norway, June 16, 1903, the little *Gjoa* passed from Baffin Bay through Lancaster Sound to Beechey Island, thence through Barrow Strait and Peel Sound, to the west of Boothia Peninsula, and then through Ross Strait to the east of King William Land, where she found a safe haven in Gjoa Harbor on the south side of King William Land, September 17, 1903. As illustrating how successive explorers have built upon the observations of their predecessors, it is interesting to note that Amundsen was chiefly influenced in his choice of the course to the east of King William Land by the observation of McClintock, some fifty years before, that "perhaps some future voyager, profiting by the experience acquired by the Franklin expedition, may succeed by this [the easterly] route in carrying his ship from sea to sea." It will be remembered that the *Erebus* and *Terror,* Franklin's vessels, were held two years in the ice and finally had to be abandoned, in Victoria Strait to the west of King William Land. As one of the chief aims of Amundsen was again to determine the location of the Magnetic Pole which had not been attempted since it was first established by Ross in 1831, he went into winter quarters in Gjoa Harbor, where he remained for two years, conducting all the time the most careful scientific experiments and researches. This work was begun November 2, 1903, and continued by a great number of sledge journeys to various points until August 13, 1905. The *Gjoa* had traversed 770 miles from Baffin Bay, leaving but 760 to be covered before reaching Cape Bathurst and the open sea,— technically the end of the Northwest Passage. Leaving

Gjoa Harbor, Amundsen entered Simpson Strait, and thence passing through Victoria Strait, Dease Inlet, Franklin's "Coronation Bay," and Dolphin and Union Straits, on August 20, east of Cape Bathurst, he fell in with the first American whaler. Proceeding on his course, an accident to the *Gjoa's* propeller forced him to winter at King Point, on the Yukon coast. There he took a sledge and reached Eagle City, Alaska, December 12, 1905, from whence he sent out to the world the news of his remarkable voyage; and returning to the *Gjoa,* he passed on west through Bering Strait to San Francisco, the following spring.

All things considered, this was unquestionably the most remarkable and successful Polar voyage ever made. Amundsen's vessel was hardly as large as the twentieth century racing sloop yachts, and he had in his party only nine men, including the scientific investigators. Dashes for the Pole are spectacular, and appeal to the popular mind; but one such voyage as Amundsen's far outweighs in value all the attempts that have been made to reach the "top of the world." He possessed the true scientific spirit, as well as the valor and daring of the old Norse sea-kings. But there was nothing theatrical in his make up. No arctic clubs backed him, nor did any press agents whet the popular imagination with glowing accounts of what he would accomplish. He was not a lime-light explorer, and no costly expeditions had to be sent out each year to rescue him. Yet it is doubtful whether any other expedition in the whole history of Polar exploration has been more truly successful in every sense of the word; and it is certain that few names will ultimately stand higher on the long roll of explorers than Amundsen's.

Aside from his purely scientific investigations, his long stay in Gjoa Harbor enabled Amundsen to determine many things of value to succeeding navigators, as well as of popular interest. It was demonstrated, for example, that the big game is migratory, passing over the frozen channels and straits from land to land, and that the Esquimaux follow it in its migrations. It was on King William Land that Franklin's party perished by starvation because no game could be found. Yet Amundsen's little company killed in one month, October, 1903, one hundred deer, shortly after which the Esquimaux appeared. It was shown, too, that the climatic changes from season to season are very marked. The winter of 1903–4 was clear and very cold, the average temperature for February being 41° below zero, while a record of 79° below zero was made. During that winter the sea ice attained a thickness of from twelve to thirteen feet. The winter of 1904–5 was, however, much milder, the lowest temperature recorded being 49° below zero, while the thickness of the ice rarely reached six feet.

After nearly four centuries of strenuous efforts one vessel had at last made the northwest passage, and the quest of hundreds of brave and hardy men had been gained. In the meantime a like success had attended the efforts of another Scandinavian to make the Northeast Passage. The expedition of Nordenskiöld was a much more pretentious one than that of Amundsen. Twenty thousand pounds were subscribed to further his work, and he had the active support of the Swedish government. The *Vega,* a full rigged bark of three hundred tons register, with engines of sixty horse power, was bought and especially fitted out for the voyage, and provisioned for two years. The party consisted of nine officers, including two botanists, a zoölogist, and an astronomer, and eighteen seamen, selected from the best material of the Swedish navy. Leaving Gothenberg July 4, 1878, the *Vega* began her long voyage, accompanied by three other vessels, which were to make attempts to enter the Siberian rivers. On the 19th the party reached the most northerly point of the eastern hemisphere, variously called Cape Chelyuskin, Cape Severo, and North East Cape. But little serious ice interference was encountered through the summer, and at various points along the

coast landings were made to prosecute scientific research. These delays resulted most unfortunately, as at the end of September the atmospheric conditions suddenly changed, and the *Vega* was caught in the ice at a distance of less than one hundred and fifty miles from Bering Strait, where she was forced to remain until the following year. After 264 days' detention in the ice, on the 18th of July, 1879, the vessel was released, and passed through Bering Strait two days later, thus having made for the first time the complete northeast passage; and after crossing to the American shore, where two or three islands were visited, and scientific investigations made, on the 22d of September the battered craft dropped her anchor in the harbor of Yokohama, and news of Nordenskiöld's great achievement was proclaimed to the civilized world. It seems, however, like the irony of fate that, just as the routes were determined which had been so eagerly sought for by generations of heroic men, the fast ocean steamships and great transcontinental railroad systems should have made their discovery of no account, although it is probable that under no circumstances could these Arctic highways ever have possessed any commercial value.

It was not until 1850 that the United States began to engage actively in Arctic exploration, and then it was through the interest of one of its broad-minded merchant princes in the fate of Sir John Franklin. Henry Grinnell was born in New Bedford in 1800, and passed his youth in that bustling centre of Arctic commerce, the headquarters of the great whale fishing industry. The adventures of the hardy whalers naturally aroused his enthusiasm, and he retained throughout his life an active and practical interest in all that concerned the welfare of sea-faring men. Moving to New York in 1818, with his brothers he engaged in the commission and whale-oil business, rapidly accumulating a large fortune. The three most notable Polar expeditions of the third quarter of the last century were all from the United States, and all were made possible by the liberality of Mr. Grinnell. In 1850 he assumed the entire expense of the expedition sent out to search for Franklin, with Lieut. DeHaven as commander, and Dr. E. K. Kane, as surgeon and naturalist. Apart from discovering the land to which the name of the generous patron of the expedition was given, little was accomplished by this party. But in 1853 Mr. Grinnell again financed an expedition, with material aid from George Peabody, of London, which was placed under the command of Dr. Kane. This proved to be one of the most noteworthy undertakings in the whole history of Polar exploration. It was the first of such expeditions to start out with the deliberate purpose of remaining one, two, or more years in the Arctic regions, and was also the earliest to study the habits of the Esquimaux, and to rely upon them for aid in the prosecution of their work. Dr. Kane was also the first to use dogs in sledge work, the sledges of previous expeditions having been drawn by the members of the parties themselves. Dr. I. I. Hayes accompanied Captain Kane as surgeon and naturalist. Not only did this expedition arouse an interest in that peculiar people, who have ever since been of great service to Kane's successors in Arctic work, but it also added greatly to the knowledge of the geography of the northern lands. Its scientific observations were considered more valuable than those of any previous expedition. Dr. Kane and his party were given Arctic medals by vote of the Congress of the United States, and the Queen's medal was presented to all, while the leader was honored by the British and French Geographical Societies.

The mantle of Dr. Kane fell upon consecrated shoulders, and his countrymen found another worthy representative, when Dr. I. I. Hayes took up his former leader's work. Again Mr. Grinnell stepped into the breach, and made it possible for Dr. Hayes to purchase the *United States,* a schooner of one hundred and thirty tons, in which, with a party of eighteen, he sailed from Boston, July 6,

1860. While with Dr. Kane in Kane Basin, Dr. Hayes had convinced himself that they were then at the very entrance to an open Polar Sea; and it was now his determination to push farther North, enter that sea, and try to reach the Pole. But the ice did not admit of his getting

exhaustive search that had been made, he firmly believed that some of the Franklin party were still alive; and in 1860 his enthusiasm led Mr. Grinnell and others to give him a meagre support, which enabled him to spend two years in a fruitless search for survivors. The knowledge he

ESQUIMAU WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

beyond Etah, where the party passed the winter. From this point he made an exceedingly hazardous and rough sled journey across the Sound to Grinnell Land, and passed north to 81° 35′, from whence he believed he again looked out upon the Polar Sea. But he and his companions were too weak to go farther, and barely survived to reach the ship again, which returned to the United States the following summer.

Captain Charles F. Hall completes the trio of famous American explorers of the second period, and his experience was more varied and protracted than that of all his predecessors. Notwithstanding the gained of the language and habits of Esquimaux, however, proved most valuable. On a second expedition Hall lived with the Innuits, as he generally calls them, five years, becoming more familiar with them, and with their Arctic life, than any other white man has ever become. So great knowledge of the conditions existing in the Far North did he gain that upon his return to the United States, in 1879, he was accorded the highest honors; and Congress very early made an appropriation for a national expedition to be placed under Hall's command. Before starting on this third voyage Hall said: "I have demonstrated in my own person

that white men can live, with no extraordinary sufferings, for years in the depths of the Arctic regions. I have lived there for years, and can teach my associates how to do so. Upon this new expedition I shall be amply provided with all means for a thorough exploration. . . Thus abundantly supplied, and aided by my own experience of more than ten years, I think I shall be able to accomplish something worthy of the means placed at my disposal."

On this third expedition Hall's party numbered thirty-three, and they sailed from New London, on the *Polaris*, July 3, 1871. This vessel had been especially strengthened and fitted out by the Navy Department, and was the first steamship to attempt to reach the Polar Sea. From the start all conditions were most favorable, and Hall was able without serious opposition to pass through Smith Sound, Kane Basin, Kennedy Channel, and Hall Basin, into a previously unexplored strait, which he named Robeson Channel, in honor of the then Secretary of the Navy, and thence into the Arctic Ocean. On August 30, however, his progress was stopped by heavy pack-ice in 82° 16′ latitude, at a higher point than had ever before been reached by a vessel. In endeavoring to return, the *Polaris* was seized by pack-ice and carried fifty miles south, where the expedition wintered in Thank God Harbor. After establishing winter quarters Hall set out on a sledge journey, reaching Cape Brevoort, from which he sighted the north shore of what is now known as Grant Land. Shortly after his return Hall was stricken with apoplexy, and, dying November 8th, he was buried among the icy cliffs. Few explorers have accomplished so much with such limited means as did Captain Hall. His life among the Esquimaux had endeared him to them, and the uniform kindness Kane, Hayes, and Hall ever showed them, established a warm place in their hearts for American explorers. Of the value of his scientific work, one not over generous of praise for the achievements of others, Commander Peary, has said: "The geographical results of this expedition were very important. Hall was the first civilized man to look east and west along the northern shores of Greenland and Grinnell Land, to reveal Hall Basin and Robeson Channel, and to see the ocean beyond them. His surprising voyage, and supposed sighting of land far to the north, aroused renewed interest in this [the Smith Sound] route." But his invaluable service in studying the character and habits of the Esquimaux, and in gaining their friendship and confidence, has not been so frankly acknowledged by some of his successors, who have placed to their sole credit results that were made possible chiefly by Hall's wise, humane, and Christian conduct and activities. His British brethern were more generous when, in 1876, the Nares Expedition placed over Hall's grave a stone, with an epitaph proclaiming him as one "who sacrificed his life in the advancement of Science, and who has, by his experience, benefited us, his followers."

Early in the autumn following Captain Hall's death, Captain Buddington, the sailing master of the *Polaris*, upon whom the command of the expedition had devolved, attempted to steam south, but the vessel was caught in pack-ice and slowly drifted out of Smith Sound. While off Northumberland Island a terrible storm disrupted the pack, and the vessel nearly foundered. A part of the supplies and a boat had already been transferred from the ship to the ice floe, where Captain Tyson and eighteen men were at work, when they were suddenly separated from the vessel. Then began a drift of one hundred and ninety days, the party being exposed to all the horrors of the long winter night on a floating field of ice. Down through Baffin Bay, Davis Strait, and out into the Atlantic they slowly drifted, until, when over fifteen hundred miles had been covered, the party was rescued off Labrador on April 30, 1873, by the whaler *Tigress*. The limits of this chapter do not admit of any detailed account of this most marvelous experience in the whole story of Polar exploration,

and of the miraculous escape, after terrible sufferings from exposure and hunger, of the entire party. Not only was there not a death while they were on the ice, but their original number was increased by the birth of an Esquimau baby. The fourteen men who remained on the *Polaris* were forced to abandon her near Littleton Island. In the spring they attempted to reach Uppernavik in small boats, and were rescued off Cape York by a whaling vessel.

Thus ended a most remarkable expedition, whether viewed from the standpoint of its achievements, or of its unique and varied experiences. When the survivors had returned to the United States, and the public became familiar with their individual stories, the criticism of Captain Buddington's actions was sharp and hostile. Many believed that Captain Hall had not died a natural death; and Captain Tyson and his companions on the ice floe were certain that Buddington had intentionally left them to their fate, as on two occasions the *Polaris* came within easy sight of the ice party, but no attention was paid to their signals of distress. In due course an investigation of all the circumstances was instituted by the Navy Department; but the evidence produced failed to prove more than that there had been dissensions on board the *Polaris* before Captain Hall died.

There are few more pathetic chapters in the long record of three hundred years of Polar navigation than that which tells of the futile mission of the *Jeannette* and the cruel disappointment of her commander, Lieut. George W. DeLong. After graduating from the Naval Academy, DeLong became deeply interested in the whole problem of Arctic research; and when, as Lieutenant on the *Juniata,* sent north to search for the *Polaris,* he got his first real taste of Arctic life, he did not rest until he had succeeded in interesting James Gordon Bennett, and had secured his support for a new expedition to the Pole. With his characteristic liberality Mr. Bennett gave DeLong a free hand in fitting out the expedition, which sailed from San Francisco on the *Jeannette,* July 8, 1879. The party numbered thirty-two persons, and the Bering Strait route had been chosen because of DeLong's belief that the warm Japan current must somewhere create a practically clear passage to the Pole. But the whole record so carefully kept by the Commander is one of mishaps and accidents. He had penetrated the Arctic Ocean but a short distance before the vessel was caught in the ice, and carried north and west with the movement of the slowly floating mass for nearly two years. As one has said, "instead, therefore, of a voyage of interesting discovery and abundant incident, the *Jeannette* and her company were doomed to an Arctic prison." DeLong had by far the best literary ability of all the explorers who have written of their experiences; and his journal supplies a more vivid and fascinating view of the explorer's life and thought than can be found elsewhere. His description of the terrible monotony of his imprisonment, the same that hundreds of others have been forced to endure, is so realistic that we quote it in part: "There can be no greater wear and tear on a man's mind and patience than this life in the pack. The absolute monotony; the unchanging round of hours; the awakening to the same things and the same conditions that one saw just before losing one's self in sleep; the same faces; the same dogs; the same ice; the same conviction that to-morrow will be exactly the same as to-day, if not more disagreeable; *the absolute impotence to do anything, to go anywhere, or to change one's situation an iota;* the knowledge that nothing has been accomplished thus far to save this expedition from being denominated an utter failure; all these things crowd in with irresistible force on my reasoning powers each night as I sit down to reflect upon the events of the day; and but for some still, small voice within me that tells me this can hardly be the ending of all my labors and zeal, I should be tempted to despair."

Early in the first winter the *Jeannette* sprang a leak, and every ingenious device

and great labor only served to keep her afloat. On June 12, 1881, the ice-pack broke up enough for her to get free, only to be seized again the next day, and so badly damaged that she sank in forty fathoms of water only five hours after the party abandoned her. They were then three hundred and fifty miles from the barren Siberian coast. The party was at once divided among three boats, which were quickly separated in their efforts to reach the mainland. On September 19, Engineer Melville and Lieut. Danenhower with their companions reached a small fishing camp in the Lena Delta, and were safe. The boat and crew in charge of Lieut. Chipp were never heard from, and all were undoubtedly lost in the open ocean. Some time later Melville, who had maintained an eager search for the other boats, found two survivors of DeLong's party, who had been sent ahead of the others, who were too sick to walk farther, to find relief, if possible. In this way a clue as to the Captain's whereabouts was obtained. But relief came too late. As the Esquimaux briefly described by a line the sad fate of Franklin's party, —"They fell as they walked, and as they fell they died,"— so the closing entries in DeLong's journal picture with marvelous vividness the end that befell too many heroes engaged in such perilous ventures. The silence that follows the last record is more eloquent than any written description could be:

"October 23d, Sunday, 133d day. Everybody pretty weak. Slept or rested all day, and then managed to get enough wood in before dark. Read part of divine service. Suffering in our feet. No foot gear.

October 24th, Monday, 134th day. A hard night.

October 25th, Tuesday, 135th day.

October 26th, Wednesday, 136th day.

October 27th, Thursday, 137th day. Iversen broken down.

October 28th, Friday, 138th day. Iversen died during early morning.

October 29th, Saturday, 139th day. Dressler died during the night.

October 30th, Sunday, 140th day. Boyd and Gortz died during night. Mr. Collins dying."

The remarkable drift of the *Jeannette*, and the fact that it was alleged that some articles belonging to the ship had been found on the Greenland coast, led the bold Norseman, Fridtjof Nansen, to attempt the conquest of the Pole by a drifting expedition. He originally planned to enter the Arctic Ocean by way of Bering Strait, but eventually changed his course, and started north by way of the coast of Norway, through the Kara Sea. He built for this service the little vessel named the *Fram*, so constructed as to rise upon the surface of the ice when squeezed, and so avoid being crushed. Leaving Christiania in July, 1893, on the 25th of September the *Fram* was pushed into the ice off the northwest of the Siberian Islands, and her long drift began. She was provisioned for five years, and carried a party of thirteen. After drifting for nearly two years in a northwesterly direction, the intolerable montony drove Nansen to take a sledge. With one companion he left the ship March 14, 1895, while she was in lat. 84° 4′, and pushed farther north, reaching the farthest point yet gained in lat. 86° 14′, on April 7. He then turned southwest and reached Franz Joseph Land late in August, where he wintered. Starting south the following spring he arrived at the headquarters of Jackson, the British Explorer of that region, and returned home in the Fall. After Nansen left her, the *Fram* continued to drift northerly and westerly until in November, 1895, she reached a northing only twenty miles below that of Nansen. Her drift then became southwesterly until, on August 13, 1896, she was released from the ice just south of Spitzbergen. The success of this voyage placed Nansen high on the roll of Arctic explorers, and gained a strong following for his drift method. The knowledge of conditions existing in the Arctic Ocean was also materially increased by the observations of the *Fram's* party, and the absence of land through a

great area previously unexplored was demonstrated, as well as the existence of a deep polar basin.

Franz Josef Land was discovered in 1873 by Weyprecht and Payer, commanding an Austrian expedition in search of the Northeast Passage. Their vessel, the *Tegetthof*, was caught in the ice off the north coast of Nova Zembla in August, 1872, and the party drifted 375 days, "no longer discoverers, but passengers against our will," as Lieut. Payer stated the conditions. But when the fog lifted on the morning of August 30, 1873, a bold coast line was revealed, hitherto unknown, which they named Franz Josef Land in honor of their Emperor. During the spring of 1875, by sledge journeys, more than four hundred miles of the land was traversed and mapped. It was not until 1894, however, that the new land was carefully explored by F. G. Jackson, who spent three years there with a party financed by Sir Alfred Harmsworth. By boat and sledge journeys they practically determined the limits of what proved to be an archipelago, rather than one continuous land, or island. In the years 1898–9 Walter Wellman, the celebrated correspondent of the Chicago *Record-Herald*, made a strike for the Pole from Franz Josef Land; but an accident to Mr. Wellman forced him to abandon the undertaking.

The name most closely, and probably finally, associated with this route, however, is that of the Italian Duke of the Abruzzi, and his navigator, Captain Cagni. The Duke bought the Norwegian whaler *Jason*, and had her refitted and strengthened in Norway, after which she was re-christened the *Stella Polare*. Sailing from Christiania, in June, 1899, the expedition easily reached the highest point attained by vessel over this route, in lat. 82° 4′, and then wintered in Teplitz Bay, Crown Prince Rudolph Land, close to the northern extremity of Franz Josef Land. In the spring Captain Cagni and a party, by a sledge journey directly north, reached the highest altitude attained by any person previous to the twentieth century, 86° 34′ N., only two hundred hundred and thirty miles, direct distance, from the Pole itself. This was an epoch making expedition. As Commander Peary has said: "It showed most conclusively what an effective sledge party may accomplish when starting from a base with a high northing." It was thus the rare privilege of the distinguished Italian nobleman, within one year, to determine the limits of Franz Josef Land and to prove the open sea beyond; and also to establish a precedent

THE DUKE OF THE ABRUZZI.

for future procedure, which, followed by Cook and Peary in 1908 and 1909, added the Pole itself to the known possessions of the human race. This, one of the most successful of all exploring expeditions, was planned, supervised, and directed in every detail by the Duke of the Abruzzi himself, when only in his twenty-sixth year. He has since placed many other daring and scientific achievements to his credit, the latest being the ascent of Mount Goodwin-Austin in the Himalaya range, when he reached an altitude of 25,000 feet, the highest ever attained by any human being. Not without reason are

the Italian people proud of this member of their royal family; and with equal reason the American people have viewed the Duke's attentions to the daughter of a distinguished Senator of the United States with more respect and kindness than they usually bestow upon the quest of titled foreigners for wives among the rich American women.

The summer of 1909 was just drawing to a close, and the people of the country were settling down to the routine work of another business year, when that latest of wonderful discoveries, the wireless telegraph, proclaimed to the world that on a Danish steamship approaching civilization was a comparatively unknown man, named Cook, who claimed to have gained the goal of centuries of endeavor, by planting the flag of his country, the United States, at the North Pole, on April 21, 1908. The familiar simile of a lightning flash from a clear sky but faintly suggests the astonishment and wonder with which the announcement was received. Probably not one in one thousand of the American people had ever heard of Dr. Cook, and a much smaller number knew that he had been in the Arctic seas, or had designs upon the Pole. Peary, every one knew, had gone north to seek the trophy; but a widespread spirit of incredulity greeted the story of the unknown adventurer. Upon his arrival at Copenhagen, however, Scientists, Arctic Explorers, and a hundred or more of the most famous press correspondents of the world seized him, and so pressed him to obtain all his story that the embrace of a Polar ice-pack would have been a relief to the bewildered man. Very quickly, all were convinced of his sincerity, and the belief became well nigh universal throughout the civilized world that Cook *had* discovered the Pole. Friends of Commander Peary, however, with rare lack of judgment, did all in their power to check the enthusiasm of the public, and to discredit Dr. Cook's statement; and days of frenzied discussion ensued. But all this was as a calm before a storm compared with the wild agitation which followed, when, five days later, the wireless telegraph again electrified the world by a message from Labrador, stating that Commander Peary had reached the Pole, and, as he claimed, had been the first to plant the stars and stripes above the dome of the world, on April 6, 1909. It is doubtful whether any such feverish excitement has possessed the American people since the day the telegraph announced that Sumter had been fired upon. Sides were immediately taken and a merry war ensued between the adherents of the two explorers. An old Greek historian, describing the dominant characteristics of his countrymen, places a disputatious nature in the foreground. They took sides, he declares, on the most trivial questions, and argued and wrangled incessantly. To illustrate his position, he tells of a celebrated law suit that was brought in the city of Abdera, over the ownership of an Ass's shadow; and naively remarks that the question was so hotly discussed by the people, that every Abderite became either an ass or a shadow. And it certainly appeared for a time, as if those of the American people who were not transformed by the discussion of the Cook-Peary question into quadrupeds with long ears, must inevitably become shadows very quickly. Happily, however, Commander Peary came to their rescue. By his offensive and intemperate denunciation of a fellow explorer, whose every word and act were proclaiming him an honest man and a gentleman, and were hourly winning for him friends from among his most hostile critics, the Commander so shocked the American spirit of fair play that discussion soon ceased, and a sentiment akin to disgust became common. The so-called controversy degenerated into a monologue by the later claimant, which received only painful attention from a few of his most intimate friends and personal admirers. During the period of comparative calm that has followed, intelligent and thoughtful men and women are studying the claims of both explorers with as little personal bias as the peculiar circumstances

will permit; and in the near future a measure of certainty will undoubtedly be reached which will be acceptable to the great public; though, as in the case of all momentous discoveries, some will never be convinced. It is probable that the question, "Who was first at the North Pole," will long be debated, and the validity of the generally accepted conclusions be disputed by many.

Doctor Frederick Albert Cook was born at Callicoon, Sullivan County, N. Y., June 10, 1865. His family name was Koch. His father was born in Hanover, and his mother in southern Germany. About the middle of the last century the family migrated to the United States, the father commencing the practice of medicine in the little country town where his now famous son was born. During the Civil War the father joined the army, and on the roll of the medical service, by the carelessness of a Government clerk, his name was entered as Cook, instead of Koch, and the name was retained, though all the father's family are still Kochs. In 1870 the father died, the mother being left without means, and with five children, of whom the present Doctor was the youngest. In order to gain better facilities for educating her children, and greater opportunities for work, the family removed to Brooklyn, N. Y., where Frederick received his early education in the public schools. Later he earned enough to take a course at the University of New York, from which he received his degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1890. As he was without means, the waiting for a paying practice became intolerable to him; and while chafing under such conditions, about six months after his graduation, he saw in the papers that Peary was organizing an expedition to explore the Arctic regions, and that a surgeon was wanted to accompany the party. He made application for the position, was accepted, and spent the greater part of the next two years in that service. Of his fitness for this work, and adaptability to the necessary conditions of Arctic life, Commander Peary has said (*Northward Over the Great Ice*): "To Dr. Cook's care may be attributed the almost complete exemption of the party from even the mildest indispositions, and personally I owe much to his professional skill, and *unruffled patience and coolness in an emergency.* In addition to his work in

FREDERICK A. COOK.

his special ethnological field, in which he has obtained *a large mass of most valuable material concerning a practically unstudied tribe,* he was always helpful, and an indefatigable worker." In speaking of this expedition at a later day, Dr. Cook said: "There was no money in it, but there was a living, honor, and — what I did not expect to find — a new and absorbing passion." We have before in this chapter spoken of the irresistible charm of the Arctic region for all who have once been subject to its spell. No matter what hardships and dangers have been encountered, all through the history

of Arctic exploration we find survivors seizing the first opportunity to return. In speaking of his own surrender to this *Wanderlust*, Dr. Cook has said: "It is a mystery, but it is a fact. Often and often I have asked myself what are the pleasures of the Polar seas. Privation, cold, hunger, peril of frostbite and of death, solitude, increasing and sustaining exertion, — these are manifest enough. In themselves they are not very fascinating. You sometimes revolt from them and wonder why you ever pushed into the great wilderness of ice. You escape, vowing never to return. But after a time something revives in you. Your mind dwells more and more on the indefinable delights of the Arctic. Something keeps calling, calling, calling, night and day,

JOHN R. BRADLEY.

until at last you can stand it no longer, and you return, spell-drawn by the magic of the North."

It is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, that, though he had commenced to practice his profession in Brooklyn after his return from Greenland, when in September, 1897, he received a cablegram from the commander of the Belgian Antarctic Expedition just about to start from Ostend, asking if he could join the party at Montevideo late in the month, Dr. Cook at once cabled "Yes." "I had only a few days," he says, "to prepare myself and my outfit for a journey which might take one year, or ten, or a lifetime." Like many another, he did not find in the Antarctic region the fascination that has lured so many to return to the North. Though the Antarctic had been one of the dreams of his life, and "to be on the way to it was then my ideal of happiness; to be on the way from it was an ambition quite as strong two years later."

After returning from this cruise, Dr. Cook resumed his professional duties, and in 1902 married Mary Fidell Hunt. In 1903, the old cry rang in his ears, and a sop was thrown to the Siren in the form of a summer expedition to Alaska to try the ascent of Mt. McKinley. After three months of effort, however, the undertaking was abandoned. But three years later he returned, and after a long period of investigation he struck a route that took him to the summit of the mountain, 20,390 feet above sea level, in September, 1906. His experience in this arduous undertaking stood him in splendid stead for his subsequent attack on the Pole. As he said: "My forty pound kit per man was the pioneer of my irreducibly minimized outfit for the run to the Pole. We started three men for the summit of Mt. McKinley and three for the Pole."

Dr. Cook's Arctic journey, which has resulted so gloriously, was made possible by the liberality of a wealthy young man of New York, John R. Bradley, who has found his pleasure in exploration and hunting in obscure portions of the globe. Mr. Bradley has been in the interior of Africa, in out-of-the-way parts of South America and India; and in casting about in his mind for some new field to visit, he was directed toward the Arctic regions by the preparations that Peary was then making to go north again. Just at that time he happened to meet Dr. Cook, with whose susceptibility to the "call of the wild" Bradley was familiar; and the lat-

ter at once proposed the expedition to the Doctor, as a summer hunting trip, with the possibility of Cook's making a dash for the Pole, if everything seemed to favor such an effort. Dr. Cook at once said the only obstacle was the expense, about which Mr. Bradley assured him he need have no concern, as he would stand back of him in any expenditure he might think it necessary to make. Not a day was lost, but both men entered heart and soul into the project. A Gloucester fishing schooner was purchased, and refitted for Arctic work. Every conceivable thing that could minister to the necessities of either a hunting or Polar expedition was provided, though the vessel was not encumbered with anything that savored of luxury, or that a most careful foresight did not consider absolutely requisite. As Dr. Cook has said: "I had everything that could be carried on such a small expedition. My friend, Mr. Bradley, gave me *carte blanche*. I had twice as much money placed at my disposal as I cared to spend. If I had had a million dollars and an army of men, I could not have been better equipped."

The expedition left Gloucester, Mass., harbor on July 3, 1907; and after some days spent in hunting in the far north, reached Etah, where they learned that the Eskimos were assembled at Annootok, about thirty miles farther north, and just inside Inglefield Cape, for a hunt. The Bradley party immediately made for that point, where Dr. Cook found so many men and dogs, as well as food and furs, that he decided to make the attempt to reach the Pole. The veteran English journalist, W. T. Stead, who met Dr. Cook upon his arrival at Copenhagen, and reported a detailed interview with him in the October issue of the *American Review of Reviews*, quotes a letter written by Dr. Cook at this time to Herbert L. Bridgman, Secretary of the Peary Arctic Club, of New York City, which has an important bearing in this case. As reported, under date of October 5, 1907, Dr. Cook wrote: "I have hit upon a new route to the North Pole, and will stay to try it. By way of Buchanan Bay and Ellesmere Land and northward through Nansen Strait over the Polar Sea, seems to me to be a very good route. There will be game to the 83d degree, and here are natives and dogs for the task. So here is for the Pole." This letter not only gives the reasons why Dr. Cook determined to make his attempt to reach the Pole, but also shows that in the fall of 1907, nine months before Peary left New York, Mr. Bridgman was advised of Dr. Cook's purpose; and it is certain that what Mr. Bridgman knew was the common knowledge of Commander Peary and the members of the Peary Club. Moreover, the letter would be hardly intelligible, unless Dr. Cook had previously talked the matter over with Mr. Bridgman, and told him of his intention to strike for the Pole if he found conditions in the north favorable. This should certainly negative all the charges that have been persistently made by Peary's friends that Dr. Cook's movements and plans were secret, and that the expedition was organized in an "underhand" manner.

Early in October, the *Bradley*, with all the party except Dr. Cook and Otto Francke, returned to New York. The little party at Annootok, with the aid of the Eskimos, at once erected a hut for their winter quarters. The winter night was fast setting in, and all were busily engaged preparing for the projected journey. Furs were collected and made into garments suitable for the trip, sledges made, and many possible contingencies provided for. At length, on February 19, 1908, the main expedition, consisting of eleven men, with eleven heavily loaded sledges, and one hundred and three dogs, left the Greenland coast, crossed Smith Sound on the ice, thence proceeding over Ellesmere Land to Heiberg Land, from the northern point of which the dash for the Pole was made. This first part of the undertaking was hardly less difficult than the run over the ice of the Polar Sea; as the ice conditions in Smith Sound are always of the worst character, and the

most intense cold was encountered, the thermometer once registering 83° below zero. Before the Polar Sea was reached Dr. Cook had been able to test his men and dogs; and for the final and crucial run of more than five hundred miles to the Pole, two young men, Etukishuk and Ahwelah, each about twenty years of age, were chosen. Twenty-six dogs were selected, and supplies for eighty days were loaded on two sleds. Early on March 18 the other Eskimos, with the remaining dogs and sleds, were sent back to Annootok, after a cache had been established, at which a sled was also left. Then, as soon as a heavy wind and storm had somewhat subsided, the little party of three faced the unknown north. It is impossible here to give any details of the journey, which Dr. Cook has so interestingly described in the story published in the *New York Herald*. Before reaching the Pole, however, the party had endured great hardship, and the men were well nigh worn out. But when, on the morning of April 19, the observations showed that they were but two average marches from the "tigi shu" (the big nail), a new spirit possessed the Eskimo boys, who danced and shouted for joy. Even the dogs caught the enthusiasm, the Doctor tells us; and all set out to cover the few remaining miles with high spirits and light feet, the Eskimos singing and shouting, the dogs barking and howling as they ran. On the morning of the 21st the pedometer showed that they had covered the distance necessary to reach the Pole, as shown by their last observation; and anxiously they waited for the time to determine their exact position, which proved to be only a quarter of a mile from the boreal centre. This was quickly covered, and with mingled feelings of elation and weariness, an igloo was built, and preparations made to pass two full days at the apex of the earth. After the first excitement of victory had subsided, how-

RECONNOITERING.

ever, their abounding joy slowly yielded to the depressing influence of the place. Not a sign of life in any direction, not a spot to break the monotonous outlook over endless fields of purple snows, and an absolute silence that could really be felt! Everywhere was a barren, dead world of ice. Added to the dreariness of the place, too, came the gradual realization of the difficulties still to be encountered. The supreme tests of strength and endurance were yet to come. After two full series of observations had been taken, to make certain that they had really reached the Pole, the little party turned their faces to the south, and began the homeward march April 23. Seven days later they had covered one hundred and twenty-one miles. Wearily they worked their way south, the ice conditions constantly becoming worse, and the drift more pronounced as the season advanced. It soon became evident that they were being carried too far west to admit of the return to Annootok, or, what was more serious, to reach their caches on Heiberg Land. And after tragic weeks of suffering from hunger, exposure, and disappointment, the three brave men were forced to go into winter quarters in September near Cape Sparbo, on Jones Sound, fully two hundred and fifty miles south of Annootok, the drifting ice having carried them far to the west and south of Ellesmere Land. Having built an underground den of stones and turf, with bows and arrows, and other primitive weapons (their ammunition had already been exhausted), they killed bears, musk-oxen, and other animals, so procuring food and skins as well as fuel, by which death by famine was averted. The winter night of 1908-9 was spent in preparing food and equipment for the return; and on February 18, 1909, with remodelled sled, the start was made for Annootok, where the party arrived about the middle of April. But before reaching camp their provisions had again become exhausted, as they had not been able to get any game during the later weeks of the march; and some miles from the camp the three weak and starving men were forced to abandon their sledge, and make the last desperate struggle to reach Annootok. About eight miles from the place the weary strugglers, mutually supporting and dragging each other over the ice, were met by Mr. Whitney, who was hunting in the region with a party of Eskimos, and were carried to the camp and tenderly cared for. After a very few days of rest, during which he told Mr. Whitney of his route and what he had accomplished, Dr. Cook, anxious to get back to civilization and to acquaint the world with his achievement, proceeded by sled and boat to Uppernavik, where he caught a Danish steamship which took him to Copenhagen, reaching the Danish capital September 4th.

ROBERT E. PEARY.

Robert Edwin Peary was born at Cresson, Pa., May 6, 1856. During his early youth the family removed to Maine, where young Peary received his educa-

tion, graduating from Bowdoin College, in 1877. In the year 1881 he entered the United States Navy as Civil Engineer, and served as Assistant Engineer of the Nicaragua Ship Canal in 1884-5. In 1888 he married Josephine Diebitsch, of Washington, who has figured only less prominently than her husband in the annals of Arctic exploration. Mrs. Peary accompanied her husband as far north as the winter quarters in Greenland on his expeditions of 1891 and 1893, and was, so far as known, the first white woman to winter within the Arctic Circle. While in Greenland, a daughter, Marie Ahnighito, later familiarly known as the "Snow Baby," was born to Lieut. and Mrs. Peary, — the infant gaining the distinguished honor of having reached, while in Arctic swaddling clothes, the "farthest north" of any of the millions of white babies born in modern times. Mrs. Peary again went north in 1900 with her child, to meet her husband. The vessel was caught in the ice, and mother and child passed the long winter night in lat. 78° 42′.

Even during his college days Peary is credited with having been deeply interested in all that pertained to Arctic exploration. In the introduction to his "Northward over the Great Ice," he says: "One evening, in one of my favorite haunts, an old book-store in Washington, I came upon a fugitive paper on the Inland Ice of Greenland. A chord, which, as a boy, had vibrated intensely in me at the reading of Kane's wonderful book, was touched again. I read all I could upon the subject, and felt that I must see for myself what the truth was of this great mysterious interior. My summer reconnaissance of the Inland Ice was the outcome."

Commander Peary's Arctic experience now covers twenty-three years, about eight of which have actually been spent within the Arctic Circle. He has, during this period, worked under particularly favorable conditions, as he has been carried upon the rolls of the Navy Department, and been paid a liberal salary, though he has done no active service for eighteen years. This has allowed him to prosecute his ambitious schemes without anxiety as to his own support, or that of his family, an enviable position that has been the lot of no other American explorer for any long period. In 1886 he made his first investigation of the ice of Greenland, in which country nearly all his work had been done down to 1905. On that expedition he started from a point near Disco, and sledged across the ice to within fifty miles of the eastern coast. In 1891-2 he was in charge of the exploring expedition of the Academy of Natural Sciences, of Philadelphia, and visited North Greenland for the first time. It was on this expedition that Dr. Cook served as surgeon of the party, which left New York in June, 1891, on the *Kite*, and wintered in McCormick Bay, southeast of Smith Sound. The following spring a sledge journey was made over the inland ice to the northeast, a distance of six hundred and fifty miles and return. The north coast of Greenland was discovered, demonstrating that it was an island, and that an archipelago of islands lies to the north, separated from Greenland by Independence Bay and the Peary Channel. In 1893 Commander Peary again went north, remaining in North Greenland two years, during which time he made a second sledge journey across the ice-cap, as well as a detailed survey of the Whale Sound country, and discovered the great Cape York meteorites. Up to 1885 practically nothing was known concerning the interior of Greenland, and Commander Peary's account of what he discovered is so interesting that we quote his words (Introduction, "Northward Over the Great Ice"): "All there is of land, as we understand the term, in Greenland, is a ribbon five to twenty-five (and in one or two places sixty to eighty) miles in width, along the coast, made up of mountains and valleys and deep branching fjords, surrounded by the Arctic Sea, playground of the iceberg and the pack ice, and itself in turn surrounding and supporting, like a Titan dam, the great white ice-cap beneath which the interior

of the country is buried. . . . There the accumulated snow precipitation of centuries, in a latitude and altitude where it is practically correct to say that it never rains and the snow does not melt even in the long summer day, has gradually filled all the valleys of the interior, until it has leveled them even with the mountain summits, and still piling higher through the centuries, has at last buried the highest of these mountain summits hundreds and even thousands of feet deep in snow and ice. The interior of Greenland to-day is simply an elevated, unbroken plateau of snow, lifted from five thousand to eight, and even ten, thousand feet above the level of the sea; a huge white glistening shield some twelve hundred miles in length and five hundred miles in width, resting on the supporting mountains. It is an Arctic Sahara, in comparison with which the African Sahara is insignificant. For on this frozen Sahara of inner Greenland occurs no form of life, animal or vegetable; no fragment of rock, no grain of sand is visible."

During the summers of 1896 and 1897 Peary made excursions to Greenland, and on the second succeeded in bringing back to this country the great meteorite discovered at Cape York, said to be the largest in the world. In 1899-1900 he made his first strictly Polar expedition, reaching the north of Greenland and surveying its shores, but was unable to advance beyond lat. 83° 54′. In 1902, in another attempt to reach the Pole, he attained lat. 84° 17′. His most successful effort, previous to the 1908 expedition, was made in the *Roosevelt* in 1905-6, when he skirted the north coast of Grinnell Land, and in a dash for the Pole attained lat. 87° 6′, on April 21, 1906, the farthest north ever reached until Dr. Cook gained the Pole, exactly two years later.

Commander Peary had planned to leave for the Arctic regions again in the *Roosevelt* during the summer of 1907; but the steamer's boilers and machinery could not be put in proper condition, so the start had to be postponed until the following year. For this expedition the Commander was most completely equipped, the Peary Arctic Club, and others, having responded liberally to his persistent solicitation for funds. A dramatic send-off was given by President Roosevelt, the steamer having gone to the President's summer home at Oyster Bay for that purpose; while the expedition and the movements of its Commander were the all-absorbing theme

THE ROOSEVELT.

of the summer season. Commander Peary went by rail to Sydney, N. S., where he joined the steamer and the party on July 17, and all arrived at Cape York about the end of the month. They left Etah August 18, reaching Cape Sheridan, on the north coast of Grant Land, September 5, when the vessel went into winter quarters. On February 15, 1909, the removal of supplies from the *Roosevelt* to Cape Columbia, a few miles west of Cape Sheridan, which was to be the point of departure for the Pole, was begun; and by the 27th the transfers had been completed, and the start was made March 1. The Polar party consisted of seven members of the expedition and seventeen Eskimos, with one hundred and thirty-three dogs and nineteen sledges. As Dr. Cook's account of his adventures has been published in the *New York Herald*, so the *New York Times* secured "exclusive rights" to publish Commander Peary's personal account of his exploit; but while the former is replete with interesting details regarding the progress

made and the perils encountered, as well as with informing accounts of the ice and atmospheric conditions experienced, the latter contains little more than a description of the masterly manner in which the Commander handled and turned back his supporting parties, with occasional reference to the gaining of a new parallel, and particularly to the dates when he passed the "farthest north" of previous explorers. Of any enlightening description of the physical features of the

ETAH.

area covered, or of lively interest as a narrative of travel, it is as barren as the fields of snow and ice which the party traversed. It is, too, lacking in data which would enable one to follow the party's course intelligently. While Dr. Cook gives the results of ten or more observations at different points as he advanced, with the latitude and longitude shown in each case, Commander Peary gives but three, including the first made at the Pole; and in no case does he give any longitude, so that it would be impossible for one to determine his course with any measure of exactness. We are informed, however, that at various points "supporting parties" were sent back, the last to return being Captain Bartlett's, which turned about at 87° 48′, about one hundred and fifty miles from the Pole. The remaining party consisted of the Commander, his negro servant, Henson, and three Eskimos; and then followed the most phenomenal runs that have ever been recorded in the annals of Polar exploration. The distance from Cape Sheridan to the Pole is close to four hundred and eighty miles. To cover three hundred and thirty miles of this distance it had taken the party from March 1 to April 2; but the remaining one hundred and fifty miles, after his supporting parties had all returned, the Commander covered in *four days,* although all his dogs must have been well nigh worn out, and his sleds in far from perfect condition. So far as one can judge from his narrative, he found practically the same conditions at the Pole, which was reached April 6, 1909, that were noted by Dr. Cook the year before,— an unspeakable desolation. Dr. Cook, however, was moved by

the unusual occasion and the magnitude of the event, and gave utterance to sentiments that one reads with interest. But Commander Peary, though commonly so generous in his expressions of appreciation of unusual situations, seems to have found nothing in the surroundings nor in the achievement of especial note, though he does quote from his journal a prosaic and commonplace entry "made some hours later," to the effect that the Pole, the prize of three centuries, his dream and goal for twenty years, was his at last. And he gives, with evident approval, the sublime and poetic sentiment expressed by Bartlett just before he turned back, "it's just like every day."

After remaining at the Pole about thirty hours, Commander Peary and his little party began the marvelous run back to Cape Columbia, which was accomplished in sixteen days, at an average rate of over thirty miles a day, they having left the Pole April 7, and arrived at the Cape on the 23d. With reason, it would seem, one of the Eskimos remarked: "The devil is asleep or having trouble with his wife, or we never should have come back so easily." After some time spent in gathering up provisions left at the caches, and in getting members of the party together, the *Roosevelt* left her winter quarters July 18, and reached Cape Sabine August 8. At Etah Harry Whitney was taken on board, but was refused permission to bring with him some instruments and papers which Dr. Cook had left with him; and clearing from Cape York August 26th, the party reached Indian Harbor September 5th, "whence," as Commander Peary has said, "the message 'Stars and Stripes nailed to North Pole' was sent southward through the crisp Labrador air."

While Dr. Cook was receiving the congratulations of the world in general, and of the people of Copenhagen in particular, the message from Commander Peary was received, which called from the Doctor a spontaneous expression of pleasure that his rival had also been successful in his quest for the Pole. But within two or three days the wireless messages from Labrador began to proclaim Dr. Cook a liar, and negotiator of gold bricks, and a spirit wholly "unbecoming an officer and a gentleman," not to say a sportsman, was manifested by Commander Peary. The details of the controversy that has since been maintained are so widely known, and the occurrences so recent, that no recital of them here is necessary. Unfortunately every one who has ever seen an iceberg or a dog sledge, or has at any time lived in the same county with either of the explorers, constituting himself an expert on Arctic explorations, or a competent authority as to the honor and veracity of the two leaders, has rushed into print to commend or criticize their actions; with the result that the real issue has become so befogged by these literary efforts, and by the loose utterances of newspaper men anxious to make records, that it is well for the general reader to analyze the various charges made, and so endeavor, in some measure, to arrive at just conclusions.

The attitude of the press, and of some scientific societies, has been that no proof whatever is needed of any statement or claim Commander Peary may make; but that Dr. Cook must establish every position he may take by the most detailed and convincing evidence,— a proposition that is hardly consistent with the boasted Anglo-Saxon love of fair play. Justice and law both assume that a man is honest and innocent, until the negative is proved; but with the powerful interests supporting Commander Peary, as well as with the Commander himself, the assumption has been that Dr. Cook was dishonest from the start, and must establish his innocence. It is interesting to note, however, that, notwithstanding the searching investigation his enemies have made, no evidence that would carry weight with a judicial mind has been produced to impeach the Doctor's standing as an honest man; while every one who has met him during these trying days, even those disposed to question his achievement, have been convinced of the man's simple,

straightforward, manifest sincerity. Such being the attitude of the press, and of Commander Peary's adherents, however, it could but follow that his rival explorer should become the storm centre of a most virulent and hostile criticism; and in view of this fact, it seems but just that a few of the positions taken by his adversaries should be briefly considered. Such a course may serve somewhat the cause of justice, and clear the hazy atmosphere.

Great stress has been laid upon the character and material of Dr. Cook's outfit, as well as upon what is assumed to be the totally inadequate amount of provisions he carried on his dash for the Pole. In this connection it is necessary for one to recognize that an orthodox standard for Arctic exploration has been set up in this country, from which one may not vary without subjecting himself to all the inquisitions and penalties heresy entails. For twenty years Commander Peary has had no American competitor in the field of Polar research, with the result that, in his own estimation and that of his immediate supporters, his methods and plans have been accepted as those in accordance with which all similar work must be prosecuted. Unless one uses his style of sledge, his particular harness for the dogs, his personal fancy for a tent or boat, and adopts his estimate as to the kind and quantity of provisions requisite for any proposed undertaking, all results achieved are open to suspicion, if not at once denounced as necessarily fraudulent claims. A grand campaign of two or three seasons of preparation has come to be considered an absolutely essential condition of success. Bases for work must be established by preliminary expeditions; caches dug at various points, and filled with provisions; an imposing array of "supporting parties" must accompany the chief; and every detail of the proposed expedition must be exploited in magazines and newspapers. These are now the orthodox preliminaries for any Polar explorations. A McClellan rather than a Napoleon is the ideal commander of the orthodox party. And the head and front of Dr. Cook's offending has been that he achieved success in an unorthodox manner. Scant attention has been given to the fact that he spent two years in the Arctic with the Master, and two more in the Antarctic with competent explorers, and so might reasonably have gained some knowledge that would entitle him to an independent opinion. Unfortunately he had not learned that there is no place in the American economy of Arctic exploration for ideas that do not bear the orthodox imprint. Consequently he selected the style of sledge, the character and quantity of food, and the number of men for his party, that his own study and experience had taught him were the most fit, and would prove the most efficient. A leading critic has stated emphatically that it would be absolutely impossible for one to carry on two sledges provisions sufficient for three men and dogs on a dash to the Pole, or for any sledge journey of seventy days. The critic had proved it by his own experience in Siberia. But, impossible or not, that was all Dr. Cook and his two companions had for over thirteen months; and he and his companions returned to Annootok alive, though very hungry. His theory was that the lightest equipment and the smallest possible party, best met the conditions that he was to face; and the results prove his theory correct. Had Dr. Cook had at his command a powerful steamship that could have taken him to the north of Grant Land, as had Commander Peary, so that he could have commenced his dash for the Pole earlier, he would unquestionably have reached his starting point the same summer, and have returned to the United States in August 1908, instead of 1909. But the precious time he was forced to consume in covering the four hundred miles from Annootok to the extremity of Heiberg Land delayed his start for the Pole fully three weeks beyond the date of Commander Peary's departure the following year; with the result that when he neared the continent on his return the summer sun had broken the ice badly, and he was carried, an unwilling passenger on the moving

masses, so far to the west that an entire year was lost. Dr. Cook's methods were similar to those demonstrated by Captain Cagni to be the most effective; and Commander Peary's own indorsement of them we have quoted in our account of the expedition of the Duke of the Abruzzi.

It should also be recognized that, as has been intimated before, during the last two decades the race for the Pole has reduced itself, or has been reduced, to a great sporting event. An effort has generally been made to give dignity to the expeditions by associating with the ventures some attempts to secure scientific data; but this research has been so very incidental that it hardly deserves serious consideration. Commander Peary, Dr. Cook, Nansen, Lieut. Shackleton, and others have repeatedly acknowledged this in their writings, and it is well that the public should realize it. The various efforts to reach the "top of the world" have, too, at bottom, been those of purely personal ambition. Expeditions have been undertaken by nearly every man who has once been far north, and so become inoculated with the Arctic bacillus, who could secure such financial backing as would enable him to advance his ambitious interests. No one will question that hardships have been endured; but they have been so eagerly courted by men thoroughly familiar with them, that direct or covert appeals by friends of the explorers, through press interviews and other channels, to the sympathy of the public merit little consideration. Sportsmen in all other fields accept dangers and perils as part of the game; they exult in victory, and cheer the victor. They accept defeat with outward complacency, though it may be with inward pain and heartbreak. And it is difficult to understand why the same standards of honor and gentlemanly conduct should not obtain among sportsmen engaged in the race for the Pole.

It has been clearly implied, if it has not been directly claimed, that the Arctic polar region, so far, at least, as American endeavor is concerned, has become the private preserve of one individual; with the result that any attempt by another to reach the coveted goal must necessarily constitute a breach of honor, and do violence to the "ethics" of Polar exploration, whatever that may mean. But one has only to state the proposition to make its absurdity apparent. It is an untracked waste; and for three centuries prior to 1908 no one had been able to get within two hundred miles of its centre, though daring men of nearly every civilized nation had made the attempt. At the opening of that year, the Pole was, as it had ever been, the fair and honorable prize of anyone who might first reach it. In view of this fact it seems passing strange that one should seriously undertake to besmirch Dr. Cook's reputation by raising the question of "courtesy," or "ethics." The game was an open one; and such questions have no more bearing upon the case than they would in a fairly contested yacht race, or ball game. In the winter of 1906-7 Lieut. Shackleton, on his second expedition to the Antarctic regions, reached a point within one hundred and eleven miles of the South Pole, at least one hundred miles nearer that Pole than Commander Peary ever got to the North Pole prior to 1909. It is well known, too, that Shackleton is organizing another expedition, and has no doubt that he will this time reach the Pole. If any explorer might have a valid claim on such a territory he certainly could establish one. Yet at least two other Englishmen are organizing expeditions for the same purpose, without public criticism; and it is certainly curious to note that the same ethical critics who have denounced Dr. Cook's action, see no impropriety in the proposed attempt of Captain Bartlett, or Commander Peary, to make an assault on the South Pole, thus, on their own theory, poaching upon the sporting ground of Lieut. Shackleton. But such tactics are ancient. As far back as 1840, Sir James Ross was shocked at the lack of courtesy and honor displayed by Lieut. Wilkes, who, with a fleet of five American vessels, had made explorations in the Antarctic coun-

try, as it happened, in a region Sir James was planning to invade. In the published narrative of his explorations, Ross wrote: "I would have expected the national pride of the American Commander to have caused him rather to choose any other path for penetrating southward than the place for the exploration of which my expedition was preparing." And hardly any better reply could be made to the captious criticism of Dr. Cook's course, than was at that time made to Ross' contention, by a friendly writer in the *North British Review*. "We cannot," he says, "concur with our excellent author in blaming the American Commander. *The British expedition might never have sailed or might never have reached its destination;* and in such an event the Commander could never have justified himself to his Government, *had he omitted, from any feelings of delicacy, to take the best path to the Antarctic Pole.*"

Recognizing the validity of these considerations, one may brush aside the mass of irrelevant matter that has been published, and fairly face the only question at issue, which is, whether the claims of the individual contestants for the honor of being first at the Pole can be substantiated by their official records, which must be examined and passed upon by competent scientific bodies, and the claims of both should receive the same impartial scrutiny. No testimony of irresponsible Eskimos, nor affidavits of interested guides, nor the incomprehensible record of runs made, should prejudice an intelligent person in his consideration of the subject. All such evidence is too clearly tainted with personal animosity, if not by money considerations. That both Dr. Cook and Commander Peary reached the Pole we believe will be ultimately established beyond a reasonable doubt, by rational and conclusive evidence. That Dr. Cook placed the Stars and Stripes above the dome of the world a year before Commander Peary evidenced his loyalty to the flag in the same manner, we believe will be as clearly demonstrated. Otherwise, a large niche must ultimately be reserved in some Hall of Fame for the bust of the most colossal imaginative genius, as well as the most consummately realistic actor, the world has ever known.

CHRONOLOGICAL RECORD OF ARCTIC EXPLORATION DOWN TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, TAKEN, WITH PERMISSION, FROM LARNED'S HISTORY FOR READY REFERENCE.

1553.— Voyage of Willoughby and Chancellor from London, in search of a northeast passage to India. Chancellor reached Archangel on the White Sea and learned that he was in the dominions of the sovereign of Muscovy or Russia. With much difficulty he obtained permission to visit the court at Moscow, and made the long journey to that city by sledge over the snow. There he was admitted to an interview with the Tsar and returned with a letter which permitted the opening of trade between England and Russia. Willoughby, with two vessels and their crews, was less fortunate. His party, after wintering on a desolate shore, perished the next year in some manner, the particulars of which were never known. The chartered company of London merchants which sent out these expeditions is believed to have been the first joint stock corporation of shareholders formed in England. As the Russia, or Muscovy, Company it afterwards became a rich and powerful corporation, and its success set other enterprises in motion.

1576–1578.— Voyages of Frobisher to the coast of Labrador and the entrance to Davis Strait, discovering the bay which bears his name, and which he supposed to be a strait leading to Cathay; afterwards entering Hudson Strait.

1585–1587.— Three voyages of John Davis from Dartmouth, in search of a northwestern passage to India, entering the strait between Greenland and Baffinland which bears his name and exploring it to the 72nd degree north latitude.

1594–1595.— Dutch expeditions (the first and second under Barentz) to the northeast, passing to the north of Nova Zembla, or Novaya Zemlya, but making no progress beyond it.

1596–1597.— Third voyage of Barentz, when he discovered and coasted Spitzbergen, wintered in Nova Zembla with his crew, lost his ship in the ice, and perished, with one third of his men, in undertaking to reach the coast of Lapland in open boats.

1607.— Polar voyage of Henry Hudson, for the Muscovy Company of London, attaining the northern coast of Spitzbergen.

1608.— Voyage of Henry Hudson to Nova Zembla for the Muscovy Company.

1609.— Voyage of Henry Hudson, in the *Half Moon*, for the Dutch East India Company, in search of the northeast passage. Finding the ice off Nova Zembla impassable, he crossed the Atlantic Ocean to try for a western passage, and discovered the river

which now bears his name, which he explored as far as the present site of Albany.

1610.— Voyage of Henry Hudson, in English employ, to seek the northwest passage, being the voyage in which he passed through the Strait and entered the great Bay to which his name has been given, and in which he perished at the hands of a mutinous crew.

1612–1614.— Exploration of Hudson Bay by Captains Button, Bylot, and Baffin, practically discovering its true character and shaking the previous theory of its connection with the Pacific Ocean.

1616.— Voyage into the northwest made by Captain Baffin with Captain Bylot, which resulted in the discovery of Baffin Bay, Smith Sound, Jones Sound, and Lancaster Sound.

1670.— Grant and charter to the Hudson Bay Company, by King Charles II. of England, conferring on the Company possession and government of the whole watershed of the Bay, and naming the country Prince Rupert Land.

1728.— Exploration of the northern coasts of Kamtschatka by the Danish Captain Vitus Bering, in the Russian service, and discovery of the Strait which bears his name.

1779.— Exploration of the Arctic coast, east and west of Bering Strait, by Captain Cook, in his last voyage.

1789.— Exploring journey of Alexander Mackenzie, for the Northwest Company, and discovery of the great river flowing into the Polar Sea, which bears his name.

1818.— Unsatisfactory voyage of Commander John Ross to Baffin Bay and into Lancaster Sound.

1819–1820.— First voyage of Lieutenant Parry, exploring for a northwest passage, through Davis Strait, Baffin Bay, Lancaster Sound, and Barrow Strait, to Melville Island.

1819–1822.— Journey of Captain (afterwards Sir John) Franklin, Dr. Richardson, and Captain (afterwards Sir George) Back, from Fort York, on the western coast of Hudson Bay, by the way of Lake Athabasca, Great Slave Lake, and Coppermine River, to Coronation Gulf, opening into the Arctic Ocean.

1820–1824.— Russian surveys of the Siberian Polar region by Wrangel and Anjou.

1821–1823.— Second voyage of Captain Parry, exploring for a northwest passage to the Pacific Ocean, through Hudson Strait and Fox Channel, discovering the Fury-and-Hecla Strait, the northern outlet of the Bay.

1824–1825.— Third voyage of Captain Parry, exploring for a northwest passage, by way of Davis Strait, Baffin Bay, and Lancaster Sound, to Prince Regent Inlet, where one of his ships was wrecked.

1825–1827.— Second journey of Franklin, Richardson, and Back, from Canada to the Arctic Ocean.

1827.— Fourth voyage of Captain Parry, attempting to reach the North Pole, by ship to Spitzbergen and by boats to 82° 45′ north latitude.

1829–1833.— Expedition under Captain Ross, fitted out by Mr. Felix Booth, to seek a northwest passage, resulting in the discovery of the position of the north magnetic pole, southwest of Boothia, not far from which Ross' ship was ice-bound for three years.

1837–1839.— Expeditions of Dease and Simpson, in the service of the Hudson Bay Company, determining the Arctic coast line as far east as Boothia.

1845.— Departure from England of the government expedition under Sir John Franklin, in two bomb vessels, the Erebus and the Terror, which entered Baffin Bay in July and were never seen afterwards.

1850–1851.— United States Grinnell Expedition, sent to assist the search for Sir John Franklin and his crew.

1850–1852.—Franklin search expedition under Captain Collinson, through Bering Strait and eatsward into Prince of Wales Strait, sending sledge parties to Melville Island.

1850–1854.—Franklin search expedition under Captain McClure, through Bering Strait and westward, between Banks Land and Prince Albert Land, attaining a point within 25 miles of Melville Sound, already reached from the East; thus demonstrating the existence of a northwest passage.

1853–1855.— Grinnell expedition, under Dr. Kane, proceeding straight northward through Baffin Bay, Smith Sound and Kennedy Channel, nearly to the 79th degree of latitude.

1857–1859.— Search expedition sent out by Lady Franklin, under Captain McClintock, which became ice-bound in Melville Bay, August, 1857, and drifted helplessly for eight months, over 1,200 miles.

1860–1861.— Expedition of Dr. Hayes to Smith Sound.

1868.— Swedish Polar expedition, directed by Professor Nordenskiöld, attaining latitude 81° 42′, on the 18th meridian of east longitude.

1869–1870.— German Polar expedition, under Captain Koldewey, one vessel of which was crushed, the crew escaping to an ice floe and drifting 1,100 miles, reaching finally a Danish settlement on the Greenland coast, while the other explored the east coast of Greenland to latitude 77°.

1871–1872.—Voyage of the steamer Polaris, fitted out by the U. S. Government, under Captain Hall.

1872–1874.—Austro-Hungarian expedition, under Captain Weyprecht and Lieutenant Payer.

1875–1876.— English expedition under Captain Nares, in the Alert, and the Discovery, attaining by ship the high latitude of 82° 27′, in Smith Sound, and advancing by sledges to 83° 20′ 26″, while exploring the northern shore of Grinnell Land and the northwest coast of Greenland.

1878–1879.— Final achievement of the long-sought northeast passage, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, by the Swedish geographer and explorer, Baron Nordenskiöld.

1879–1882.—Polar voyage of the Jeannette, fitted out by the proprietor of the New York Herald and commanded by Commander De Long, U. S. N.

1881–1884.— International undertaking of expeditions to establish Arctic stations for simultaneous meteorological and magnetic observations: by the United States at Smith Sound and Point Barrow; by Great Britain at Fort Rae; by Russia at the mouth of the Lena and in Nova Zembla; by Denmark at Godhaab, in Greenland; by Holland at Dickson's Haven, near the mouth of the Yenisei; by Germany in Cumberland Sound, Davis Strait; by Austro-Hungary on Jan Mayen Island; by Sweden at Mussel Bay in Spitzbergen. The United States expedition to Smith Sound, under Lieutenant Greely, established its station on Discovery Bay. Exploring parties sent out attained the highest latitude ever reached, namely 83° 24′. After remaining two winters and failing to receive expected supplies, which had been intercepted by the ice, Greely and his men, twenty-five in number, started southward, and all but seven perished on the way. The survivors were rescued, in the last stages of starvation, by a vessel sent to their relief under Captain Schley, U. S. N.

1886.— Reconnoissance of the Greenland ice by Civil Engineer R. E. Peary, U. S. N.

1891–1892.— Expedition of Lieut. Peary, U. S. N., with a party of seven, including Mrs. Peary, establishing headquarters on McCormick Bay, northwest Greenland; thence making sledge journeys.

1893.— Expedition of Dr. Nansen, in the Fram from Christiania.

1893–1894.— Expedition of Lieut. Peary and party (Mrs. Peary again of the number), landing in Bowdoin Bay, August, 1893.

1894.— Expedition of Mr. Walter Wellman, an American journalist, purposing to reach Spitzbergen via Norway, and to advance thence towards the Pole, with aluminum boats. The party left Tromsoë May 1, but were stopped before the end of the month by the crushing of their vessel. They were picked up and brought back to Norway.

1895.— Return of Peary relief expedition with Lieut. Robert E. Peary and his companions. In spite of great difficulties Lieut. Peary had again crossed the ice-sheet to Independence Bay, determined the northern limits of Greenland, charted 1,000 miles of the west coast, discovered eleven islands and the famous Iron Mountain (three great meteorites), and obtained much knowledge of the natives. The purely scientific results of the expedition are of great value. The relief expedition was organized by Mrs. Peary.

1897.— Seventh Peary expedition to Greenland. Accompanied by parties for scientific research. Relics of Greely's expedition found on Cape Sabine, and the great meteorite at Cape York brought away at last.

1897.— Balloon voyage of Salamon August Andrée and two companions, Mr. Strindberg and Mr. Fraenkel, starting from Danes' Island, north of Spitzbergen, in the hope of being carried to the pole.

1897.— Return of Jackson-Harmsworth expedition from three years' exploration of Franz Josef Land and the region north of it. Franz Josef Land was resolved into a group of islands and almost entirely mapped. Small parties journeying northward over the ice, establishing depots of supplies, the most northern in latitude 81° 21′, discovered and named Victoria Sea, the most northern open sea in the world.

1898–1899.— Second attempt by Walter Wellman to reach the north pole. Wintered in Franz Josef Land, establishing an outpost, called Fort McKinley, in lat. 81° N. In February Mr. Wellman, with three companions, started northward and seemed likely to succeed in their undertaking, but a serious accident befalling Mr. Wellman, and an icequake destroying many dogs and sledges, a hurried return to headquarters was necessary. Here important scientific observations were made. The 82d parallel was reached by the explorer.

1898.— Carefully planned expedition of Lieut. Peary, purposing to advance toward the pole by west coast of Greenland.

1898.— Expedition of Capt. Sverdrup to northern Greenland — Lieut. Peary's especial field. Having planned a polar expedition similar to Peary's he sailed up the west coast, but the Fram was frozen in near Cape Sabine. Sverdrup therefore explored the western part of Ellesmere Land, then sailed again in an attempt to round the northern coast of Greenland.

1899–1900.— Arctic expedition of the Duke of the Abruzzi. His ship, the Stella Polare, was left at Crown Prince Rudolf Land during the winter. The Duke became incapacitated by a fall and by the loss of two joints from the fingers of his left hand, incurably frostbitten; but a small party under Capt. Cagni pushed northward till provisions were exhausted. Nansen's record was beaten, the Italian party reaching lat. 86° 33′, at about 56° E. long. No land was found north or northwest of Spitzbergen. Three men were lost from Cagni's party.

1900.— Seward peninsula, the most westward extension of Alaska, explored and surveyed by five government expeditions.

LVIII.

THE UNITED STATES A WORLD POWER — 1909.

Influence of Catch-words and Phrases on Sentiment of People.— Old Ideas of World Powers.— What Constitutes the World Power of To-day.— The "Powers" of the Nineteenth Century. — The Concert of the Powers.—"Spheres of Influence."— Europe No Longer the World.— The Recognized World Powers; England, France, Germany, Russia, and the United States.— Riches of China.— Outbreak of European Nations in 1897.— Murder of French and German Missionaries.—"The Battle for Concessions."— Attitude of Administration Leaders Toward Spanish War.—Despatch to Commodore Dewey at Hong Kong.—"Offensive Operations in the Philippine Islands."— The Annexation of Hawaii.— Underlying Purpose of Many Congressmen.—"Point of Vantage for Acquiring Dominion in Far East."— Causes of War.— Political and Commercial and Not Merely Humanitarian.— Terms of the Protocol Concluding Peace.— The American Commissioners to Paris.— Proceedings of the Joint Commission at Paris to Agree upon Treaty of Peace.—"The Cession Must Be of Whole Archipelago or None."— Change in Public Sentiment as Result of War.— Views of Senator Hoar.— The Teachings of the Fathers Become "Glittering Generalities."—"Those Nursery Rhymes that were Sung Around the Cradle of the Republic."— Debate Over the Spanish Treaty.— Possessions Acquired by the Treaty.— Increasing Responsibilities and Expenses as Result of War.— Already More than One Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty Million Dollars Directly Chargeable to that Cause.—"The Parting of the Ways."— Contrasted Views of World Powers.— The One Militant and Aggressive; the Other Peaceful and Moral. — United States Always a World Power in Latter Sense.— Illustrations of that Fact.— The Outlook.

"If, drunk with sight of power, we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe,
Such boasting as the Gentiles use
Or lesser breeds, without the Law—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget,—lest we forget!"

—KIPLING.

IT would be a most interesting study to trace through history the influence upon its development of phrases and catch-words. There have been few periods of political, social, or religious ferment when some phrase uttered casually, perchance, by a leader of public opinion, or a natural growth based upon some ideal, has not caught the popular ear, and had a more potent influence than studied arguments, or eloquent appeals. Such, in a sense, was the high-sounding title the "Holy Roman Empire," which Voltaire declared was neither Holy, Roman, nor Empire. Though in fact only an ideal, it was the most powerful political force in the world for centuries. Based upon the concept that as God rules the spiritual world through his representative the Pope, so there must be a representative of his authority in the material world who should be supreme in all matters of state, there gradually grew up a *quasi*-universal National Power, under the rule of an

emperor, to whom all other states and rulers were theoretically subject; and though even the appearance of an entity which the phrase suggested became practically inoperative three hundred years ago, the title itself appealed to the imagination of rulers and peoples alike until early in the last century; so that even Napoleon's proposal to re-establish the Holy Roman Empire aroused an enthusiasm that for a time went far toward stifling an opposition to the crimes which his ambition led him to perpetrate. When the Fathers of our American Commonwealth enunciated one of the basic principles of Democratic Government in the pregnant sentence "No taxation without representation," they gave currency to one of those phrases which have never failed to arouse and stir the popular mind, whether the principle underlying the phrase has been comprehended or not. The latest of these effective catch-phrases is "World Power," — an idea that touches the pride of a people, and puts in the hand of the political leader and the demagogue a powerful instrument wherewith to fire their thought, for good or evil, however little they appreciate what the phrase really stands for. There have, of course, been World Powers since the dawn of history, but in such an application the term had a different significance. Rome in the first century of our Era and Spain in the sixteenth were rightly called World Powers because in fact they controlled the destinies of the whole or greater part of the then known world. But in the twentieth-century use of the term another idea is conveyed. The World Power of to-day does not of necessity embrace a greater part of the territory of the earth than other nations; but it is that power which with greater or less interest in various parts of the world, is so dominant and influential by virtue of its own material and moral resources that its voice is listened to with respect, perhaps with fear, by all the other nations of the earth. This modern use of the term is new, having become common only within the last fifteen years, as the result of the phenomenal political changes that have characterized that period.

As the nations revived after the disintegrating and crushing blows of Napoleon's restless activity, five of them came to the front as the controlling forces in the reconstruction of Europe,—England, France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. These became "The Powers," and a sixth was added after the unification of Italy, while after a process of mighty development the German Empire succeeded in the early seventies to the place of the Kingdom of Prussia. Europe during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century was politically the World; and these Powers directed its affairs. The United States, the lusty and growing youth, even though its material strength and moral influence before the end of the period had surpassed those of some of the European States, was held aloof from interference in European affairs by its policy as voiced in the Monroe Doctrine. The united action and interests of these great European States gave rise to another catch-phrase, the "Concert of the Powers," which became a favorite expression with journalists and popular speakers, though the manner in which they referred to it too often indicated that they had little knowledge as to whether it stood for a political or musical combination. So effective was this phrase that the "Concert of the Powers" gradually assumed in the public opinion of the nineteenth century the force of an entity, and meant to it much the same that the Holy Roman Empire meant to the people of the middle ages. England, it is true, had been a World Power in the latest sense for many years, as its flag floated over territory in every part of the world; but the interests of the other Powers, excepting Russia, were centered in Europe. Suddenly, however, during the nineties, a fever for territorial expansion became epidemic, and all the Powers entered upon a wild scramble for land in all parts of the world, wherever it was not already strongly held, or in the hands of competing powers. The rapid development of home industries, usually

fostered by excessive protective tariffs, in each state, was the chief moving factor in this scramble, as new markets became necessary as an outlet for the overproduction at home; and the scheme involved the marking out and establishing a control over great portions of the globe, which were either annexed in some form to the particular state, or were brought within its exclusive "sphere of influence." This implied that within that "sphere of influence" only the nation establishing its supremacy should be consulted in internal affairs; that only the goods, machinery, etc., manufactured by its factories and merchants should be sold; and that in all internal developments its bankers should first be applied to for necessary funds. Much of the territory seized, or brought under the controlling influence of many of these states, was uncivilized and, for the time at least, incapable of being made a productive asset of the aggressive nation. Thus, France included within her sphere of influence in Africa a great part of the Desert of Sahara; but claims have been made as extensive and comprehensive as possible in the hope that at some time they would become rich markets for home produce, or in some other way prove of value. The whole procedure has been aptly described by a leading English statesman as "pegging out claims for the future."

This great change of national policy marks a new epoch in the world's history. The "Powers" of the first eighty years of the nineteenth century have ceased to be the dominant influence in world's politics, as such. *Europe is no longer the world.* England, France, Germany, Russia are all more practically interested in affairs outside of Europe than they are in those within the old limits. By a strange succession of events, too, the United States has become active in the same direction, for good or for ill, and, inoculated by the expansion bacillus, has stretched its land-grabbing arms around the world, with the result that instead of the "Powers" of the nineteenth century, —England, France, Germany, Russia, Austria, and Italy,—the twentieth century counts only the "World Powers,"— England, Russia, Germany, France, and the United States.

As the nations of Europe began to study the map of the world to see what territory was available for conquest or pre-emption, hungry eyes were fixed upon China. That the country was infinitely rich in mineral resources, and that the wants of her three or four hundred million people offered unlimited possibilities as a market for European goods, had long been recognized. Richthofen, one of the world's most learned geologists, had declared that the region around Tsechau was the richest mineral land in the world. This district, known as the Shanse, is about two hundred and thirty miles long by thirty wide, and is able, as this expert estimates, *to furnish coal and iron for the world's manufactures, at the rate of consumption for the year* 1900, *for two thousand years.* Mr. Brooks Adams, a learned and ingenious authority on political movements, especially in their connection with economic needs, has found the immediate cause of the outbreak of the European powers upon China in 1897 in the formation of the first Steel Trust in the United States, which took place on March 17 of that year. Realizing the natural results of this movement the great manufacturing nations of Europe were convinced that they must look elsewhere for cheap coal and iron. Unhappily for China the easy victory which Japan had gained over that country in 1894 made evident the political weakness of that great and rich nation; while by their action in robbing Japan of the fruits of her victory, nominally in the interests of China but truly to serve their own, Germany, France, and Russia had apparently established a prior claim to the consideration of the Chinese Government and people. How sincere the pretensions of at least one of the intermeddling nations were the secret treaties which Russia immediately exacted from China afterwards made clear. Jealousy of each other, however, kept each from

overt acts for a time; but in 1897 the vultures could no longer be kept from their prey. Happily for them during the summer of that year one French and two German missionaries were killed by the Chinese, and quite justly as the investigations afterward made proved. Reparation was at once demanded of the government by these powers, not, however, in the way of punishment of the offending natives, or money payment, but in the way of railroad and mining concessions. Russia pressed down from the north, seized Port Arthur, and endeavored to establish her control over practically all the territory to the north of Peking; Germany forced from the Government a ninety-nine year lease of the important strategic point and port of Kiao-Chau, with several miles of adjacent territory, and extended her "sphere of influence" over the rich Shantung province which extends to the borders of the mineral zone in the Shanse province; and later England demanded and received the lease of Wei-hai-Wei, with contiguous lands, on the same terms that had been granted Germany in the lease of Kiao-Chau. Then what Lord Salisbury called the "Battle for Concessions" began. Within a year each of the nations named had established a well defined "Sphere of Influence," and together they had practically forced the decrepit Chinese government to grant over thirty separate and valuable concessions involving mining claims and the rights-of-way for the building of railroads wherever their individual interests would be advanced. Well does Professor Reinsch, in his "World Politics," say: "Never before, perhaps, has so much material value been attached to ministers of the Gospel in foreign lands; and the manner in which, after their death, they are used to spread civilization is somewhat foreign to our older ideas of the functions of the bearers of Spiritual blessings." And again, in speaking of the exorbitant demands of the French Government in consequence of the murder of the French priest, the same writer says: "The manner in which religious, industrial, and political considerations are combined in this case produces a somewhat incongruous result. . . . Small wonder that the Empress dowager in a recent (1898) decree enjoined all officials of the Empire to give missionaries and churches special protection. The murder of a European missionary is one of the most expensive indulgences the Chinaman can nowadays permit himself."

Of course the attention of the great European nations, with the exception of Russia, was not directed toward China alone during this period. That was simply the richest fruit and seemed ripe for picking. New spheres of influence were established in Africa and the islands of the seas, until in 1900 there seemed to be no land on the globe subject to foreign aggression that had not in some form been pre-empted. We have considered the movements in China more in detail simply because they had a direct bearing upon the course the United States was led to pursue.

The real causes of the Spanish war have never yet been clearly set forth, and perhaps will not be for a generation. Ostensibly they were chiefly humanitarian, and the Resolutions of the Congress, and the declarations of the Executive branch of the Government, were directed toward a confirmation of this theory. The first of the Resolutions adopted by Congress, April 19, 1908, which were the virtual declaration of war, declared "that the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent;" and the last of these Resolutions stated "that the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people." This was understood by the people of the United States and by foreign governments to disavow all purposes of aggression,—our sole aim being to establish order in Cuba instead of the anarchy that had so long prevailed in the

island, and to remove the distress of its people; and it was understood that when these beneficent purposes were achieved, our work was done, and the contest would end. Moreover President McKinley had declared during the summer that "Forcible annexation, according to our American code of morals, would be criminal aggression,"—a sentiment that received enthusiastic endorsement throughout the land. On another occasion, at about the same time, he said: "*Human rights and Constitutional privileges must not be forgotten in the race for wealth and commercial supremacy. The government of the people must be by the people, and not by a few of the people.* It must rest upon the free consent of the governed and all of the governed. *Power, it must be remembered, which is secured by oppression or usurpation or by any form of injustice is soon dethroned. We have no right in law or morals to usurp that which belongs to another, whether it is property or power.*" But while the popular mind was stirred by conflicting purposes, a mingling of a beneficent impulse excited by the reports of the sufferings Spanish rule in Cuba was causing and a spirit of revenge aroused by the loss of the *Maine*, ignorantly ascribed to Spanish treachery, it is only too evident that the motive forces that were directing the representatives of the people at Washington were political and commercial,—not at bottom humanitarian or beneficent, but purely material. Mr. McKinley and his party had triumphed at the polls in 1896 after a hard-fought battle upon the financial question alone,—no other was seriously discussed. But after being elected and assuming office the Administration ignored the issue on which it was raised to power, and no efforts were made to enact any measures looking toward the establishment of the currency on a sound basis. On the contrary, one of the President's early acts was the appointment of a commission to sound the great money powers of Europe on the subject of bi-metallism, —a move looking toward the return to the party fold of the rebellious silver-party men. But the very first measure to receive legislative and executive attention, a measure on which the people may truly be said to have expressed no opinion by their votes so thoroughly was it kept out of sight by the money question, was the revision of the tariff, the Dingley Bill receiving immediate and favorable consideration, adding largely increased protection to the already over-protected industries of the country. This seemed to many Republicans, even, much like a breach of trust; and as the months passed it became evident that a spirit of rebellion was abroad in the party, and the Congressional election of the Fall of 1898 was looked forward to with not a little alarm. It did not, therefore, take remarkable legislative acumen to see the political value of a war with Spain, which would distract the attention of the people from home issues, and hold them united in support of the party conducting the war. General Grosvenor, an administration

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

leader and close friend of the President, asked in the House on March 31, nearly a month before war was determined upon, "Do you think that this great party in power to-day is going to be unfaithful to a trust which, as the gentleman from

Texas intimates, will, if properly discharged, *bring glory to the administration?* Will the administration now in power run away from the most brilliant opportunity that any administration since the days of Abraham Lincoln has had to establish itself and its party in the praise and honor and glory of a mighty people?" And a week later he declared in the same place: "This war will be fought under the banner of the Republican administration of this Government, or it will never be fought at all." On April 16, similar sentiments were expressed in the Senate, —Senator Hale, of Maine, proclaiming that "if war must come, its conduct will not be in the hands of the Democratic party; it will not be by the Democratic party that the flag of the United States will be borne; that great soldier and statesman, the President of the United States, will conduct the war and bring it to a successful end;" while that distinguished statesman, Senator Platt of New York, found the great compensation for the war in the fact that "it would prevent the Democratic party from going into the next Presidential campaign with 'Free Cuba' and 'Free Silver' emblazoned on its banner, and prevent the possibility of Populistic success in 1900." While such sentiments indicate clearly that political considerations chiefly animated a large proportion of the members of Congress, there is hardly a hint to be found in the debates of the influence of commercialism; nor is there manifested any ulterior purpose to seize new territory as a result of the war. It is generally stated, and as generally believed, that the course which events took, at length involving the subsequent acquisition of the Philippines, did not enter the mind of the Administration or any of its supporters. Professor Reinsch, in his "World Politics," notes the "remarkable coincidence, to say the least, that the United States should have entered upon war, the outcome of which placed it unexpectedly in the centre of Asiatic affairs, just at the time when the resources of the celestial empire were first beginning to be really opened to foreign enterprise and when European nations were beginning to make territorial encroachments upon various portions of China." And in another place he says: "At the beginning of the war there was perhaps not a soul in the whole Republic who so much as thought of the possibility of his nation becoming a sovereign power in the Orient." Professor Coolidge, in his "United States a World Power," declares this last statement of Professor Reinsch to be a "bit emphatic;" but he considers it "safe to say that when orders were sent to Commodore Dewey to proceed to Manila, President McKinley and his cabinet had no thought of getting possession of the three thousand odd islands which have since come into American hands." Yet the order sent to Dewey under date of February 25, two months before the opening of hostilities, was in these words: "In event of declaration of war with Spain, your duty will be to see that the Spanish squadron does not leave the Asiatic Coast, *and then offensive operations in Philippine islands.*"

It is certainly difficult to see how the last phrase of this order can be made to comport with the position of the two writers quoted, or with the statements generally made in this regard. But light on vexed questions frequently comes from unexpected sources. One of the most illuminating books recently published on many questions in American politics is the "Autobiography" of Senator George F. Hoar. No one will question Senator Hoar's political orthodoxy; among the staunch Republicans in Congress during the last thirty years he has been "the noblest Roman of them all." On two or three occasions he has differed seriously with his party in its policies, and has strenuously endeavored to turn it from the course it was pursuing,—notably, and for similar reasons, on the whole question of Chinese Exclusion, and the acquisition of the Philippines; but when a vote has been taken his name has always appeared in the party column. For nearly a year before the Cuban affairs came to a crisis the question of the annexation of Hawaii had

been before Congress. When that body assembled in December, 1897, the advocates of annexation were sure the measure would pass without serious opposition; but strongly opposing forces soon manifested themselves; and though the measure was more or less constantly debated all through the winter it steadily lost support and was dropped until the war was well on. Senator Hoar goes quite extensively into his connection with this subject, reciting first the previous attempts to annex the islands and the positive position he had taken and advocated in favor of such treaties. As will be remembered the treaty negotiated by President Harrison was withdrawn from the Senate by President Cleveland and not resubmitted. Another treaty was negotiated soon after President McKinley assumed office. "Meantime, however," says Senator Hoar, "the controversy with Spain had assumed formidable proportions, and *the craze for an extension of our empire had begun its course. Many Republican leaders were advocating the acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands, not for the reasons I have just stated, but on the avowed ground that it was necessary we should own them as a point of vantage for acquiring dominion in the Far East.*" (This was early in 1898). "Under these circumstances the question of duty came to me: Will you adhere to the purpose long formed, and vote for the acquisition of Hawaii solely on its own merit? Or will you vote against it for fear *the bad and mischievous* reasons that are given for it in so many quarters will have a pernicious tendency only to be counteracted by the defeat of the treaty itself?" He says that he hesitated long. One day President McKinley sent for him to come to the White House, "as was not his infrequent habit." "He said he wanted to consult me upon the question whether it would be wise for him to have a personal interview with Senator Morrill, of Vermont. He had been told that Mr. Morrill was opposed to the Treaty. The President said: 'I do not quite like to try to influence the action of an old gentleman like Mr. Morrill, so excellent, and of such experience. But it is very important to us to have his vote.' I said, 'I ought to say, Mr. President, in all candor, that I feel very doubtful whether I can support it myself.' I told the President that I favored then, as I always had, the acquisition of Hawaii. But I did not like the spirit with which it was

GEORGE F. HOAR.

being advocated *both in the Senate and out of it.* I instanced several very distinguished gentlemen indeed, *one a man of very high authority in the Senate in matters relating to foreign affairs,* who were urging publicly and privately the Hawaiian treaty, on the grounds that we must have Hawaii *in order to help us get our share of China.* President McKinley disclaimed any such purpose. He expressed his earnest and emphatic dissent from the opinions imputed to several leading Republicans, whom he named. I left the President, after the conversation above related, without giving him any assurance as to my action. But I determined, on full reflection, to support the acquisition of Hawaii in accordance with my long settled purpose, and at the same time to make a clear and emphatic statement of my unalterable opposition to ac-

quiring dependencies in the East, if we did not expect, when the proper time came, to admit them to the Union as States. Afterward, July 5, 1898, (more than a month before the capture of Manila), I made a speech in the Senate on the joint resolution for the acquisition of Hawaii, in which I said that I had entertained grave doubts in regard to that measure; that I had approached the subject with greater hesitation and anxiety than I had ever felt in regard to any other matter during my whole public life. I went on to say: 'The trouble I have found with the Hawaiian business is this: not in the character of the population of the Sandwich Islands, not in their distance from our shores, not in the doubt

Photo. Copyrighted by J. E. Purdy, Boston.
WILLIAM P. FRYE.

that we have an honest right to deal with the existing government there in such a matter. I have found my trouble in the nature and character of the argument by which, in the *beginning and ever since,* a great many friends of annexation have sought to support it . . . If this be the first step in the acquisition of *dominion over barbarous archipelagos in distant seas;* if we are to enter into competition with the great powers of Europe in the plundering of China, in the division of Africa; if we are to quit our own to stand on foreign lands; if our commerce is hereafter to be forced upon unwilling peoples at the cannon's mouth; if we are ourselves to be governed in part by peoples to whom the Declaration of Independence is a stranger; or, worse still, if we are to govern subjects and vassal states, trampling as we do it on our own great charter which recognizes alike the liberty and the dignity of individual manhood, then let us resist this thing in the beginning, and let us resist it to the death. *I do not agree with those gentlemen who think we should wrest the Philippine Islands from Spain, and take charge of them ourselves.* I do not think we should acquire Cuba, as the result of the existing war, to be annexed to the United States.'" In the light of these statements, coupled with the order sent to Commodore Dewey, it would seem impossible to deny that there were many and influential men in Congress and out of it who had the acquisition of the Philippines in mind even before the outbreak of the war with Spain; and that the real causes of that war were political and commercial, and not simply humanitarian.

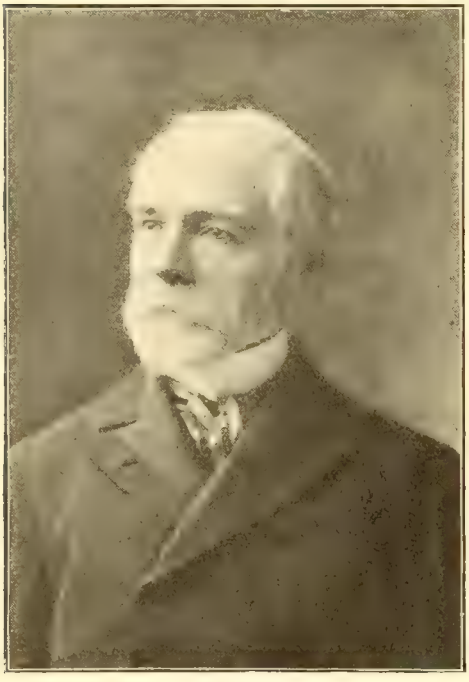
Hostilities between Spain and the United States were terminated by the Protocol signed August 12. By article I., Spain agreed to relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba. By the second article, Spain ceded to the United States Porto Rico and all other islands then under her sovereignty in the West Indies, and also an island in the Ladrones. By the third article it was agreed that the United States should occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace, *which "shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines."* The next two articles provided for an appointment of commissioners for the purpose of carrying out the details of the evacuation of Cuba,

Porto Rico, etc., and for the appointment of five commissioners on each side to meet at Paris not later than October 1st to negotiate a treaty of peace; while the sixth and last article provided that upon the signing of the protocol, hostilities between the two countries should immediately be suspended. The Peace Commissioners met at Paris October 1. The United States delegation was composed of William R. Day, who resigned the office of Secretary of State to head the Commission; Cushman K. Davis, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; William P. Frye, president pro-tem of the Senate; Senator George Gray of Delaware, and Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York Tribune. Professor John Bassett Moore, Assistant Secretary of State, acted as Secretary of the Commission. At the first meeting of the Joint Commissioners, the Spanish commissioners demanded a restoration of the *status quo* of August 12 in the Philippines, Manila having been attacked and captured the day after the signing of the Protocol. This subject the American commissioners refused to discuss, claiming that it had been considered in the negotiations that resulted in the Protocol, and so was not properly within their powers. Waiving the point for the time, the Spanish representatives reserved the right to bring it up later. The entire month of October was consumed in a discussion as to the cession of Cuba, the troublesome subject being the arrangement of the Cuban debt. The Philippine question was taken up October 31, and occupied the time of most of the meetings during the entire month of November. The President's mind was not made up on this question when our commissioners left for Paris, so that it was practically an open one. The general instructions which the President gave the Commissioners under date of September 16, referred to the subject in this manner: "Without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition, the presence and success of our arms at Manila imposes upon us obligations which we cannot disregard. The march of events rules and overrules human action. Avowing unreservedly the purpose which has animated all our effort, and still solicitous to adhere to it, we cannot be unmindful that, without any desire or design on our part, the war has brought us new responsibilities, which we must meet and dis-

CUSHMAN K. DAVIS.

charge as becomes a great nation on whose growth and career from the beginning the Ruler of Nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of civilization. *Incidental to our tenure in the Philippines is the commercial opportunity to which American statesmanship cannot be indifferent.* It is just to use every legitimate means for the enlargement of American trade; but we seek no advantages in the Orient which are not common to all. . . . The commercial opportunity which is naturally and inevitably associated with this new opening depends less on large territorial possession than upon an adequate commercial basis and upon broad and equal privileges. . . . The United States cannot accept less than

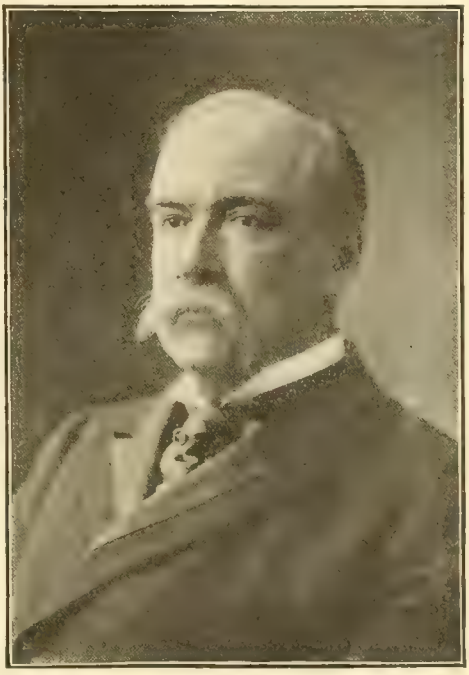
the cession in full right and sovereignty of the island of Luzon." During the discussion of the question sharp differences of opinion arose among the Commissioners, and their several views were submitted to the President by cable on October 25, with a request for explicit instructions. At the time of their appointment as commissioners, Senators Frye and Davis and Whitelaw Reid were known to be earnest in their purpose to acquire territory in the far East, while Secretary Day was thought, and Senator Gray known, to be utterly opposed to the policy of expansion. The first three commissioners favored the acquisition of the entire Philippine Archipelago; Secretary Day expressed no opposition to the retention of Luzon, but he objected to a peremptory demand for the whole Philippine group, thereby, as he said, "leaving us open to the imputation of following agreement (in Protocol) to negotiate, with demand for whole subject matter of discussion for ourselves." Senator Gray cabled his objections at length. Among other things he said: "The undersigned cannot agree that it is wise to take Philippine islands in whole or in part. To do so would be to reverse accepted continental policy of the country, declared and acted upon through our history. Propinquity governs the case of Cuba and Porto Rico. Policy proposed introduces us into European politics and the 'entangling alliances' against which Washington and all American statesmen have protested. It will make necessary a navy equal to the largest of powers; a greatly increased military establishment; immense sums for fortifications and harbors; multiply occasions for dangerous complications with foreign nations, and increase burdens of taxation. Will receive in compensation no outlet for American labor in labor market already overcrowded and cheap; no area for homes for American citizens; climate and social conditions demoralizing to character of American youth; new and disturbing questions introduced into our politics; church questions menacing. On whole, instead of indemnity, injury. . . . (There is) no place for colonial administration or government of subject people in American system. So much from standpoint of interest; but even conceding all benefits claimed for annexation, we thereby abandon the infinitely greater benefit to accrue from acting the part of a great, powerful, and Christian nation; *we exchange the moral grandeur and strength to be gained by keeping our word to nations of the world, and by exhibiting a magnanimity and moderation in the hour of victory that becomes the advanced civilization we claim,* for doubtful material advantages and shameful stepping down from high moral position boastfully assumed. *We should set example in these respects, not follow in the selfish and vulgar greed for territory which Europe has inherited from mediaeval times.* Our declaration of war upon Spain was accompanied by a solemn and deliberate definition of our purpose. Now that we have achieved all and more than our object, let us simply keep our word. Third article of Protocol leaves everything concerning



WHITELAW REID.

control of the Philippine islands to negotiation between the parties. *It is absurd now to say that we will not negotiate but will appropriate the whole subject matter of negotiation.* At the very least let us adhere to the President's instructions, and if conditions require the keeping of Luzon forego the material advantages claimed in annexing other islands. Above all let us not make a mockery of the injunction contained in those instructions, where, after stating that we took up arms only in obedience to the dictates of humanity and in the fulfillment of high public and moral obligations, and that we had no design of aggrandizement and no ambition of conquest, the President, among other things, eloquently says: 'It is my earnest wish that the United States in making peace should follow the same high rule of conduct which guided it in facing war. It should be as scrupulous and magnanimous in the concluding settlement as it was just and humane in its original action.' This and more, of which I earnestly ask a reperusal, binds my conscience and governs my action."

Between the date of his first instructions to the Peace Commissioners and the report of their differences by cable, President McKinley had made a western tour, at all points discussing war questions, and feeling the popular pulse. The people were everywhere intoxicated by the great victories of the war, and under the influence of that "pest of glory," as Franklin called it,—"the thirst for glory which is an epidemic that robs a people of their judgment, seduces their vanity, cheats them of their interests, and corrupts their consciences." At all places he was enthusiastically received, and every reference to the disposal of the Philippines elicited a popular demand for the retention of the whole group. Unfortunately no opportunity was afforded him to test the sober sense of more thoughtful-minded citizens. It is not strange, therefore, that the day after the receipt of the cable messages from the Commissioners, the Secretary of State replied as follows: "The information which has come to the President since your departure convinces him that the acceptance of the cession of Luzon alone, leaving the rest of the islands subject to Spanish rule, or to be the subject of future contention, cannot be justified on political, commercial, or humanitarian grounds. The cession must be of the whole archipelago or none. The latter is wholly inadmissible, and the former must therefore be required." Naturally, when the American Commissioners, acting upon these instructions, demanded the cession of the whole Philippine group, the Spaniards were greatly surprised, and claimed the demand was a direct violation of the Protocol. After further consultation with the home government, though the President insisted that the claim by right of conquest be not yielded, as "the destruction of the Spanish fleet on May 1 was the conquest of Manila, the capital of the Philippines," an ultimatum was issued to the Spanish Commissioners, November 21, demanding the cession of the entire group, but offering to pay twenty million dollars into the Spanish treasury for the same. A reply



GEORGE GRAY

was demanded by the 28th; and as Spain was helpless and realized that this last demand was intended as a final one, the Government yielded on the date named and nothing remained to complete the proceedings of the Joint Commissioners but the draughting of the articles of the treaty and the affixing of the signatures of the Commissioners, which was done on December 10, 1898,—and the United States became a World Power.

It is true that there were many, very many Americans who had regarded their country as a World Power for many years. From the day when, as Emerson has it, "the embattled farmers" stood at Concord bridge

"And fired the shot heard round the world,"

WILLIAM R. DAY.

down to President Cleveland's bold attitude on the Venezuelan situation, hardly a year had passed without manifest evidences of the world-wide influence of the United States. In its suppression of the Barbary Corsairs; in its successful mission to Japan, as a result of which that country was opened to the world; in the important additions to, and revisions of, International Law which it has secured in its constant insistence upon the principle of arbitration of difficulties with European states; in its general continental policy,—the influence of the United States as a World Power has been constant and effective. But beyond and above all these, its influence as a moral power had been the greatest among all the nations of the earth, and had to be reckoned with by every continental government. Ever since the proclamation of the Declaration of Independence there had been raised before the vision of the oppressed of all the earth an ideal government of the people by themselves; a government whose foundation principle was the equality of all men before the law, and which guaranteed to every man who came under its beneficent influence the greatest amount of personal liberty. Within fifty years after the Declaration of Independence by the United States, every one of Spain's colonial possessions on the Western Continent had declared their independence, and adopted constitutions almost identical with that of the United States; and the chief motive force in all the revolutions of Europe during the nineteenth century, which resulted in the overthrow of absolutism and the establishment of Constitutional government, was the spirit of the Declaration of Independence of 1776. So that, though the United States as a nation had not directly and by material force interfered in the concerns of European governments, yet this moral force was one more dreaded by Emperors and Kings than were the armies and navies of their neighbor royal sovereigns, and was the leaven that was silently working everywhere to undermine their power, to enlarge the freedom of the people, and extend their powers as factors in national governments. But when the treaty of peace with Spain came before the Senate for approval on January 4, 1899, where it was fiercely debated for a month, the character of the speeches made, and the tone of the press throughout the country as it discussed debates, made it only too evi-

dent that the events and movements of the preceding year had worked a marvelous, and, as it seemed to many, a most lamentable change in the sentiment of the majority of the people of the United States. A distinguished foreign Ambassador at Washington is said to have remarked in 1901 that, though he had been in this country but a few years, he had seen two different countries,—the United States before the war with Spain, and the United States since the war with Spain. Though the change in sentiment had been more gradual than this Ambassador's picturesque statement would indicate, still it was the cleavage that was established by that war that made it distinct and evident to every thoughtful citizen. The great charters of Liberty to which the faith of the people had been pledged for more than one hundred years lost their force and seemed to the later legislators stumbling blocks in the path of progress. The reverence of the older statesmen for their principles could hardly be better stated than they were by Senator Hoar in a speech on the Chinese Exclusion Act, in 1880. "I believe," he said, "*that the immortal truths of the Declaration of Independence came from the same source with the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount. We can trust Him who promulgated these laws to keep the country safe that obeys them.* The laws of the universe have their own sanction. They will not fail. The power that causes the compass to point to the North, that dismisses the star on its pathway through the skies, promising that in a thousand years it shall return again to its home and keeps His word, will vindicate His own moral law. As surely as the path on which our fathers entered one hundred years ago led to safety, to strength, to glory, so surely will the path on which we now propose to enter bring us to shame, to weakness, and to peril." And in commenting upon the changed conditions he said later: "Certainly the Chinese Exclusion Bill and the Chinese Treaty, the Spanish Treaty and the war against the Philippine people, could not have lived an hour before the indignation of the American people at any time from the beginning down to the time when, in 1876, they celebrated the centennial of their Independence." But "a new King had arisen who knew not Joseph." To this new element in legislation and in popular thought the Farewell Address of Washington, the Declaration of Independence, even the principles so earnestly advocated by Lincoln, whose voice, warning his countrymen that they should take care "lest the government of the people, by the people, and for the people should perish from the earth," was hardly yet silent,—all these great statements of the founders of free government were but as "sounding brass and tinkling cymbals." During the debate on the Spanish Treaty these "teachings of the Fathers," as they have usually been reverently called, were variously referred to as "glittering generalities," and "those nursery rhymes that were sung around the cradle of the Republic." They were good enough for their day; but we had outgrown all that. A leading writer in favor of expansion has even stated unequivocally that Washington's true attitude has been so far misunderstood that, if he had been alive, he would in our day have been the leader in all movements aimed at the acquisition of foreign territory and dependent colonies in far distant lands. Even the old songs of the poets in praise of liberty have been placed on the shelf, and the grand old anthem "My Country, 'tis of thee, *Sweet land of liberty,*" is rarely sung even in our churches. In view of all these facts, the statement of the foreign Ambassador quoted above that he had known two distinct countries during his brief sojourn in Washington seems hardly exaggerated.

During the debate on the Spanish treaty three quite clearly marked shades of opinion were manifested. One of these was voiced in the Resolution introduced by Senator Vest, two weeks before the treaty was submitted to the Senate, but when the senators had a full knowledge of the final terms the President had dictated to our Commissioners at Paris.

That resolution, which set the discussion of the whole question in motion, was in these words: "That under the Constitution of the United States no power is given to the Federal Government to acquire territory to be held and governed permanently as colonies." About the principles of this resolution the opponents of the treaty gathered their forces and raised their standard. The position of one wing of the expansionists was embodied in the resolution of Senator Platt, of Connecticut, who said: "I propose to maintain that the United States is a nation; *that as a nation it possesses every sovereign power not reserved in its constitution to the States or the people;* that the right to acquire territory was not reserved, and is therefore an inherent sovereign right." An interesting point established in this resolution was the entirely new view of the Constitution enunciated by the learned Senator. He finds that the "Nation possesses every sovereign power not reserved in its Constitution to the states or the people;" whereas that immortal document distinctly declares that the *Nation has no powers but such as are delegated to it by the states.* Article X., of the Amendments adopted in 1791, reads: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." But, as a distinguished Democratic congressman once remarked, when told that some measure he wanted to introduce was unconstitutional, "What is a little thing like the Constitution among friends?" The third position set up regarding the conditions involved in the approval of the treaty was the "don't worry" one,—let things take their course. This was expressed by the junior senator from Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge, in these words: "Suppose we ratify the treaty. The islands pass from the possession of Spain into our possession *without committing us to any policy.* I believe we can be trusted as a people to deal honestly and justly with the islands and their inhabitants thus given to our care. What our precise policy shall be I do not know, because I for one am not sufficiently informed as to the conditions there to be able to say what it will be best to do; nor, I may add, do I think anyone is." This sentiment received wide endorsement, and had much to do with the final approval of the treaty, a majority of the Senators agreeing that, as they had eventually worked out of more or less disagreeable positions in the past with a greater or less degree of honor, so they undoubtedly would work out of this dilemma. The general feeling was that the baby had been left upon the doorstep, and in some way they must make provision for its sustenance. Nevertheless there was a hearty response to the statement Senator Spooner made during the debate: "The Philippine proposition is one of the fruits of the war. To me it is one of the bitter fruits of the war. I wish with all my heart we were honorably quit of it."

Perhaps no other question has been so seriously and fiercely debated since the civil war as was the Spanish Treaty, and the result was in doubt up to the last moment. When the treaty was received by the Senate it had been agreed that the final vote should be taken on February 6. An unlooked-for event came to the aid of its supporters at the last moment. On the evening of February 4 a quarrel broke out between what was styled the Insurgent army of Filipinos and the American troops, which resulted in a pitched battle and the loss of American lives. Many at once took the position that an insurrection having become a fact, no other course was open to us but to approve the treaty, and postpone any action as to the standing or rights of the people of the islands until the insurrection was put down. Yet even then the Administration had not the majority of votes required. But at the last moment Mr. Bryan, who was still recognized by the Democrats as their party leader, appeared on the scene and urged his followers to vote for the treaty; with the result that it was approved February 6, by a vote of 57 for and 27 against. Of those voting in favor of the treaty 40 were

Republicans, 10 Democrats, 3 Populists, 2 Silverites, and 2 Independents. Of those who voted against it, 22 were Democrats, 3 Republicans, and 2 Populists.

As a result of Dewey's victory at Manila and the general progress of the Spanish war, it was made more easy for the advocates of the annexation of Hawaii to press their interests. The treaty which President McKinley had submitted to the Senate in June, 1897, constantly lost friends as the debate upon it was dragged along through the following winter. By March, 1898, the Administration saw that there was no hope of securing a majority in favor of the treaty, and dropped it, determining to resort to a Joint Resolution of both houses to accomplish their purpose. The new measure passed the House June 15, and the Senate July 6, and was signed by the President the following day.

It is a recognized opinion among twentieth century publicists that quantity rather than quality counts in the determination of "World Powers." As a result of the treaty with Spain the United States acquired, for twenty million dollars and other considerations, 3.141 islands in the Philippine Archipelago and about 8,000,000 subject people. Of the islands, however, only 1,668 are listed by name, and only 342 are inhabited. The total area of the archipelago is 115,000 square miles, of which Luzon constitutes 40,000, and Mindanao 36,290, while the area of 2,800 islands is less than a square mile each. The islands are mostly mountainous or very hilly, and of volcanic origin. The entire population, according to the census of 1903, was 7,635,426, of which number 6,987,686 were classed as civilized, about 650,000 as wild. Of the civilized inhabitants practically all are adherents of the Catholic Church; while of the wild tribes about one-half are Mohammedan Moros. The most important of the other acquisitions from Spain is the island of Porto Rico, the fourth in size of the West Indian islands, with an area of about thirty-six hundred square miles. According to the last census taken its population was 953,243, of which number 589,426 were classed as white, 304,352 as Mestizos, 59,390 as blacks. It must be borne in mind, however, that the term white as used here is a very uncertain quantity and a somewhat variable color. The island of Guam, one of the Ladrones, also acquired from Spain, is of importance only as a coaling station, being about thirty miles long and six broad, with a population of about nine thousand. The territorial possessions, not annexed to the home-land, which serve to establish the position of the United States as a "World Power," in the latest sense, may be summed up as follows: Alaska, The Philippine Archipelago, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Guam, the small island of Tutuila in the Samoan group, and the strip of territory across the Isthmus of Panama. The acquisition of this territory has not been made, however, without the assumption of great financial burdens, and vast responsibilities. Lord Salisbury expressed the opinion, after the American occupation of the Philippines, that the appearance of the United States as a factor in the Eastern question would greatly help the interests of Great Britain, but was "not in the interests of peace." As was illustrated in our war with Spain, in the event of a war with a European or Asiatic power, our dependencies would be the weak point, which would first be attacked by the enemy. So long as the policy is continued, therefore, of holding widely separated lands, there will be a demand for a constantly increasing navy and a large standing army. The increased expenditures of the government which can be traced *directly* to the Spanish war amount to more than 1,250 million dollars; while incidental expenses as truly traceable to the same source would vastly increase this amount. Already the annual military and naval appropriations of the United States are painfully close to those of the great military states of Europe; while if our annual pension disbursements were classed as military expenditures, as they are in Europe and should be here, the present total expenditures of the United States each year for military and naval purposes

would exceed that of any of the great military powers of the world by at least forty per cent. The curse of militarism in Europe, from which the American people have always gloried in being free, has been well expressed by the adage that in those countries "every laboring man carries a soldier on his back." Under existing tendencies it would be well for every laboring man in the United States to consider well how long it will be before he must take up a similar burden. The crown of glory is the most costly ornament a nation can wear.

We have referred to the nineteenth century period as the Youth of this great nation,—the United States. The colonial, may be regarded as its childhood days. With unfailing admiration we have tried to depict the glory of that youth,—as of a young man gradually becoming conscious of his powers, and ever and anon testing them in new fields of endeavor. Ever actuated by high and noble purposes, though sometimes erring, the youthful nation advanced step by step to honor, power, and influence; until on the threshold of its mature life it faced "the parting of the ways." The one path was broad, easy to traverse, as it had been well worn by the older nations of the world, and promised generous, if not always harmonious, companionship. The other way the young nation must largely mark out for itself through the coming years as it had through the past—"isolated," perhaps, yet glorious and of mighty beneficence in its isolation. Over the entrance to the one way hung a banner on which was inscribed as a maxim

"The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

Over the other entrance were simply the homely truths taught by the Fathers and their later followers, which warned against the temptation to make "entangling alliances" abroad, and whose spirit breathed only freedom, good will to all men who willed good, a sturdy self-respect, and the same consideration for the rights of others that was expected from them in return. For good or for ill, intoxicated by victory in an unexpected struggle, the nation turned its eyes toward the alluring heights of glory, and was bound fast by its spell. Almost in a day a revulsion toward old policies and precepts and enthusiasm for the new transformed its people, and thought and endeavor were turned to new and strange channels. The travelers over the old and beaten road said, "He has become as one of us," and were reasonably jubilant. Happily, though hardly a decade has passed since the enthusiasm for bigness rather than for goodness took possession of the popular mind, there are already abundant evidences that a constantly increasing number of the people and of their leaders are looking back with a higher regard for, and desire to return to, the old ways. In the course of a serious expression of his regret that he had on two or three occasions been obliged to radically dissent from positions his party had taken, Senator Hoar in his Reminiscences consoles himself with the recollection that his political associates and the majority of the people later came to take the same views. While the reaction regarding the subjugation of the Philippines had not proceeded far enough before his death to enable him to claim that endorsement for his views on that subject; still he was able to write: "I have been told by many Senators who voted for the Treaty that they regretted that vote more than any other act of their lives. Enough Senators have said this to me in person, not only to have defeated the Treaty, but if they had so voted, to have defeated it by a majority. A very eminent Republican Senator told me that more than twenty Senators who voted for the Treaty had given the same assurance to him. But they are very unwilling to make the declaration public." Everyone who has followed the debates in Congress knows full well that a question relating to the government of the Philippines rarely comes before either branch of that body with-

out eliciting from some speakers an expression of impatience or disgust,—as in the case of Senator Hale, of Maine, who, under such circumstances, recently petulantly exclaimed in the Senate, "would that we were quit of the whole business!" It is, perhaps, unfortunate that the claim of the United States to the position of a "World Power" in the popular sense hinges so absolutely upon its occupation of, and course in, The Philippines. As it is, more and more of the people see neither glory nor honor in its application. We have referred above to the silent, intangible, but none the less effective power of this nation all through its youth as the standard bearer of the cause of Freedom and an enlightened civilization, and of the influence throughout Europe of the gospel it proclaimed. That this is not a mere fancy, a letter from "an eminent Hindoo Scholar" in the *Japan Times*, June 17, 1902, bears abundant testimony. Referring to Senator Hoar's powerful statement of the principles underlying our government, that writer said: "The speech of Mr. Hoar, though an address to his own countrymen, *is a message of hope to the whole world,* which sank in despondency at the sight of Republican America behaving like a cruel, tyrannical, and rapacious Empire in the Philippines, and particularly *to the heart-broken people of Asia, who are beginning to lose all confidence in the humanity of the white races. Or is it that they have lost it already?* Hence all papers in Asia should reprint this speech, translate it, and distribute it broadcast. Let it be brought to the Asiatic people so that they may work and worship their champion and his forefathers. Thanks to the awakening in America, thanks to the forces that are at work to chase out the degenerating, demoralizing passion for territorial aggrandizement from the noble American mind and save it for itself and for the world at large from the Cancer of Imperialism."

Here is an expressed recognition of America's World Power by even an Oriental, such as every lover of his country may contemplate with pride and holy satisfaction,—a power that never strikes to humiliate or oppress, but whose every action looks toward the uplifting and enlightenment of every sort and condition of men, of whatever race, creed, or color. Now, as in Solomon's time, "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people." When it shall come about, and there are many indications that the time is not far distant, that this great Republic shall free itself from the temptations and snares of Imperialism and shall again walk in the old paths, practicing, and not preaching only, good faith and the highest and most honorable treatment of all nations and all peoples; then, blessed with its immense resources, energy, and intelligence, the manhood of the Nation shall present the unique spectacle of a country so truly a "WORLD POWER" that its very moral force in world movements will place it in a position which no enemy, however powerful materially, may successfully assail. Then, as with one voice, fearlessly and unblushingly looking every fellowman in the face, may the whole people join with renewed reverence and devotion in the grand anthem:

My country 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing:
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrim's pride,
From every mountain side,
Let freedom ring.

INDEX.

A.

Achievements of nineteenth century greater than those of all preceding centuries, 32.

Adams, Brooks, theory of, as to outbreak of European Nations in China, 769.

—, Henry, History of the United States, quoted, 36.

—, John, earnest advocate of Independence, 66; urges selection of Washington as Commander-in-Chief of Continental Army, 89; appointed first minister to England, 96; interview with George III., 97; results of his mission, 100; elected first vice-president of the United States, 116; death of, on Independence day, 1826, 192; sketch of his life and distinguished services, 192, 193.

, John Quincy, farewell address of, as President, to Lafayette, 190; defender of the Right of Petition, 206-215; presents fifteen petitions to Congress praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, 207; bitter opposition of Southern representatives, 208; details of fierce debate of eleven days, 208-214; triumph of Adams, 214; contest over the organization of the House, 215; his wonderful prophecy of the Proclamation of Emancipation, and its effects, 306; announces principles of the Monroe Doctrine, 512; opposes alliance of any sort with Great Britain, 512, 513; spicy retort to Canning's protest against settlements on the Columbia river, 518.

—, Samuel, pays $2,000 for suit of clothes, 46.

Agassiz, Louis, lectures at the Lowell Institute, 740.

Agriculture, the chief source of wealth of the Colonies, 62.

Alaska, 781.

Alexander I., of Russia, commanding position of, at close of the Napoleonic wars, 502; his meeting with Mme. de Krudener, 503; her influence over his thought and action, 503, 504; great review of Russian army, and *Te Deum* service, 503; opinion of Sainte-Beuve, 504; Emperor's declared purpose in forming the Holy Alliance, 504, 505; his influence with his allies, 505.

Alexander the Great, effect of conquests of, 33.

Alexandrinus, the Codex, 407.

Alexieff, Russian viceroy, 617-619.

Allies, the Holy, the Emperors of Russia and Austria and King of Prussia, 505; original purposes of, 506; degeneracy of, 507; ultimate plan to crush the Spirit of Democracy, 508.

Alvey, R. H., 522.

Altgeld, Governor, pardons Chicago anarchists, 456.

Amber, and its properties, 636, 637.

America, the Yacht, victorious race of, 250-258; opinions of Englishmen regarding the boat, 252; scenes at Cowes before the start, 252; details of the race, 253-257; Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visit the yacht, 258; description of the vessel, 258; summary of all races for the America's Cup, 258.

American and French Republics, close relations of, 681, 682.

American and Spanish governments, communications between, prior to the Spanish war, 469, 470.

American Bible Revision Committee, The, and its work, 441; their revision published in 1901, 441.

American people, The; their pride in the nation's history, 468.

— Philosophical Society, founding of The, 643.

Americus Club, The, 377.

Ames, Fisher, view of conditions existing in 1800, 47; remarkable speech on the Jay treaty, 558.

Amicis, Edmondo de, quoted, 562, 565.

Ampere, Andre, establishes principles of electro-dynamics, 600, 601.

Anarchy, principles and development of, 445-456; causes that led up to the revolutionary movements of the last century, 445; the "rights of man" versus the "divine rights" of Kings and institutions, 445; position of dominant powers in Church and State, 447; influence of the French Revolution on social movements, 447; of the transcendental movement, 447; St. Simon, Fourier, Proudhon,—their principles and schools, 448; differing superstructures built upon their teachings, 448; sketch of Proudhon's life and writings, 448; influence of his great disciples, Bakunin and Kropotkin, 448, 449; the celebrated trial of Anarchists at Lyons in 1883, 449; development of destructive anarchism in Russia, 450; murder of Alexander II. and its results, 450; Anarchist leaders driven to the United States, 450; labor organizations in America not Anarchistic, 451; the great strike at the McCormick Harvester Works, Chicago, in 1885-1886, 451, 452; wild actions of Anarchist leaders and press, 452, 453; the Haymarket meeting and riot, May 4, 1886, 453; arrest and trial of eight Anarchist leaders, 454, 455; attitude of trial judge, J. E. Gary, 455; execution of four of the leaders, November 11, 1886, 455; public opinion and position of Governor Altgeld, 456; revulsion of popular sentiment, 456.

Angell, James B., president of University of Michigan, 726.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance, The, 614.

Annexation of Hawaii, The, 525-556; early legends regarding the islands, 525; unknown until close of the eighteenth century, 526, 527; arrival of Captain Cook and his dealings with the natives, 526, 527; names them Sandwich Islands, in honor of his patron, the Earl of Sandwich, 527; location and description of the islands, 527; the great volcanoes, 528; description of Kilauea, 528; daring action of Princess Kapiolani, 529, 530; history of islands divides itself into three periods, 530; early migrations of the Polynesians, 530; the Sawaiioris, 531; description of the social and religious life of the people, 531-534; Kamehameha I., 535, 536; overthrow of the native religion, 536, 537; arrival of missionaries, 537; introduction of learning with the new religion, 537-539; creation of a written language and alphabet, 540; constant friction with visiting naval commanders, 540-546; expulsion of Catholics, 541; the Great Revival, 542, 543; recognition of the island government by Great Britain, France, and the United States, 543; establishment of constitutional government, 543-545; astounding mortality among the natives, 544, 545; rise of a foreign party in politics, 545-547; Queen Liliuokalani's statement of the situation, 545, 546; accession of King Kalakaua, 548; he makes reciprocity

treaty with the United States, 549; cession of Pearl harbor, 549; accession of Liliuokalani, 550; quarrels between the Queen and the foreign party, 551, 552; peculiar course of the American minister, J. L. Stevens, 552; Committee of Public Safety formed, 552; troops landed from the *Boston* to aid in overthrowing the government of the Queen, 552; Committee of Safety gains control of the government, 553; embassy to Washington to secure annexation, 553; protest of the Queen, 553; action of the Harrison administration, 554; President Cleveland withdraws the treaty from the Senate, 554; his remarkable message, 554, 555; he institutes thorough investigation of conditions in Hawaii, 555; President McKinley submits new treaty to Congress, 555; fails to receive support, 555; islands annexed to the United States by Joint Resolution of both houses of Congress, 555; ceremonies attendant upon the transfer of the islands, 555, 556; policy of leading Republicans as to annexation, 773.

Antonines, The, age of, 32.

Appropriations, generous, of Congress for the Navy, 495.

"Arabian Nights, The," quoted, 639, 676.

Arbitration between nations, inception of the principle, 558; prominent subject before the Hague Conferences, 572-582; the Permanent International Court of Arbitration, 574; proposed Permanent Court of Arbitral Justice, 579-582.

Arc lights, electric, described, 668-670.

Architecture, colonial, 56.

Armour, J. Ogden; founds Institute of Bloodless Surgery, 754.

—, P. D.; founds the Armour Mission, and the Armour Institute, 753, 754.

Armstrong and Orling system of wireless telegraphy, 675.

Army, the, transportation of, from Florida to Cuba, 490; astonishing lack of preparation for service, 490, 491; movements and actions about Santiago, 491; El Caney and San Juan hill, 491; embarkation for Montauk Point, 494; General Miles invades Porto Rico, 494.

Arnold, Matthew, appreciation of the Bible, 442, 443.

Aryans, Persian and Greek, 33.

Asia, Ptolemy's description of, 594.

Asiatic despotisms overthrown by Alexander, 33.

Assassination of President Lincoln, 344-355; review of events that had crowned his career with glory, 344, 345; incidents of last day of the President's life, 345, 346; the party to witness the "American Cousin" at Ford's theatre, 346; details of the events that followed, 347-349; consternation and grief of the people, 349; the funeral obsequies, 350, 351; capture of the assassin, 352; trial and sentences of the conspirators, 354, 355.

Astor, John Jacob, and the Astor library, 757, 758.

—, Lenox, and Tilden foundation, The, 760, 761.

Atlanta, Ga., captured and burned by General Sherman, 327.

Atlanta, The, 479.

Atlantic cable, laying of the, 661-664.

Authorized, or King James, Version of the Bible, result of many previous revisions, 401; history of its preparation and reception, 431; long rivalled by the Geneva Bible, 434.

Autonomy granted to Cuba by Spain, 470.

Awakening, The Great, in the Religious World, 276-288; influence of the great panic on the movement, 277; vast audiences assemble all over the country, 277, 278; the John Street and Jayne's Hall daily prayer meetings, 279; group of noted revival preachers, 280; requests for prayers, 281; work of Moody and Sankey, 284; character of immense meetings conducted by them, 286.

B.

Bakunin, Michael, disciple of Proudhon, 448; leading exponent of destructive anarchism, 448; terrible experiences and sufferings, 448, 449.

Baltimore, Md., in 1800, 40; rise of the later city from ashes, 585.

Baltimore, The Second Council of, decree regarding the authorized text of Scriptures for the Catholic Church, 436, 437.

Bancroft, George, quoted, 694.

Baptist Young People's Union, The, organization of, 389; general scope of its work, 390; all Baptist Young people called out of the Endeavor societies, 390; organ, and watchword, of the society, 390.

Barnard College, 729.

—, Henry, and his educational work, 724.

—, Professor E. E., use of selenium cells by, to detect comets, 671.

Bartholdi statue, history of the, 682-684.

Bartholdt, Richard, 574.

Battery, The, New York city, in 1800, 37.

Battleship fleet, remarkable cruise of, around the world, 496-499.

Beach, Charles F., courses on American law at French universities, 684, 685.

Beaufort, M. W. H. de, 567.

Bede, the Venerable, makes translations of the Scriptures, 412.

Bell, Alexander Graham, and his telephone, 665-667.

—, The Liberty, 66.

Benjamin, Park, quoted, 639, 644.

Berkeley, Sir William, opinion on early education in Virginia, 708.

Berzelius, J. J., discovers selenium, 671.

Bible, curious and rare editions of the, 436, 437.

— on which Washington took oath as President, description and history of, 121.

—, Revision of the, 401-444. *See* Revision of the Bible.

Biddle, Captain Nicholas, 474, 475.

Bildt, Baron de, Swedish delegate to the Hague Conference, 570.

Birth of the New Navy, 479.

Bishops' Bible, The, history of, 430.

Blaine, James G., 516, 549.

Blair, James, founds William and Mary College, 709-711.

Blizzard, The Great, 457-466; wonderful material development of New York city, 457; origin and course of storm that paralyzed all movement in the city, 458; official report of the Weather Bureau regarding it, 458; unparalleled severity of snow fall and gale for two days, 459-462; thrilling experiences of people exposed to storm's fury, 460-462; all traffic of every kind suspended, 462; experience of ex-Senator Roscoe Conkling, 463; scenes after the cessation of storm,— loss of life and property, 464; messages of sympathy from Dakota, 465; limited area covered by the storm, 466.

Blockade of Cuban ports established, 483; effective blockade of Santiago harbor, 482, 483.

Bolton, Mrs. Sarah K., quoted, 732.

Bon Homme Richard, The, battle with the *Serapis*, 72.

Boone, Professor R. G., quoted, 698.

Booth, J. Wilkes, shoots President Lincoln in Ford's theatre, 347; flight, and shooting of the assassin by Boston Corbett, 352.

Boston Latin School, The, 696.

—, Mass., reception of news of the declaration of independence, 68; population and general character of the town in 1800, 39; becomes a city in 1822, 39; effects of the great September gale in, 176; rise of the city from ashes, 585.

— News Letter, The, first paper published in the Colonies, 62.

—, The, pioneer vessel of New Navy, 479.

Bottome, Mrs. Margaret, organizes the Society of "King's Daughters," 385.

Bowdoin, Governor, and Shays' rebellion, 104.

Bowling Green, destruction of statue of George III. in, 68.

"Boxer" outbreak in China, The, 616.

Boyle, Robert, and the Royal Society, 640.

Bradford Academy, The, 721.

Brethren of the Common Lot, The, 693.

Brewer, David J., 522, 523.

Brooklyn, The, 480; flagship of Admiral Schley, 486; on blockade and in battle off Santiago, 487, 489, 492-494.

Brooks, Reverend Phillips, 696.
Brotherhood of St. Andrew, The, 390; its early organization, principles, mottoes, etc., 390; the "St. Andrew's Cross," 390.
Bryan, William J., urges support of the Spanish treaty, 780.
Bryce, James, quoted, 557; his friendship for the United States, 689; a mighty influence for peace, 689; his *American Commonwealth*, 689, 690; ambassador to the United States, 689.
Bryn Mawr College, 729.
Buchanan, Franklin, commander of the *Merrimac* in her fight with the *Monitor*, 298, 302.
Bug Bible, The, 437.
Buoys, Electric, automatically lighted by use of selenium, 671.
Burke, Edmund; his appreciation of the Bible, 443.
Burnham, D. H.; his plans for beautifying San Francisco, 634.
Burr, Aaron; duel with Hamilton, 144; sketch of his career, 145; origin of his hatred for Hamilton, 146; his shooting of Hamilton regarded as wilful murder, 150.
Butler, Nicholas Murray, interviews with the German Emperor, 685; president of Columbia University, 717.

C.

Cable, submarine, description of, 661.
Caedmon, sings paraphrases of the Scriptures, 411.
California, discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, 242-249; early explorers of, 626; the University of, 753.
Calvin, John, and popular education, 694.
Cambridge, Mass., name changed from Newtowne, 700.
Canal, The Nicaragua. *See* Panama Canal.
—, Panama. *See* Panama Canal.
Canals, noted, of the world, description and cost of the, 610.
Candles, early use of, 59.
Canning, George, 508, 512, 513, 518.
Capefigue, M., historian of the Restoration, quoted, 505.
Capital, founding and establishment of the first national, 129-135; previous migrations of the national government, 129; compromise which led to permanent establishment on the Potomac, 130; corner-stone of the capitol laid, September 18, 1793, by Washington, 132; archives of the government removed from Philadelphia to Washington, in summer of 1800, 133; grand plan on which new city was laid out, 135.
Capitol, the national, corner-stone laid at Washington, 132.
Cardinal, consecration of the first, in the United States, 365-370; the conclave of cardinals, 365; John McCloskey, Arch-bishop of New York, honored, 366; details of the ceremony of consecration, 366-370; papal documents conferring the honor, 369; description of St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York city, 370.
Carlyle, Thomas; his reverence for the Bible, 443.
Carnegie, Andrew; his numerous gifts, 763, 764; address at the Pittsburg Institute,— professed ignorance of his wealth, 763; general conditions upon which his gifts are made, 764; the teachers' pension fund, 765; the Temple of Peace at The Hague, 765.
— Institute, Pittsburg, Pa., founder's day at the, 678.
Caroline Affair, The, 205.
Cars, electric, 672, 673.
Carter, J. F., the "Father of Normal Schools," 724, 725.
Cathay, origin of the name, 594.
Catholic churches, the Bible used in, 432.
Cavallo, Tiberius: "History of Electricity," quoted, 647
Cavité, Manila bay, battle off, 484-486.
Central Pacific railroad, opening of the, 750, 751.
Cervera, Admiral Pascual, and his fleet, 486; enter Santiago harbor, 487; description of his vessels, 487, 488; his dash for liberty, and the destruction of his fleet, 492-494.
Challoner, The, revision of the Douay Bible, 436.
Charles I.; his contest with Parliament, 34.
Charleston, S. C., population and status of, in 1800, 42.
Chatham, Earl of; his estimate of the Continental Congress, 70.
Chautauqua, The, 730.
Cheney, John Vance, 755.
Chicago, rise of the city from ashes, 585.
—, the University of, 726, 761; approximate total of gifts from J. D. Rockefeller, 764.
Childhood of the Nation, The, 782.
China and pewter, use of, during colonial days, 57.
China, results of the war with Japan, 615; integrity of the nation secured by Secretary Hay, 620, immense mineral wealth of the country, 769; outbreak of European Nations in, 769.
Chinatown, San Francisco, 629.
Chinese South Pointing Car, The, 638.
Choate, Joseph H., delegate to Hague Conference, 574; places window in St. Saviour's Church, London, in memory of John Harvard, 703.
Church Life in the Colonies, 59; in New England and Virginia compared, 60.
Cienfuegos, Cuba, blockade of, 483, 487.
Citizens' Industrial Association of America, The, 399.
Civil War, condition of the Navy after the, 479.
Clark, Captain C. E., commander of the *Oregon*, 482. See *Oregon*, The.
—, Reverend F. E.; organizes the first society of Christian Endeavor, 386; character of the man and his work, 386; resigns pastorate to become president of the United Society of Christian Endeavor, 387; establishes the Society paper, the "Golden Rule," 388; message on the twenty-eighth birthday of the Society, 388.
Clay, Henry, 514, 599.
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, The, 599; its abrogation, 603.
Clergy, character and influence of the Colonial, 60.
Clermont, The, Fulton's first steamboat, 153.
Cleveland, Grover; message to Congress on the Cuban situation, 468; bold position regarding the Venezuela boundary dispute, 519, 520; message to Congress regarding the same, 520; his "Presidential Problems" quoted, 520; message to Congress withdrawing the treaty for the annexation of Hawaii, 514, 515; address at the unveiling of the Bartholdi statue, 683.
Cochrane, C. H.; his "Modern Industrial Progress" quoted, 671.
Codex, meaning and description of, 406; Codex *Sinaiticus*, *Vaticanus*, *Alexandrinus*, *Ephraemi*, described, 407, 408.
Coffee Houses, noted ones about 1800, 38.
Collins, Sir Richard, 523.
Collinson, Peter, association with Franklin, 642, 643.
Colombia, relations with United States regarding the Isthmus. *See* Panama Canal.
Colonial Days, In, 31-64.
Colonies, lack of common interests in the, 44; chaotic conditions in, following the Revolutionary War, 45.
Columbia College and University, 416, 417.
Comets, use of selenium cells in detecting, 671.
Commission of Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, 89.
Committee of Seventy, The, investigates the Tweed Ring, 380-382.
Compass, the mariner's, first knowledge of, in Europe, 595.
Concas, Captain, describes plan of action for Cervera's fleet, 492.
Concert of the Powers, The, 768.
Conclave of Cardinals, The, 365.
Congress, the Continental, 66.
Congressional Resolutions establishing war with Spain, 473.
Conkling, Roscoe, experience in the Great Blizzard, 463.
Connecticut, The, flagship of battleship fleet, 499.

Connolly, Richard B., 376-380.
Constitution, formation and adoption of the Federal, 108; proceedings and events that led up to the convention at Philadelphia, 109; character of the leading delegates to the convention, 110; submission of the Constitution to the States, and its final adoption, 114.
—, The, United States frigate, captures British frigate Guerriere 157; "Old Ironsides," 157; description of the battle, 158-162; effect of victory on the American people, 163.
Continental Congress, opinions of its members as to a standing army and navy, 474.
Cook, Captain James, 526, 527.
Coolidge, Professor A. C.; his critical estimate of pride of the American people, 468; quoted, 772.
Cooper, Peter, and the Cooper Union, 756, 757.
Corbett, Sergeant Boston, shoots murderer of Lincoln, 352.
Cornell University, 726, 761.
Cortez; his efforts to discover the secret strait across the Isthmus, 596, 597.
Cotton, Reverend John, 696.
Cotton, first production of, in the United States, 44.
— Gin, The, invention of, 44, 122; conditions prevailing previous to Whitney's invention, 125; description of the machine, 126; its effect upon cotton production, 128.
Coubertin, Baron de, interest of, in educational reciprocity, 684.
Coudert, Frederic R., 522.
Council of Trent, The; decree regarding the Vulgate text of the Bible, 433.
—, The Vatican, 1870, 436.
—, The Second, of Baltimore, 436.
Coverdale, Myles; his translation of the Bible, 424, 425.
Creator, The, revelation of the purposes of, 34.
Crerar, John, record of his princely gifts, 755; founds the Crerar library in Chicago, 755.
Crisis, Terrible, in the business and financial world, 267-275; the *Great Panic*, 267; causes of the disaster, 268, 269; rapid succession of bank failures, 268, 269; amusing incidents, 270; consternation and despair of the people, 271, 272; fortunes swept away like ashes, 273.
Crocker, Charles, 750.
Crozier, Captain W., delegate to The Hague Conference, 567.
Cuba, relations of the United States with, 468; horrible devastation and suffering in, 469, 470; autonomy granted by Spain, 470; United States declares war in behalf of, 473; blockade of Cuban ports, 483; details of the war in, 486-494; independence secured by the signing of the Peace Protocol, August 12, 1908, 494.
Cuban Junta, The, 469.
"Cup of All Nations," The, 250, 256.
Curious and rare editions of the Bible, 436, 437.
Currency, the Continental, 45.
Currents, transmission of electric, 667-669; direct and alternating, 667; polyphase, 667.
Cursives, description of, 406.

D.

Dakota sends messages of sympathy to New York city, 465.
Dame Schools, The, 699.
Dana, Charles A., "there is no book like the Bible," 444.
Daniells, J. D., inventor of the constant current battery, 654.
Danville, Va., temporary capital of the Confederacy, 341.
Dark Day, the wonderful, 79.
Dartmouth College, and the "Dartmouth College Case," 718, 719.
Davis, Cushman K., 775.
—, General George B., 574.
—, Jefferson, flight from Richmond and capture of, 341, 242.
Davy, Sir Humphrey, discovers the arc light, 649, 650.
Day, William R., 775.
"*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*," 564.
Debate between Webster and Hayne, the great, 197-205; events that led up to it, 198; Webster's oration the masterpiece of modern eloquence, 205.
Declaration of Independence, The; committee appointed to draft it, 66; Fiftieth Anniversary of its promulgation, 191-196.
Deep-Water Commission of Galveston, The, 590.
Democracy, criticisms of, about 1800, 47; cause of, injured by colonial and state jealousies, 46.
Demologos, The, Fulton's, the first steam vessel of the American navy, 477.
Dennie, Joseph, and his *Portfolio*, 63.
Dewey, Admiral George; text of order sent him to prepare for emergencies, 473; mobilizes fleet in Asiatic waters, 483; details of the battle of Manila bay, 483-485; effect of his victory upon the American people, 485.
Dewey Arch, The, 501.
Despotisms, Asiatic, overthrown by Alexander, 33.
Dexter, Professor: History of Education in the United States, quoted, 706.
Dickens, Charles; his reverence for the Bible and the Christian religion, 433.
Dinners, Colonial, 58.
Distaff, The, 31.
Doe, C. F., great gift of, to the University of California, 753.
Dole, Sanford B., 555.
Dollar, value of, in 1780, 46.
Dolores Mission, The, 627.
Dolphin, The, 479.
Douay, or Rheims-Douay, Bible, The, 435.
Douglas, Stephen A.; his great debate with Lincoln, 289-295.
Drake, Sir Francis, 626.
Drama of the development of the race, 33.
Drunkenness, prevalence of, in the eighteenth century, 61.
Duel, The, between Burr and Hamilton, 144-150.
Dummer Academy, The, 720.
Dunster, Henry; first president of Harvard College, 703.
Durant, Henry F.; founds Wellesley College, 728, 732.
Dwight, Timothy, president of Yale College, 712.
Dynagraph car, the Dudley, 673.
Dynamo-Electric machine, the first, 652, 667.

E.

Earle, Alice Morse, on Colonial customs, 52.
Earthquake at San Francisco, loss of life from, 629.
Eaton, Nathaniel, 703.
Edison, Thomas A., improves the microphone, 666; experiments and achievements in incandescent lighting, 668, 669.
Education, in the Colonies and States, 691-730; popular education the handmaid of an enlightened religion, 691; effects of intellectual awakening of fifteenth century, 691; all learning confined to narrow circles, 692; a measure of liberty essential to desire for learning, 692; the Reformation, not the Renaissance, the renovating influence, 692; Luther's appeal to the German magistrates, 692; his contention that schools should be supported by municipality, or State, 692; rapid rise of common schools all over Germany, 693; first statute requiring general education, 693; influence of the German and Dutch systems of education on the Pilgrim Fathers, 693; claim that common school system came from Calvin and Geneva disproved, 693-695; opinions of John Fiske, Bancroft, and Edward Everett, 694; first public school established in North America, 695; efforts of the Dutch West India Company to advance cause of education, 695; the first schoolmaster in New Amsterdam, and first Latin school, 695; salaries and duties of early Colonial teachers, 696; influence of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, upon early New England educa-

tion, 696; John Cotton and the Boston Latin school, 696; opinion of Phillips Brooks upon value of the foundation, 696, 697; early New England schools not "free" schools, 696; Indian children alone "taught gratis," 697; decree of the Massachusetts General Court, of 1642; and the law of 1647, called the "Great Charter of free education in the Commonwealth," 697; conditions in other New England Colonies, 697; character of the early teaching, and text-books, 698; public schools for boys alone down to near the end of eighteenth century, 698; the Dame Schools, 699; down to Revolutionary period, whole range of teaching in elementary schools was confined to reading, writing, and religion, 699; arithmetic and mathematics rarely referred to prior to 1750, 699; character of the early schoolhouses, 699; number of university graduates in Massachusetts and Connecticut in 1638,— one to every two hundred and fifty of the population, 699; first appropriation of public money "for a school or college," 700; early history of Harvard College, 701-706; timely gift of John Harvard, 701; sketch of his life, 701, 702; history of William and Mary College, 707-711; Elihu Yale and Yale College, 711, 712; Tennent's "Log College," 712, 713; history of Princeton College, 712-715; founding of King's College, 715, 716; history of Columbia College, 716, 717; Williams College, founding of, 718; remonstrance of Harvard authorities against the establishment of a second college in the State, 718; early history of Dartmouth College, 718, 719; the "Dartmouth College Case," 719; summary of "universities, colleges, and technical schools" in the United States, 719; decline of elementary and secondary schools during the eighteenth century, 719, 720; rise of academies, 720; academies and seminaries devoted to women, 721; rise of system of co-education, 721; summary of academies, co-educational, in 1850, 721; the Massachusetts State Board of Education and Horace Mann, 722-724; establishment of High Schools, 724; rise of Normal schools, 724, 725; establishment of Teachers' colleges, 724, 725; the state universities, 726; development of post-graduate work, 726, 727; rise of women's colleges, 727, 728; the Chautauqua schools, 730.

Education, reciprocity in, 684-686.

El Caney, the fight at, 491.

Electricity, The story of, 636-677; early knowledge and uses of Amber, 636, 637; the lodestone, magnetite, or Hercules stone, 637-639; the Samothracian rings, 637, 638; opinions of Thales and Socrates, 637; the Chinese South-pointing Car, 638; the wonder of the early Church Fathers at magnetism, 638; St. Augustine's account, 638, 639; the *Arabian Nights* story of the lodestone, 639; advance in knowledge of electricity dependent upon experiments, 639; birth of experimental philosophy 639; Doctor William Gilbert, and his wonderful experiments, 640; summary of his achievements, 640; work of Robert Boyle and Otto von Guericke, 640; foundation of the Royal Society of England, 640; von Guericke hints at the electric light, and the relation of the electric spark to lightning, 641; Doctor Wall's experiments, 641; investigations and deductions of Doctor Watson, 641; he affirms the existence of an electrical ether, 641; incredulity of the public, and the "practical man," 642; Franklin first becomes acquainted with electrical phenomena, 642; the Library Company of Philadelphia, 642; influence of Peter Collinson, 642; formation of the American Philosophical Society, 643; honors heaped upon Franklin by the Royal Society, 643; details of his experiments to determine the identity of the electrical fluid and lightning, 643-645; his curious letter to Collinson, the "electrified bumper," 643; his discovery of the uses of lightning rods, 645; attitude of the Church toward his experiments, 645, 646; invention of the Leyden jar, 646; Muschenbroeck's account of his experiment, 646; Cavallo's account of achievements to close of eighteenth century, 647; Galvani and "Animal Electricity," or Galvanism, 647, 648; Volta and his deductions from Galvani's experiments, 648; the Voltaic battery, or pile, 648, 649; Humphrey Davy and the electric light, 649, 650; Count Rumford and the Royal Institution, 649; development of the idea of the unity of the forces of nature,— hence the belief in the identity of magnetism and electricity, 650; epoch making discoveries of Oersted and Ampère, 651; important discoveries of Faraday, 651, 652; the first dynamo-electric machine, 652; Sturgeon discovers the electro-magnet, 652; remarkable development of the electro-magnet by Joseph Henry, 654; the galvanoscope and galvanometer, 654; Henry's "intensity magnet," 654; the Daniell's battery, 654; early experiments in telegraphy, 655; Morse and the electric telegraph, 655-659; early submarine cables, 660; description of an ocean cable, 660, 661; Cyrus W. Field and the Atlantic cables, 661-664; summary of the Bureau of Statistics of ocean telegraphs, 664; invention of the telephone, 664-667; marvelous achievements of Alexander Graham Bell, 665-667; the principle of the telephone described, 665; Hughes' invention of the microphone, 666; Edison's improvements, 666; statistics as to the use of the telephone, 666; electric lighting, heating, and power, 667-671; the dynamo and motor, 667; transmission of power, 667; incandescent and arc lighting, 668, 669; persistent efforts of Edison to perfect carbons, 669; the arc light, and its uses, 670, 671; discovery and uses of selenium, 671; many applications of electricity, 671-673; Dr. Holmes' "broomstick train," 672; adaptation to transportation, 672, 673; the Dudley Dynagraph car, 673; discovery of ether, 673; Hertz and the Hertzian waves, 673; wireless telegraphy and its principles, 673-675; remarkable experience of the steamship *Republic*, practical uses of wireless telegraphy demonstrated, 675, 676; demand of civil and political bodies that wireless apparatus be installed on all vessels, 676; what next — Telepathy? 677.

Electro-dynamics, principles of, established, 651.

Electro-magnet, first discovered by Sturgeon, 652.

Eliot, Charles W., president of Harvard University, 706.

Elmira College, first women's college, 728.

Emancipation, The Proclamation of, 305-314; President Lincoln's views as to the occasion for, 305, 306; views of his cabinet officers, 307; early statement of principle and effect of such an act by John Quincy Adams, 307; the preliminary proclamation, 308; scope of the final proclamation, 310; its reception at the North and South, 311, 312; disposition of the original draft of the proclamation, 313; the precursor of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, 313.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo; his appreciation of the Bible, 442, 443.

Emma Willard Female Seminary, The, 721.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge, England, 696, 700, 702.

Employers and employees, history of their relations, 392-396.

— of labor, organizations of, 399, 400.

Endeavor, Young People's Society of Christian, 386-388.

English language, gradual formation of new, 414.

Ephraemi, The Codex, described, 407.

Epochs in historical development, six great, 33.

Epworth League, The; withdrawal from the Christian Endeavor Union, 389; meeting of representative Methodists at Cleveland, O., in 1891, 389; call upon all Methodist Societies to come out and be separate, "To your tents, O, Israel," 389; immediate success of the movement, membership in 1909, and motto of the society, 389.

Era of Princely Gifts, An, 731-766; gifts of John Harvard and John D. Rockefeller compared, 731; different conditions under which wealth was accumulated at the middle and close of the nineteenth century, 732; enormous total of public benefactions of the last five years, 732; inciting causes of great

gifts, 732; sketch of the life of Stephen Girard, 732; the establishment of Girard College, 735, 736; John Lowell, Jr., and the founding of the Lowell Institute, 737-742; text of clauses of his will creating the trust, 739; noted lecturers, 740, 741; founding of the Lawrence Scientific School, 740; management of the trust fund, 741; remarkable career of George Peabody, 742-745; his royal gifts, 742, 743; the Peabody Education Fund, 743, 744; founding of the Smithsonian Institution, 745; peculiar character of the gift, and its uses, 745, 746; great gifts traceable to the example and influence of George Peabody, 746; The John F. Slater Fund, 746; the Daniel C. Hand gifts to aid poor blacks in the South, 747; the munificence of Anna T. Jeanes, 747, 748; founding of the Johns Hopkins University, and Johns Hopkins Hospital, 748, 749; novel university established by his trustees, 749; the Leland Stanford Junior University, 749-753; the munificence of Leland Stanford, 749-751; great gift to the University of California, 753; its Greek theatre, 753; Armour Institute, and the Armour Mission, 754; the "Lolita Armour Institute of Bloodless Surgery," 754; liberal benefactions of D. K. Pearsons, 754; establishment of the Newberry library, Chicago, 754, 755; the John Crerar library, and its founder, 756; munificent gift to endow Washington University, St. Louis, 756; Cooper Union and its benevolent founder, 756; Robert Lenox and the Lenox library, 758, 759; the generous bequest of Samuel J. Tilden, 759; the Astor, Lenox, and Tilden foundations, 760; notable gifts of millions by Mrs. Mary Macrae Stuart, 760; benefactions of J. Pierpont Morgan, 760; his rich gifts to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 761; immense gifts of Mrs. Russell Sage, 762; comparison of gifts of Carnegie and Rockefeller with those of other princely givers, 762; the *essence* of a "gift,"—"the gift without the giver is bare," 762; Carnegie's own statement as to what his gifts cost him, 763; J. D. Rockefeller and the University of Chicago, 763; conditions upon which the Rockefeller gifts are dependent, 764; the endowment of the General Education Board,—the greatest single gift ever made, 764; Andrew Carnegie's enormous benefactions, 765; summary of his principal gifts, 765; the lesson of such lavish generosity, 766; opinion of Daniel C. Gilman, as to the influence of George Peabody on later benefactors, 766; the position and influence of Robert C. Winthrop, 766.
Erasmus, the Greek Testament of, 418.
Ericsson, John, influence of, in the construction of the new navy, 478.
Estournelles, Baron d', 575.
Ether, discovery of, 234-241; claimants for priority of discovery, 236; opinions of Doctors Holmes and Warren, 236; account of first surgical operation upon an etherized patient, 237; monument erected to commemorate the discovery, 240; general effects upon patients, humorous anecdotes, etc., 237-241.
European Press, The, on the Monroe Doctrine, 511, 512.
Evans, Robley D., commands the *Iowa* at Santiago, 492-494; in command of the battleship fleet, 496, 497.
Everett, Edward, quoted, 604, 703; first American to take the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from a German university, 726; inaugurates the Lowell Institute lectures, 740, 741.
Evolution, discovery of the law of, 32.
Execution of the Chicago anarchists, 455.
Expense, comparative, of the naval establishments of the great powers, 496.
Experimental Philosophy, birth of, 639.
Explorers of California, the early, 626.

F.

Factory System, The, and the Industrial Age, 395.
Family life in the colonies, 56.
Faraday, Michael, makes first dynamo-electrical machine, 652.
Farewell to the Army, Washington's, 88.
Fatherhood of God, Christ's revelation of the, 34.
Fathers of the early church, writings of, as sources of our Bible, 406.
Federal Constitution, formation and adoption of the, 108.
Federation of Labor, The, 399.
Ferry houses of San Francisco, The, 632.
Fever, scourges of yellow, 35.
Field, Cyrus W., and the Atlantic cable, 661-664.
Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, The; result of the Proclamation of Emancipation, 313.
Fiftieth Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, 191-196; popular enthusiasm checked by the deaths on that day of ex-Presidents Adams and Jefferson, 191; sketches of their lives, 192.
First American Naval Victory, The, 72-78.
Fish, Hamilton, Secretary of State, 516.
Fiske, John; his theory of evolution, 32; quoted, 33, 594, 595, 694.
Flag, first, of the United Colonies, 476; John Paul Jones first floats it in European waters, 477.
Flying Squadron, The, 486.
Ford's theatre, Washington; assassination of President Lincoln in, 347-349.
Forks, introduction of table, 58.
Fourier, and his teachings, 447.
France recognizes the independence of the American Colonies, 70.
Franco-American Alliance, The, 682.
Franking privilege, origin of the, 50.
Franklin, Benjamin; his influence at the French court, 70; pleads for harmony at the Constitutional Convention, 112; first becomes acquainted with electrical phenomena, in 1746, 642; his experiments, based on Watson's "Observations," 642; honors heaped upon him by the Royal Society of England, 643; detailed account of his experiments to determine identity of lightning and the electric fluid, 643-645; the renowned kite experiment, 644; discovery of the uses of lightning rods, 645; attitude of clergy toward his experiments, 645.
French and American Republics, The, close relations of, 681, 682.
— Panama Canal Co., The. *See* Panama Canal.
— Revolution, influence of, on the social movements of the last century, 447.
Fry, Sir Edward, address of, at the second Hague Conference, 577.
Frye, William P., 775.
Fuller, Melville W., 523.
Fulton, Robert; story of his early life, 151; first experiments with steamboats, 152; builds the *Clermont*, 153; first successful trip to Albany, 154; builds first steam vessel for the American navy, the *Demologos*, 477.
Funding Act of the first National Congress, The, 46.
Funston, General Fred, 630.

G.

Gale, the ever-memorable, in New England, 173-180; known as the great September gale, 173; peculiar atmospheric conditions preceding it, 174; women and children saved from second story windows in boats, 175; destructive force of the gale at Boston, 176; general destruction of crops, 178; origin and course of the hurricane, 179; pecuniary loss, 180; records of previous terrific gales, 180.
Galvani, and "Animal magnetism," or Galvanism, 647, 648.
Galveston, Texas, destruction of, 585-593; wonderful courage shown by survivors of great disasters, 585; rise of Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, San Francisco, from ashes, 585; different conditions that obtained in Galveston, 585, 586; early history of the city, 586; description of it, and of its commerce, 587; origin and development of the hurricane, 587; ter-

rible destruction of life and property as storm increased, 588; detailed description of its ravages, 588-590; wind covered every point of compass during twelve hours, and attained a velocity of over one hundred and twenty miles, 589; more than six thousand dead, 589; funeral pyres made from the wreckage,— thousands cremated, 589; financial conditions that faced the city after the storm, 590; the Deep-water Commission, 590; the new city charter and its original features,— the *Galveston Plan*, 590, 591; the great sea wall, 591; elevation of grade of the entire city, 592; results secured, 592; the resurrected city, and its prospects, 592; success of the new form of government, 592, 593.
Gary, Judge J. E., 445.
Gatun Dam, The, 610.
General Court of Massachusetts, The, 700, 703.
Geneva Bible, The, history of, 428; the Bible the Pilgrim Fathers brought to America, 428.
Genghis Khan, effects of the conquests of, 594.
Germantown Academy, The, 720.
Gettysburg, the battle of, 315-324; General Lee's purpose to transfer the seat of war to the Northern States, 315; description of General Meade's army, 315; details of the great battle, 316-320; description given by Whitelaw Reid, 320; notable acts of bravery, 322; terrible losses of individual brigades and regiments, 322, 323; President Lincoln telegraphs result of the battle to the country on morning of July 4, 323; the soldiers' monument at Gettysburg, 323.
Gibbs, Major-General, succeeds Pakenham in command at New Orleans, 170; is mortally wounded, 170.
Gilbert, Dr. William, earliest experimenter in electricity, 640.
Gilinsky, Captain; Russian delegate to The Hague Conference, 569.
Gilman, Daniel C., 522; quoted, 766.
Gilmore, P. S., originator and director of the great Peace Jubilees, 356-364.
Girard, Stephen, sketch of his life, 732; founds Girard College, 734-736.
Gladden, Rev. Washington, quoted, 400, 768.
Gloucester, The; formerly J. P. Morgan's yacht *Corsair*, 488; in blockade and fight off Santiago, 487, 492, 493.
Goethe; his testimony to the worth of the Bible, 442-444; wonderful prophecy as to canals, 597, 598.
Gold, discovery of, at Sutter's Mill, Cal., 242-249; previous production of precious metal, 243; Captain Sutter's account of the discovery, 246; tremendous rush of adventurers to California, 248; results of the discovery, 249.
Golden Gate, The, 629, 630.
— — park, San Francisco, 631.
Gompers, Samuel, 395.
Graduate Clubs, Report of the Federation of, 727.
Grant, General U. S., meets General Lee, and receives his surrender, 339, 340; as President, reasserts the Monroe Doctrine, 516.
Granville, Lord, 518.
Gray, George; protests against the seizure of the Philippines, 775.
—, Stephen, discovers principles of electrical conduction, 641.
Great Bible, The, of Cromwell, 425; ordered set up, to be read in every church of the British Kingdom, 425.
— Blizzard, The, 457-466
— Eastern, The, 663.
Greek Theatre, The, of the University of California, 753.
Green, J. R.; his account of influence of English Bible upon the people, 427.
Gregg, W. R., quoted, 32.
Gregory, Professor C. R., 401, 409.
Gridley, Captain, commander of the *Olympia*, 484.
Grosvenor, General C. H., 772.
Grotius, Hugo, tribute of Andrew D. White to, 564.
Guam, island of, 781.
Guericke, Otto von, experiments of, in electricity, 640.
Guerriere, The, captured by the *Constitution*, 157.

H.

Hadley, A. T., president of Yale University, quoted, 711.
Hague, The. *See* The Hague.
Hall, A. Oakey, member of the Tweed Ring, 376-380.
—, W. I.; his "Two Hague Conferences" quoted, 577.
Hale, Rev. Edward Everett; publishes "Ten Times One is Ten," 384; apostle of the "Lend-a-hand" gospel, 384; establishes the "Lend-a-hand" Journal, 385.
—, Senator Eugene, on the Spanish war, 772.
Hamilton, Alexander; his criticism of Democracy, 47; duel with Aaron Burr, 147; profound grief over the result of the meeting, 148; distinguished honors paid him, 149.
Hamitic races, supremacy of, 33.
Hammurabi, King of Babylon, 31.
Hampton Roads, battle between *Monitor* and *Merrimac* in, 296-304, 478; battleship fleet sails from, 496; return of fleet to, 498, 499.
Hand, Daniel C.; munificent gifts of, 747.
Harper, William R., late president of the University of Chicago, 730.
Harvard College and University, history of, 700-706.
Harvard, John; his bequest to establish a college, 701; sketch of his life, 701-703; his probable connection with Shakespeare, 701; General Court orders new college named after him, 703; memorials erected, 703; earliest of America's princely givers, 731.
Havana, Cuba; visit of the *Maine* to, 471, 472; blockade of, 483.
Hawaiian Islands, The. *See* Annexation of Hawaii.
— —, position of leading Republicans as to the annexation of, 773.
Hay, John, Secretary of State; note to the Powers suggesting Second Hague Conference, 574; secures the neutrality and integrity of China, 620.
Hay-Herran treaty, The, 604.
Hay-Pauncefote treaty, The, 603.
Hayes, President R. B., states position of the United States as to a French Panama canal, 600, 601.
Haymarket riot, The, Chicago, 1886, 453.
Hayne, Robert Y., in debate with Daniel Webster, 197-205.
Hearst, Phoebe, and the University of California, 753.
Henry, Joseph; sketch of his life, 652, 653; invents galvanoscope and galvanometer, 653; his "intensity magnet," 654.
Hercules stone, The, 637.
Hertz, Heinrich, discovers the existence of etheric waves, 673.
Hertzian waves, The, 673.
Hill, David J., delegate to The Hague Conference, 574.
Hoar, George F.; his autobiography, 772; his position regarding the annexation of Hawaii, 773; interviews with President McKinley, 773; speech in the Senate on the question, 774; notable speech on the "principles of the fathers," 779.
Hobson, Lieut. R. P.; takes the *Merrimac* into Santiago harbor, 488, 489.
Holland, or The Netherlands; description of the country, 562, 563; remarkable ascendency of, in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 564
Holls, F. W.; historian of the First Hague Conference, 566.
Holmes, Dr. O. W.; his "broom-stick train," 672; quoted, 703.
Holy Alliance, The, 504; text of the compact between the Emperors, 505, 506; McMaster's opinion as to the sincerity of the allies, 506; secret articles added to the treaty at Verona in 1822, 507; purpose to restore the revolting Spanish colonies to the mother country, 507.

Hopkins, Johns, founds university and hospital, 748.
—, Mark, 750.
Horse, The, in the colonies, 51.
Hotels, Famous early, 54.
Houston, Dr. E. J., quoted, 660, 664, 668.
Howe, Elias, Jr., invents the sewing machine, 226-230; story of his life and trials, 227; wonderful success achieved, 230.
Hudson, Henry, 695.
Hughes, Professor, invents the microphone, 666.
Hull, Captain Isaac; commands the *Constitution* in fight with the *Guerriere*, 156; details of the battle, 158-162; his notable reception in American ports, 165.
Humboldt, Alexander von; explores Central America, 598.
Huntington, C. P., 750.
Hyde, James H., establishes American lectureship at The Sorbonne, 684.

I.

"In His Name," watchword of "Lend-a-hand" Clubs, 385.
Inauguration of Washington as first President at New York, 119; description of the attendant ceremonies and rejoicings, 120.
Incandescent lights, electric, described, 668-670.
Independence; committee appointed to draft Declaration of, 66; rejoicings upon adoption of the Declaration of, 67; Washington causes it to be read to the army, 68; reception of the Declaration in France and England, 70.
— Hall, Philadelphia, 71.
— of the United States acknowledged by foreign powers, 71.
—, fiftieth anniversary of Declaration of, 191-196.
Industrial age, and the Factory Ssystem, 393.
Inns, character of colonial, 53.
Intemperance, prevalence of, among colonial clergy, 60.
International Courtesies.—"Little things that make for peace," 678-690; Founder's day at the Carnegie Institute, 678; notable address of W. T. Stead, 678; "The world for peace, - only 'yellow journals' for war," 679; influence of Peace Societies and Conferences, 680; little things that make for peace, 680; effect of death of George Peabody upon the settlement of the Alabama claims, 681; sentiment of the *London Telegraph*, 681; close relations of the French and American republics, 681, 682; the Bartholdi statue and its significance, 682, 683; detailed description of the statue, 683; imposing exercises at its unveiling, 683, 684; reciprocity among scholars, 684, 687; work of l'Alliance Française, 684; Harvard professors lecture at the Sorbonne, 684; work of Charles F. Beach at French law schools, 684; proposition of German Emperor to establish an exchange of lecturers between universities, 685; his interview with President Butler, of Columbia, and its results, 685, 686; the Theodore Roosevelt professorship at Berlin, 685; similar movements between other nations, 686; opinion of Baron Kentaro, 686, 687; Cecil John Rhodes and his scholarships, 688, 689; influence of James Bryce and his *American Commonwealth*, 689; reciprocal service of Hannis Taylor, 690; mighty influence of intimate acquaintance between the *peoples* of the world, 690.
Interparliamentary Union, The, 574, 619.
Isthmian canal. *See* Panama Canal.
Itinerary of cruise of battleships around the world, 500.

J.

Jackson, Andrew, defeats British troops at Pensacola, 167; decisive victory at New Orleans, 167-172; description of his personality at that time, 172.
—, Dr. Charles T., claims to have discovered ether, 236, 241.
Japan; naval expedition to, 259-266; purpose of the expedition and description of the vessels, 262; experiences with Japanese officials, 262, 263; execution of treaty between Japan and the United States, 265; interesting interchange of courtesies, 264; interest of Japan in Manchuria and Korea, 613, 614; manufactures, exports, and imports of, 615; results of her war with China, 615; alliance with England, 616; calls upon Russia for understanding as to position in Manchuria, 617; declares war against Russia, February 10, 1904, 618; sends envoys to meet those of Russia at Portsmouth conference, 620; final compromises result in treaty, 622; national gains as result of the war, 624.
Japanese navy, presentation of loving cup to, by officers and men of the battleship fleet, 497.
Jay, John, ambassador to England, 557.
— treaty, The, 558.
Jealousy between the colonies, 44.
Jeanes, Anna T.; notable gifts of, 747, 748.
Jefferson, Thomas; writes the Declaration of Independence, 66; death of, on Independence Day, 1826, 194; sketch of his life and distinguished services, 192; his appreciation of the Bible, 443.
Jerome, Saint, makes revision of the Bible, 410.
Jesus, and the Apostles,— only Scriptures known to, 402; his connection with the synagogue worship, 402.
Johns Hopkins University, The; history of, 726, 748.
Jones, John Paul, sketch of his life, 72; hoists first American naval flag, 73; famous battle with the *Scrapis*, 73; his account of the action, 76; interest in formation of the early navy, 475; floats first American flag in European waters, 476.
Jordan, David Starr, 753.
Journalism, The Pulitzer School of, 761.

K.

Kaabumanu, Queen, 536, 540.
Kalakaua, King, 548-550.
Kamehameha I., 535.
Kapiolani, Princess, defies the goddess of volcanic fires, 529, 530.
Keane, Major-General, 170.
Kent, James; "Commentaries on American Law," 716.
Kentaro, Baron Kaneko; on the future of Japan, 624; urges educational reciprocity between Japan and the United States, 686, 687.
Key West, general rendezvous for naval vessels, 488-490.
Kiao-Chau, lease of, extorted from China by Germany, 770.
Kilauea; description of the volcano, 528.
King James, or authorized, version of the Bible, history of, 432.
King's College, history of, 715, 716.
— Daughters, The; organized by Mrs. Bottome, 385; based on Dr. Hale's Ten-Times-One Clubs, 385; men admitted and name changed, 386; statement of principles of the society, and of its work, 386.
Kingly office proposed for Washington, 91.
Kirkup; "History of Socialism," quoted, 448.
Kissing Bridge, The, 55.
Knights of Labor, The, 398.
Knox, John, 694.
Komura, Baron; envoy from Japan to Portsmouth Conference, 621-623.
Korea, description of, 613, 617.
Kropotkin, Prince Peter; disciple of Proudhon, 449; experiences in prisons, and as a leader in destructive anarchism, 449; trial at Lyons, 1883, 450.
Krudener, Mme. de; account of her early life, 502-503; her conversion and religious devotion, 503; her influence over Alexander I., 503; grand review of Russian army and *Te Deum* on Plains of Vertus, 504; her part in drawing up the Holy Alliance, 505; separated from the Emperor, 505; death among poor colonists in Crimea, 503.

L.

Labor Organizations, development of, 391-400; historical attitude of employers and employed, 392; origin and rapid spread of slavery, 392; the gradual merging of slavery into serfdom, and of serfdom into legal freedom, 393; influence of Wyclif and his Bible tracts, 393; effect of the great Reformation, 394; rise of modern labor organizations, 394; John Mitchell's statement of the case of organized labor, — the basic principles of all unions, 396, 397; the Knights of Labor, 398; politics a disintegrating force, 398; the Federation of Labor, 399; its basic principles, 399; organizations of employers, 399, 400; the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, 399; its official principles, 399; hostility to unions, and all rights of labor, 400; the outlook, 400; labor organizations of America not anarchistic, 451.

Lafayette, Marquis de; his visit to America as the guest of the nation, 181-190; sketch of his life, and of his services to America, 182; his first meeting with Washington, 183; their intimate relationship, 184; his experiences during the French Revolution, 184; arrival in New York, August 15, 1824, accompanied by his son George Washington Lafayette, 184; tremendous enthusiasm throughout the States, 185; participates in laying corner-stone of Bunker Hill monument, 187; tumultuous receptions from Boston to Charleston, S. C., 187; visits the tomb of Washington, 189; touching farewell address of President Adams, in behalf of the American people, 190.

Lambert, Major General, 171.

Larned, J. N.: "Seventy Centuries," quoted, 33.

Law of Nations, Roman concept of the, 34.

Law School of the University of Paris, 684, 685.

Lawrence, Abbott, founds the Lawrence Scientific School, 741.

Lee, Fitzhugh, consul-general at Havana, 470, 471.

—, General Robert E., surrenders to General Grant, 339, 340.

—, R. H., resolutions of, as to independence, 66.

Leicester Academy, The; first co-educational school in New England, 721.

Leland Stanford Junior University, founding of, 751-753.

Lend-a-hand Clubs, organization and principles of, 384, 385.

Lenox, Robert, and the Lenox Library, 758, 759.

Lesseps, Ferdinand de, and the Panama canal, 600; his visit to America, 600; formally presents the Bartholdi statue to the United States, 683.

Leverett, John, president of Harvard College, 704.

Leyden jar, invention of the, 646.

Liancourt, Duc de; his opinions of life in America about 1800, 35.

Liberty Bell, The, 66.

Library Company of Philadelphia, The, 642.

Libraries in the United States, Early, 64.

Light, different forms of artificial, 668; incandescent and arc lights described, 668-670; searchlights, etc., 671.

Liliuokalani, Queen, 545.

Lincoln, Abraham; his debate with Douglas, 289-295; his personal appearance and manner, 291; elected President, 295; issues the Proclamation of Emancipation, 305-314; visits Richmond the day after its capture, 340; his assassination, 344-355; solemn funeral obsequies, 350, 351.

Literature in the United States; status of, at close of the eighteenth century, 62.

Little Things that Make for Peace,— International Courtesies, 678-690.

Livingston, Chancellor; interested student of uses of steam, 152; greatly aids Fulton, 152; with Fulton opens service on the Ohio river, 156.

Lodestone, The, Magnetite, or Hercules stone, 637, 638.

Log College, The, of William Tennent, 712.

London Telegraph, The, quoted, 681.

Long, John D., Secretary of the Navy, 481.

Lorenz, Doctor, introduces bloodless surgery, 754.

Low, Seth, delegate to the Hague Conference, 567; president of Columbia University, 717.

Lowell, Abbott Lawrence, president of Harvard University, 706; trustee of the Lowell Institute, 741.

—, Charles, 738.

—, Francis Cabot, 738.

—, James Russell, 738; quoted, 762.

—, Judge John, 737.

—, John, Jr., founder of The Lowell Institute, 737-742.

Lovelace, Francis; establishes the first mail service in America, 48; his letter to Governor Winthrop, 48.

Luther, Martin; translates New Testament into German, 418; the pioneer advocate of popular education, 692, 693.

Luzon, Island of, 781.

Lyon, Mary; founder of Mt. Holyoke College, 727.

Lyons, France, remarkable trial of anarchists at, 1883, 449.

M.

Macaulay, T. B.; his appreciation of the Bible, 442, 443.

Maclay, E. S., historian of the United States Navy, quoted, 476, 493.

Magnetism, the identity of, with electricity established, 651.

Magnetite, 637, 638.

Mahan, Captain A. T., 567.

Mail, the first ever dispatched in America, 48.

Maine, The; visit of the battleship to Havana harbor, 471; her complete destruction, February 15, 1898, 471, 472; "Remember the *Maine*," 472; first battleship of the "New Navy," 479.

Man, the brotherhood of, revealed, 34; emancipation of, 35.

Manchuria, description of, 613, 614.

Manhattan island, the purchase of, 695.

Manila bay, the battle of, 483-485.

Mann, Horace, his life and work, 722-724.

Manuscripts as sources of our Bible, 406.

Marconi, William, develops the wireless telegraph, 673-677; his early experiments, 673; first message across the ocean, 674.

Marine Corps, The, establishment of, 476.

Mariner's compass, first knowledge of, in Europe, 595.

Maritime Canal Company, The, 602.

Marshall, James W., discovers gold at Sutter's Mill, Cal., 247.

—, John, decision in the "Dartmouth College Case," 719.

Martens, Frederic de, 523.

Massachusetts, population and taxable valuation of, in 1800, 37.

Mathew, Father, the Apostle of Temperance, 222-224.

Maury, Lieut. M. F., describes the bed of the Atlantic ocean, 662.

Mayflower, The; the President's yacht, 500; meeting of the President and Japanese and Russian envoys on board of, 621.

Mazarin Bible, The; first book printed from movable types, 417.

McCloskey, John, consecrated first cardinal in the United States, 365-370.

McCormick harvester works, great strikes at, 451, 452.

McCosh, James; experiences as a young pastor, 61; president of Princeton College, 714, 715.

McKinley, President William, inaugural address of, 468; submits treaty for annexation of Hawaii, 555; appoints committee to investigate canal proposition, 602; statement of principles underlying the war with Spain, 771; general instructions to the Peace Commissioners at Paris, 775; his Western tour, and its results, 777; demands cession of entire Philippine archipelago, 777.

McMahon, Rev. Bernard, revises the Douay Bible, 436

McMaster, Professor J. B., quoted, 506, 508.
Meade, General G. G., victorious at Gettysburg, 305-314.
Medford rum and the slave trade, 40.
Medical science, condition of, about 1800, 62.
Merchant vessels added to navy for Spanish war, 481.
Merrimac, the Confederate ram, in battle with the *Monitor*, 296-304.
—, the collier, sunk in Santiago channel, 488, 489.
Metternich, Prince, 506.
Mexico, French occupation of, 515; General Sheridan with fifty thousand veteran troops sent to Mexican frontier, 515; effect on the French government, 515.
Michigan, the University of, 725, 726.
Microphone, invention of the, 666.
Miles, General N. A., commands the army in war with Spain, 490; leads expedition into Porto Rico, 494; at surrender of General Toral, 494.
Militarism, the curse of, 782.
Milton, John; testimony as to value of the Bible, 442.
Mindanao, island of, 781.
Mitchell, John, states the case of organized labor, 395, 396.
Mohammedan Moros, 781.
Monitor, The, in battle with the *Merrimac*, 296-304; history of the *Merrimac*, 296; her depredations in Hampton Roads, 300; arrival and appearance of the *Monitor*, 300, 301; details of the memorable battle, 300, 301; condition of both vessels after the fight, 302; influence of the battle upon naval construction, 478; later battleships only highly developed monitors, 478, 479.
Monroe Doctrine, The, 502-524; the Holy Alliance, 504-508; purpose to restore her revolted colonies to Spain, 508; Russian settlement on the California coast, 507; awakening of American statesmen to the situation, 507, 508; Canning's proposal to interfere with the plans of the allies, 508; Jefferson's opinion of Canning's proposal, 508; strenuous opposition of John Quincy Adams, 509; he proposes to establish an American doctrine, and adhere to it, 509, 510; principles of the doctrine as enunciated in President Monroe's message, 1823, 509-511; European opinion of the proclamation, 510-512; duplicity of Canning established, 513; prevailing opinions in the United States, 513; position of Henry Clay, while Secretary of State, 514; opinion of Polk as representative, and as President, 514, 515; application of the doctrine to the French occupation of Mexico, 515; President Grant's position, 516; the doctrine in party platforms, 516, 517; President Cleveland's bold statement of it, in regard to the Venezuelan controversy, 519, 520; attitude of the British government, 523; present established position of the principle, 524.
Montauk Point, removal of the army from Cuba to, 494.
Montojo, Admiral, 483-485.
Moody, Dwight L., great revival movement under, 284-288.
Moore, John Bassett, 775.
Moore, Thomas, visits America in 1804, 62.
Morals, state of, at close of Colonial period, 61.
Moravian Academies, The, 720.
Morgan, J. Pierpont, notable gifts of, 760, 761.
Morley, John, on the Geneva arbitration, 559.
Morrill Act, The, 725.
Morse, S. F. B.; sketch of his life, 655-660; detailed statement of his development of the telegraph, 657-659; distinguished honors conferred upon him, 659, 660; advises as to feasibility of an ocean telegraph, 660.
Morton, Dr. W. T. C., claims to have discovered ether, 236, 241.
Motley, J. L., quoted, 562, 693.
Motor, the electric, 667.
Mt. Holyoke Seminary and College, The, 721, 727.
Mouravieff, Count, Russian Ambassador, 560, 561, 562, 569.
Mozart Hall, absorbed by Tammany Hall, 373.
Mueller, Frederick, 754.
Mukden, battle of, 620.
Murderer's Bible, The, 436.

N

Napoleon III. in occupation of Mexico, 515; his interest in canal schemes, 600.
National Labor Union, The, 397.
— Peace Jubilee at Boston, 356-364.
— Road, construction of the, 51.
Nations, Roman concept of the law of, 34.
—, Settlement of the New, 34.
Naval Court of Inquiry, report of, on the destruction of the *Maine*, 472.
— Victory, the first American, 72.
Navy, The New, 467-501; conditions in the United States preceding the war with Spain, 467, 468; pride of the people in the naval history, 468; opinion of Professor Coolidge, 468; message of President Cleveland to Congress on the situation in Cuba, 468; inaugural address of President McKinley, 468; platform of the Republican party, 1896, 469; diplomatic relations of Spanish and American governments, 469, 470; General Weyler recalled from Cuba, 470; autonomy granted Cuba by Spain, 470; visit of Senator Proctor to the island, and his report on conditions there, 470, 471; visit of the *Maine* to Havana, 471; her complete destruction, February 15, 1898, 471, 472; report of the Naval Board of Inquiry, 472; results of the investigations by Spanish authorities, 472; "Remember the *Maine*" the war cry, 472; Congressional resolutions, the virtual declaration of war, 473; text of order sent to Commodore Dewey, 473; history of the Spanish war a record of the valorous achievements of the Navy, 473; no place in Republican governments for large standing army or navy, 474; opinion of members of the Continental Congress, 474; origin of the navy of the United Colonies, 474; early efforts to build a navy, 474; the largest vessels of the first navy compared with those of the new navy, 475; total salt-water navy during the Revolutionary War, 475; careers of John Paul Jones and Captain Biddle, 475; first flag of the United Colonies, 476; creation of a separate Navy Department, 1798,— Benjamin Stoddert the first Secretary, 476; story of the Navy's development, 476, 477; critical opinions as to its effectiveness, 477; Fulton's *Demologos*, 477; construction of steam war vessels, 477; the adoption of the screw propeller, 478; influence of John Ericsson, 478; effects of the battle between the *Monitor* and *Merrimac*, 478; later battleships only highly developed monitors, 478, 479; the Navy after the Civil War, 479; birth of the New Navy, 479; the *Dolphin*, *Atlanta*, and *Boston* the first vessels, 479; the *Maine* the first armored ship of the "White Squadron," 479; the *New York* the *Constitution* of the New Navy, 480; the story of the *Oregon*, the "Queen of the New Navy," 480; condition and strength of the navy when war with Spain began, 481; remarkably efficient work of Secretary Long, 481; successful concentration of the scattered fleets, 481, 482; detailed account of the *Oregon's* race against time and the enemy, 482; Admiral Sampson blockades the Cuban coast, 483; Dewey's movements in Asiatic waters, 483; details of the battle in Manila bay, 483-485; effect of his victory upon the American people, 485; Admiral Cervera and his fleet, 486; general account of the blockade of Cuba and search for Cervera, 486; Schley's remarkable maneuvers, 487; the blockade of Santiago, 487, 488; Hobson's daring adventure with the *Merrimac*, 488, 489; departure of troops from Florida to Cuba, 490; story of the assault on Santiago, 491, 492; Cervera's orders to leave the harbor, 492; account of the total destruction of his

fleet, 492, 493; the wonderful "loop" of the *Brooklyn*, 493; grand race between the *Oregon* and the *Colon*, 493; news of the victory received in the United States and celebrated July 4, 494; the famous "round robin" of the army officers, addressed to the Secretary of War, 494; removal of army to Montauk Point, 494; General Miles' invasion of Porto Rico, 495; signing of Peace protocol, August 12, 1908, 494; popular and Congressional recognition of the achievements of the sea forces, 495; summary of the development of the Navy from 1893 to 1909, 495; the proposed 26000 ton battleships, 495; the ever present "war scare" as an incentive to further enlargement of the Navy, 496; comparison of the expenditures of the World Powers for their navies, 496; the great battleship cruise around the world, 496-500; reception of the ships in the various countries visited, 496, 497; Admiral Sperry succeeds Admiral Evans in command, 498; itinerary of the cruise with distances between ports visited, 500; departure of the fleet from Gibraltar for home, 500; reception by the President in Hampton Roads, 500, 501; the pride of the American people in the success of the cruise, and the conduct of the officers and men of the battleships, 501; the hope and prayer of the people for the future, 501.

Navy Department, The, creation of, 476.

Nelidow, M., president of Second Hague Conference, 577.

Netherlands, The. *See* Holland.

Netherlanders, The, grand hospitality of, 568.

New England; financial condition of, in 1800, 39; its rum and the slave trade, 40; wonderful dark day in, 79.

— —'s "First Fruits," quoted, 704.

— Forms of Religious Activity, 383-390; Edward Everett Hale and the "Ten-times-one" clubs, 384; mottoes and principles of the clubs, 384; Mrs. Bottome and the King's Daughters, 385, 386; principles of the organization, 386; inception of the Young People's Society for Christian Endeavor, 386; account of Rev. F. E. Clark and his great work, 386-388; enormous expansion of the society, 388; the Epworth League, 389; the Baptist Young People's Union, 389; the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, 390; general influence of the entire movement, 390.

— Granada, treaty of 1846 with the United States, 599.

— Navy, The. *See* Navy, The New.

— Orleans, the battle of, 166-172; events that led up to the action, 167; detailed account of the battle, 170-172; effect of the victory, 172.

— *York*, The Cruiser, description and trial test of, 480; flagship of Admiral Sampson, 486; in the blockade and battle off Santiago, 492, 493.

— — city, population and character of, in 1800, 37; the expenses of its government at that period, 37; character of its government when Tweed entered politics, 371; its new charter, 378; shocking increase of indebtedness under Tweed's rule, 377-380; the great blizzard in, 457-466.

— — State, population and taxable valuation of, in 1800, 37.

— — Times, exposes the Tweed ring, 380.

Newberry, Walter L., 754.

Newman, Cardinal J. H.: his estimate of the Challoner and Troy revisions of the Douay Bible, 436.

Newspapers, character of the Colonial, 62.

Nicaragua Canal route. *See* Panama Canal.

Nineteenth Century, achievements of, greater than those of all preceding centuries, 32; conditions in the United States at the opening of the, 35.

Nob Hill, San Francisco, 629, 631.

Normal Schools, history of the, 724, 725.

Norman invaders ruthlessly destroy everything Saxon, 413, 414.

North Carolina, population of and conditions in, about 1800, 42.

O.

Odyssey, The, 31.

Oersted, J. C., discovers the identity of magnetism and electricity, 600, 601.

Ohio river, first steamboat on the, 156.

Old Latin Version of the Bible, The, 409.

Old Ironsides, 157.

Old Testament the library of the Jews, The, 402.

Olympia, The, flagship of Admiral Dewey, 484.

Opinions, remarkable, regarding the Bible, 442-444.

Oregon, The, "Queen of the New Navy," 480; construction of, 478, 480; detailed account of her race against time and the enemy from San Francisco to Key West, 482; in the battle off Santiago, 492; thrilling run to overtake the *Colon*, 493; effect of her trip around the Horn on the canal question, 602.

Oriental opinion of the influence of the United States, 783.

Origin of the Navy of the United Colonies, 474.

Orling and Armstrong develop a novel system of wireless telegraphy, 675.

P.

Pakenham, Sir Edward, British commander at New Orleans, 170.

Palfrey, Rev. J. G., 740.

Palimpsests, description of, 407.

Palmer, Alice Freeman; successful work at Wellesley College, 728; Dean of Women's College at the University of Chicago, 729.

Pan-American Congress, the third, 574.

Panama Canal, The, 594-611; Ptolemy's description of Asia, 594; origin of the name *Cathay*, 594; effect of conquests of the Grand Khan, 594; knowledge gained in Europe from Cathay of ocean east of China, 595; object of all early ocean navigators, 595; the Mariner's Compass, 595; mediæval trade routes, 596; plans for an isthmian canal follow closely the discovery of America, 596; efforts of Cortez, and interest of Philip II., 596, 597; description of the isthmus connecting North and South America, 596; Saavedra marks out the four routes, about 1528, that have ever since been accredited, 597; entry of the English upon the scene, 598; explorations of von Humboldt; he marks out nine possible courses for a canal, 598; interest of Goethe in Humboldt's reports, 598; his wonderful prophecy of future canals, 597, 598; Henry Clay, Secretary of State in 1826, orders a survey of the Nicaragua route, 599; the treaty between the United States and New Granada, 1846, 599; the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, 599; opening of the Panama railroad, 599; interest of Napoleon III. in isthmian canal schemes, 600; the Colombian concession to Lieut. Wyse, and organization of the French company, 600, 601; de Lesseps, and his visit to America, 600; attitude of the United States toward foreign companies stated by President Hayes, 600, 601; bankruptcy of the French company and horrible scandals, 601; receiver of the old company forms new French company, 601; efforts to sell their rights to the United States, 602; the Maritime Canal Company and the Nicaragua route, 602; effect of the *Oregon's* famous run from the Pacific coast on the canal proposition, 602; commission appointed by President McKinley to investigate the whole subject anew, 602; conclusions of the commissioners in favor of the Nicaragua route, 602, 603; Panama company offers to sell for $40,000,000, 602; the Spooner Amendment, 603; the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer, 603; the Hay-Herran treaty to secure a strip of land across the isthmus from Colombia, 604; rejected by the Colombian Senate, 604; the position of President Roosevelt, 604; the remarkable "revolution" in Panama, 605; letter of President Roosevelt to the Editor of the *Review of Reviews*, 606; transfer of rights of the French

company to the United States, 606, 607; construction commission appointed under the terms of the Spooner Amendment, 607; repeated changes in the commission and its plans, 607; international board of engineers appointed to determine the type of the canal, 607; the President rejects its conclusions and decides upon the lock type, 607; construction finally placed in the hands of a board of army engineers, 608; members of the board, their salaries, etc., 608; results actually achieved to 1909, 609; appropriation provided for by the Spooner Amendment and probable cost of the completed work, 609; description of the route of the canal, and profile map, 609; descriptions and cost of other noted canals, 610; debate in Congress over the type of canal, 610; the Gatun dam, 610; public sentiment as to conditions on the canal and progress of the work, 611.

Panic, The Great, 267.

Papyrus, how prepared and used, 404.

Paris, University of, Law School, 684, 685.

—, meeting of Commissioners at, to arrange terms of Peace between Great Britain and the United States, 71.

—, meeting of Commissioners at, to arrange terms of Peace between the United States and Spain, 775-778.

Parker, Francis, and the Chicago Normal School, 725.

Parting of the Ways, The, 782.

Patton, F. L., president of Princeton University, 714.

Peabody, George; influence of his life and death on the settlement of the Alabama claims, 681; sketch of his life, 742-745; summary of his princely gifts, 742-744; distinguished honors paid him, 743-745.

Peace Conferences at The Hague, The, 557-584; the Jay treaty between England and the United States, 558; provided for the settlement of disputed questions by commissions, 558; inception of the principle of arbitration, 558; the Treaty of Washington, 559; opinion of John Morley, 559; reciprocal action of the Congress of the United States and the House of Commons, 559, 560; the first message of the Czar of Russia, calling for conference, 560; text of the document, and the response of the Nations, 561; skepticism regarding the measure, 562; The Hague fixed upon as a place of meeting for the delegates, 562; description of the city and country, 562-565; organization of the first conference, 566, 567; character and scope of the representation at it, 567; the representatives of the United States, 567; description of the place of meeting, 568; magnificent hospitality of the Netherlanders, 568; the attitude of Germany on the reduction of armaments, 569; address of Colonel Gilinsky, outlining the proposals of the Czar, 569; hostile address of Colonel von Schwarzhoff, of the German army, 570; report of committee against reduction of armaments, 570; notable address of Baron de Bildt, of Sweden, 570; struggle over the subject of arbitration, 572; the Permanent International Court of Arbitration, 572; real achievements of the First Conference, 573; pressure of public opinion on the Second Conference, 573; influence of the Interparliamentary Union, 574; meeting of the Second Conference, 575, 576; delegates from the United States, 574; comparative representation at the two conferences, 574; laying of the corner stone of the Carnegie Temple of Peace, 575; more independent attitude of the delegates to the Second Conference, 576; subjects proposed for consideration at the second meeting, 576; notable address of Sir Edward Fry, 577; treatment of the question of armaments, 578; attempt to establish a Permanent Court of Arbitral Justice, 579-582; address of M. Asser, the noted jurist of the Netherlands, 579; earnest efforts of Mr. Choate, 580, 581; opposition of the smaller states, 581, 582; everything provided except the judges, 582; the establishment of the International Prize Court, 582; recommendation of delegates as to future conferences, 582; estimate of the value of The Hague meetings by Secretary of State Root, 583; closing address of the Second Conference, 584; Tennyson quoted on the "Federation of the World," 584.

— Jubilee, The National, 356-364; conception and execution of the idea by P. S. Gilmore, 356; the opening exercises, 358; account of the separate performances, 358-362; triumphs of Parepa-Rosa, Adelaide Phillips, and others, 360; attendance of General Grant, 362; the World's Peace Jubilee, 363.

— Protocol, signing of the, concluding hostilities between Spain and the United States, 494.

— Societies, influence of, 680.

Pearl harbor, cession of, to the United States, 550.

Pearsons, D. K., notable gifts to American Colleges, 754.

Pele, the Hawaiian goddess of volcanic fires, 529.

Pellegrini, Dr. Carlos, 686.

Penelope and her suitors, 31.

Penn Charter School, The, 721.

Pensacola, Florida; Jackson's engagement with the British at, 167.

Perfection, the ultimate goal of the race, 33.

Pericles, The Age of, 32.

Perry, M. C., commands naval expedition to Japan, 259-266.

Persian Aryans overthrown by the Greek Aryans, 33.

Petition, Struggle for the right of, 206-215.

Pewter and China, use of, in Colonial homes, 57.

Phelan, ex Mayor J. D.; vision of a re-constructed San Francisco, 633.

Phi Beta Kappa Society, the founding of the, 710.

Philadelphia, population of and life in, about 1800, 35; the National Capital until 1800, 35.

Philip, J. W., commands the *Texas* at Santiago, 493; describes the famous "loop" of the *Brooklyn*, 493.

Philip II. of Spain; his interest in an isthmian canal, 596, 597.

Philippines, The, secret message to Commodore Dewey regarding, 481; battle in Manila bay, 481-486; clause in the Peace Protocol as to the disposal of, 774; area and population of the islands, 781.

Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., The, 720.

— —, Exeter, N. H., The, 720.

—, Stephen J., quoted, 625, 677.

Philosophy, birth of experimental, 639.

Pilgrim Fathers, Bible of the, 428; their departure from Delft, 564.

Pine Knots, early use of, for lighting purposes, 59.

Pittsburg, Pa., settlements about, in 1800, 44.

Plague, The Great London, 702.

Platt, T. C., opinion of, as to the Spanish war, 772.

Pole, North, Conquest of, 767-798.

Political Revolutions, The Era of, 34.

Polk, President J. K., 514, 515.

Poole, Dr. William F., 755.

"Poor Richard's Almanac" quoted, 645.

Port Arthur, 613, 616, 618, 770.

Porter, General Horace, delegate to the Hague Conference, 574.

Porto Rico, invasion of, by the army under General Miles, 495; its area and population, 781.

Portsmouth, The Treaty of. *See* Treaty of Portsmouth.

Post Office Department, early history of, 49.

Postage, rates of, established in 1792, 49.

Powers, The, of the nineteenth century, 768; concert of the, 768.

President of the United States, the first election of a, 115; influences brought to bear upon Washington to accept the office, 116; he is unanimously elected, 116.

"Presidential Problems," by Grover Cleveland, quoted, 520, 521.

Presidio, The, at San Francisco, 630, 631.

Press, The European, on the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine, 511-513.

Princely Gifts, An Era of. *See* Era of Princely Gifts.

Princeton College and University, the history of, 712-715.
" Printer's Bible," The, 436.
Printing, the story of the invention of, 417.
Proclamation of Emancipation, The, 305-314.
Proctor, Senator Redfield; his visit to Cuba and report on conditions existing there, 470, 471.
Propeller, The, or Screw, first application of, to naval vessels, 478.
Protocol, The Peace, 494.
Proudhon and Anarchism; sketch of his life, and statement of his principles, 447, 448.
Ptolemy's description of Asia, 594.
Pulitzer, Joseph, founds School of Journalism, 761.

R.

Radcliffe College, 729.
Randolph, The, in the fight with the *Yarmouth*, 475.
Reciprocity among Scholars, 684.
Reformation, The Great, free spirit of, 34; influence of, upon the status of laborers, 394.
Reid, Whitelaw; his account of the battle of Gettysburg, 320; commissioner to the Peace Conference at Paris, 775.
Reinsch, Professor: World Politics, quoted, 770, 772.
Religious Activity, New Forms of. *See* New Forms of Religious Activity.
— World, great awakening in the, 276-278.
" Remember the *Maine*," the war cry, 472.
Republic, The Steamship, rescued in response to wireless telegraph, 676.
Republican Governments, no place in, for large standing armies or navies, 474.
— Party platform of 1896, 469.
Resolutions of Congress, creating war with Spain, 473.
Results, essential, of Bible revision, 441, 442.
Revised Bible of the American Committee, The, 441.
Revisers of the Bible, work of, described, 441.
Revision of the Bible, The, 401-444; our authorized version of the Scriptures result of many previous revisions, 401; Old Testament and Apocrypha only Scriptures known to Jesus and the Apostles, 402; Old Testament the " library " of the Jews, 402; the place of the Synagogue in Jewish worship and life, 402; Jesus and the Synagogue worship, 402; the *chest* for the Scripture rolls, 402; description of the rolls and how they were made, 403, 404; papyrus, how prepared and used, 404; character and history of the *Septuagint* translation of Hebrew Scriptures, 404, 405; description of sacred writings possessed by early Christian churches, 405; the sources of our Bible, 405, 406; Manuscripts, Versions, and Writings of Early Church Fathers, each class technically described, 406; description of Uncials, Cursives, and the Codex, 406; history of the *Codex Vaticanus*, *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Alexandrinus*, 407, 408; the *Palimpsests* and *Codex* Ephraemi, 408; account of early versions, 409; the Old Latin Version, 409; extreme corruption of texts before fourth century, 410; Jerome's revision, 380-400, A. D., 410; becomes accepted version of the Catholic Church, the *Vulgate*, 411; early Saxon paraphrases of the Scriptures, 411; the Story of Caedmon, 411; the Venerable Bede's translation, 412; he passes away as he finishes translation of John's Gospel, 412; influence of Alfred the Great, 413; ruthless destruction of everything Saxon by the Norman invaders, 413, 414; gradual formation of new English language, 414; John Wyclif and his translation of the Scriptures into English, 416; portrait of Wyclif, 416; reception and wonderful influence of Wyclif's Bible, 417; invention of printing; the Mazarin Bible the first book printed from movable types, 417; portrait of Gutenberg, 417. Luther's translation of the New Testament into German (1522), 418; the Greek Testament of Erasmus, 418, portrait of Erasmus, 418; history of Tyndale's translation, 419-421; portrait of Tyndale, 420; his final revision of same (1534), 422; character and supreme influence of this translation, —the basis of all subsequent versions, 423; description of Coverdale's (1536), Matthew's (1537), and Taverner's (1539) Bibles, 424, 425; portrait of Myles Coverdale, 424; Cromwell's *Great Bible*, " authorized to be read and frequented in every church in the kingdom," 425; the historian Green's remarkable description of effect of English translation of the Bible on the people, 427; portrait of J. R. Green, 427; the *Geneva*, or *Breeches*, Bible, its character and popularity,— the Bible the Pilgrim Fathers brought to America, 428; comparative page of translations of the twenty-third Psalm, 429; the *Bishops'* Bible of 1568, supersedes the Great Bible in the English Church, 430; events that led to the making of the King James, or Authorized, Version, 431; character and portrait of King James, 431; the Geneva and King James Versions long-time competitors for popular favor, 434; the Bible used in the Catholic churches, 432; decree of Council of Trent (1545) gives Jerome's Vulgate Ecumenical authority, 433; oldest extant copy of the Vulgate, the *Codex Amiatinus*, and its history, 433; first Catholic translation into English, — the Rheims-Douay, or Douay, Bible, 435; the Challoner and McMahon,— or Troy,— revisions of the Douay, 436; opinions of Cardinals Newman and Wiseman as to former, 436; position of the Vatican Council of 1870, 436; decree of Second Baltimore Council, 1860, relating to texts to be used in the United States, 436, 437; descriptions of many curious and rare editions of the Bible,—the *Murderers*, the *Wicked*, the *Printers'*, the *Vinegar*, the *Unrighteous*, the *Bug*, and others, 437, 438; causes that led up to the revision of 1880, 439; work of the Revisers described, 440, 441; the American Committee and its work, 441; the revised version for the United States, published by the American Committee in 1901, 441; nothing essential lost in late revisions but text now secured unquestionably essentially same as that used in Early Church, 441, 442; Shakespeare's use of the Bible,— 540 direct quotations or use of Bible figures, 442; remarkable testimonies of Milton, Emerson, Macaulay, Matthew Arnold, Goethe, Jefferson, Daniel Webster, Burke, Carlyle, Ruskin, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, and many others, as to the supreme worth of the Bible, 442-444; Charles A. Dana.— " there is no book like the Bible," 444; quotation from Whittier's *Miriam*, 444.
Revolution of 1688, The, and establishment of constitutional government, 35.
Revolutionary movements of the last century, causes that led up to the, 445.
— War, cost of the, 45.
Revolutions, Era of Political, 34.
Rheims-Douay, or Douay, Bible, The, 435.
Rhodes, Cecil John, sketch of the life of, 687; his great ambition in life, 687, 688; purpose in establishing his scholarships, 688; working of the plan, 688.
Richmond, Va., Fall of, 334-343; for four years principal object of attack and siege, 335; effect of Sherman's march to the sea on the downfall of the city, 335; account of the final battles before the city, 335, 336; President Lincoln's attitude as to terms of peace, 338, 339; meeting between Grant and Lee, and terms of surrender, 339, 340; occupation of the city by Weitzel's brigade, 340; visit of President Lincoln to the Confederate capital, 340; incidents of the visit, 340, 341; circumstances attending the flight of President Davis from Richmond, 341; his capture and the close of the war, 341, 342; ceremony attendant upon the re-occupation of Fort Sumter, 342.
Richthofen, estimate of, as to mineral wealth of China, 769.
Ride-and-tie System, The, 51.
Right of Petition, Struggle for the, 206-215.
Rights of man versus the " divine rights " of Kings and institutions, 445.
Rise of modern labor organizations, 394-398.

Roach, John, shipbuilder; initial contract with, for New Navy, 479.
Roads, superiority of the Roman, 32.
Rockefeller, John D., 731; summary of his notable gifts, 763, 764; the University of Chicago, 764; rules upon which his gifts are conditioned, 764; the General Board of Education, 764.
Roelandsen, Adam, the first schoolmaster in America, 695.
Rome, effect of the conquests of, 34.
Roosevelt, Theodore, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 490; Lieut. Colonel of the "Rough Riders," 490; welcomes battleship fleet home, 500; proposes call for a second Peace Conference, 574; connection with the Panama canal, 603-607; famous letter to the editor of the *Review of Reviews*, 606; sends identical notes to Japan and Russia urging a conference looking toward peace, 620; receives envoys from Japan and Russia on the *Mayflower*, 621.
Rosen, Baron, envoy of Russia to Portsmouth Conference, 620, 622.
Rough Riders, The, 490, 491.
Round Robin of army officers to the Secretary of War, The, 494.
Rum, New England, and the slave trade, 40.
Rumford, Count, founds the British Royal Institution, 649.
Russell, Lord Chief Justice, 523.
Russia, development of destructive anarchism in, 450; murder of Alexander II., and its results, 450; schemes to control Manchuria and Korea, 612-614; builds the Siberian railway, 614; efforts to secure terminal on the Yellow Sea, 613, 614; character of her interests in Manchuria, 614; leases Port Arthur, 616; secret treaty with China, 616; drives Japan to war by her dilatory tactics, 617; loses every engagement, and her entire navy, in the war with Japan, 618; sends envoys to meet those of Japan at Portsmouth, 620; cedes southern half of Saghalien island to Japan, 622.

S.

Saavedra, Alvaro de, plans for an isthmian canal, 597.
Sage, Russell, 761.
—, Mrs. Russell, princely gifts of, 762.
Saghalien island, southern half of, ceded to Japan by Russia, 622.
St. Augustine on the powers of the magnet, 638, 639.
St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York city, 370.
St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, London, 701, 702.
Saint-Simon, and his teachings, 447.
Sainte-Beuve, quoted, 504.
Salisbury, Lord, 519-522.
Sampson, Admiral W. T., blockades the Cuban coast, 483.
San Francisco, destruction of, 626-635; early discoverers of California, 626; the Franciscan missions, 626; the Mission Dolores, 626, 627; effects of the discovery of gold, 627; character of the early settlers, 627, 628; the vigilance leagues, 628; early baptisms of fire, 628, 629; general character of the buildings of the city, 629; description of the geography of the city, 629; its peculiar charm, "Bohemian to the core," 628; the earthquake of April 18, 1906, 629; city without water, 630; details of the terrible fire of two days, 630-632; area covered, 631, 632; peculiar conditions that existed for a month following the fire, 632; glorious response of the nation to the city's need, 632; property loss and insurance, 633; fine work of Mayor Schmitz and his advisory board, 633; summary of the situation by ex-Mayor Phelan, 633; character of the new buildings, 633, 634; the Burnham plans for beautifying the city, 634; area of burned district now rebuilt, 635; trial of Mayor Schmitz, 635; outlook for the future, 635.
San Juan Hill, fight at, 491.
Sandwich, Earl of, 527.
— Islands, The. *See* Hawaiian Islands.
Sankey, Ira D., associated with Moody in revival work, 284-288.
Santiago, Cuba, blockade of, by the American navy, 482-493; investment of, by American troops, 490-494; surrender of the city, 494.
Sawaioris, The, 531.
Saxon paraphrases of the Scriptures, 411.
Schley, Admiral W. S., engages in blockade of Cuban ports, 487; his remarkable retrograde movement from Santiago, 487; his conduct in the fight with Cervera's squadron, 493; the historical "loop," 493.
Schmitz, Mayor of San Francisco, 630, 633, 635.
Scholarships, The Rhodes, 687, 688.
Schomburgk, Robert, 518.
Schoolhouse, the primitive, 699.
Schoolmasters, Colonial, salaries and duties of, 696; character of men selected for such positions, 708.
Science, meagre development of, at opening of the nineteenth century, 62.
Scott, J. B., delegate to The Hague Conference, 574.
—, Walter; his reverence for the Bible,— "there is but one book," 433.
Screw, The, or Propeller; its first application to naval vessels, 478.
Scripture rolls of the Jews, description of, 403, 404.
Scriptures known to Jesus and the Apostles, 402.
Sea wall, the great, at Galveston, 591.
Searchlight on vessels, the, 670.
Selection, change of natural, from physical to psychical lines, 34.
Selenium, discovery and uses of, 671.
Semitic races, supremacy of, 33.
Septuagint translation of the Jewish Scriptures, history of the, 404, 405.
Serapis, The, destroyed by the *Bon Homme Richard*, 73.
Serfdom, the merging of slavery into, 393.
Seventy, The Committee of, to investigate the Tweed Ring, 379-382.
"— Centuries," by J. N. Larned, quoted, 33.
Sewall, Harold M., 555.
Sewing machine, invention of the, 226-233; sketch of the life of Elias Howe, Jr., 227; principles covered by his patents, 230; other inventors and their machines, 230, 231; wonderful results of this invention, 232.
Seymour, Sir Edward, 709.
—, Horatio, Democratic candidate for the Presidency, 375.
Shafter, General W. R., in command of the army at Santiago, 490.
Shakespeare, William: his use of, and dependence on, the Bible, 442; his probable connection with John Harvard, 701.
Shays' Rebellion in Massachusetts, 46; causes of, 101; peculiar conditions existing in New England, 102; Washington's letter regarding the situation, 103; efforts of Governor Bowdoin to allay the excitement, 104; the attack upon the Springfield armory, 106; surrender of the insurgents, 107.
Sheridan, General P. H., 515.
Sherman, General W. T.; his great march through the South, 320-333; his personal statement as to the conception of the campaign, 326; Atlanta his first objective point, 326; burning of the city, 327; Lincoln's view of the situation, 328; details of the march, 328-332; interesting accounts of correspondents, 330, 331; Sherman's Christmas present to the President, 332; general results of the invasion, 332.
Shimonoseki, Treaty of, 615.
Siberian railroad, The, 613, 614.
Sigsbee, Captain Charles D., in command of the *Maine* at Havana, 471.
Sinaiticus, The Codex, described, 407.
Singer, I. M., an inventor of the sewing machine, 231.
Slater, John F.; his noble gift for Freedmen, 746.
Slave Trade, New England's interest in the, 40.
Slavery, origin and rapid spread of, 392.
Slaves, number of negro, in United States in 1800, 40.

Sloane, Professor W. M., quoted, 714.
Smith College, 728, 729.
—, Sophia, founds Smith College, 729.
Smithson, James, founds the Smithsonian Institution, 745.
Social life in the Colonies, 42.
Socialism, influence of the French Revolution upon the rise of, 447; relation between it and Anarchism, 447.
Socrates on the power of the magnet, 638.
Sorbonne, The; establishment of American lectures at, 684.
Sources of our Bible, The, 405, 406.
South-pointing car, The Chinese, 638.
Spain, the war with. *See* Spanish war.
Spanish and American governments, communications between, prior to the war, 469, 470.
— Colonies in America, revolt of, between 1810 and 1820, 507; proposal of the Holy Alliance to reduce them to subjection, 507; attitude of the United States as expressed in President Monroe's message, 509, 510.
— fleet, The, under Cervera, description of, 487, 488.
— War, The, 468-474, 481-494; positions of Presidents Cleveland and McKinley as to Cuban affairs, 468, 469; report of Senator Proctor on conditions in the island, 469, 470; diplomatic correspondence between the American and Spanish governments, 470; destruction of the *Maine*, 471; the President's message to Congress on the situation, 473; resultant resolutions of Congress,— a virtual declaration of war, 473; cessation of diplomatic relations, 473; mobilization of land and naval forces, 481; blockade of Cuban ports by Admiral Sampson, 483; orders to Commodore Dewey at Hong Kong, 483; destruction of the Spanish fleet in Manila bay, 484-486; Admiral Cervera runs his fleet into Santiago harbor, 487; close blockade of the harbor, 487-489; the sinking of the *Merrimac* in the harbor entrance, 489; assembling of troops in Florida, 490; embarkation of the Fifth Army Corps for Santiago, 490; land attack upon the fortifications about the city,— El Caney, and San Juan hill, 491; the destruction of Cervera's fleet, 492-494; surrender of Santiago, 494; the invasion of Porto Rico, 494; signing of the Peace Protocol, August 12, 1898, 494; the true causes of the war not clearly known, 770; cost of the war, 781.
Spears, John L., historian of the Navy, quoted, 479.
Sperry, Admiral, C. S., assumes command of the battleship fleet, 497; his estimate of the value of the famous cruise, 498; brings the fleet back to Hampton Roads, 498, 499; delegate to the Second Hague Conference, 574.
Speyer, James M., endows a German professorship at Columbia University, 686.
Spinning Wheel, The, 31.
Spokane, Wash.; its remarkable water power, 667, 668.
Spooner, W. B., opinion regarding the settlement of the Philippine question, 780.
— Amendment, The, 603.
Springfield, Ill., burial of President Lincoln at, 350.
Springfield, Mass.; its Court House seized, and Court broken up, by insurgents under Shays, 106; the United States Armory attacked, 106; insurgents dispersed, with three killed, by the State troops, 106.
Staal, M. de, president of the first Hague Conference, 567.
Stage Coach, the early, 52.
Stanford, Leland; sketch of his life, 749-752; principal promoter and builder of the Central Pacific railroad, 750; account of his son Leland, and the family devotion, 751, 752; the Palo Alto stock farm and ranch, 751; lays the foundation of the great university in memory of his son, 752.
Stead, W. T., 678.
Steam, first successful application of, to navigation, 151.
— war vessels, first construction of, 477.
Steers, Captain George, designs the victorious yacht *America*, 250, 252.
Stevens, John, and son; their experiments in steam navigation, 153; build the first boat to navigate the ocean by steam, 156.
Stevenson, Robert Louis, quoted, 467.
Stoddert, Benjamin, first Secretary of the Navy, 476.
Stuart, Mrs. Mary Macrae, great gifts of, 760.
Sturgeon, William, discovers the electro-magnet, 652.
Stuyvesant, Peter, 695.
Submarine cable, description of the, 661.
Summary of races for America's cup, 258.
Sumter, Fort, ceremony attendant upon the re-occupation of, 342.
Sutcliffe, Robert; his account of a journey through the states in 1804, 41.
Sutter's Mill, discovery of gold at, 242-259.
Suttner, Baroness von, on the Hague Conferences, 573.
Swarthmore College declines proffered gift of Miss Jeanes, 747.
Sweeney, Peter B., member of the Tweed Ring, 376.
Synagogue, the place of the, in Jewish life, 402.

T.

Tabard Inn, The, 701.
Takahira, Baron, envoy from Japan to Portsmouth Conference, 621.
Tammany Hall and the Tweed Ring, 371-382; charmed life of the society, 382.
Tampa, Florida, embarkation of troops from, 490.
Taylor, Hannis, Minister to Spain, 469; his "History of the English Constitution," 690.
—, Joseph W., founds Bryn Mawr College, 729.
Telegraph, invention and perfection of the Electric, 655-659; the wireless system, 673-676.
— Hill, San Francisco, 629, 631.
Telephone, invention of the, 664-667.
Temperance Reform Movement, The, 217-225; leading actors in, 218; organization of the Washington Temperance Society, 219; the work of Father Mathew in America, 222; opinions of distinguished men regarding the work, 224, 225.
Temple of Peace, The Carnegie, at The Hague, 575.
Tennent, William, and his Log College, 712.
Tennyson, Alfred, quoted, 35, 584.
Tenth Cavalry, The, negro regiment, valiant action of, at San Juan Hill, 491.
Testimonies, remarkable, concerning the Bible, 442-444.
Teutonic nations, birth of the, 34; influence upon the development of the race, 34.
Thackeray, W. M.; his reverence for the Bible, 443.
Thaddeus, The, missionary brig to the Sandwich islands, 537.
Thales and the magnet, 638.
The Hague, description of, 562; its famous Art gallery, 565; the House in the Wood, 565; Peace Conferences at, 557-584.
Theodore Roosevelt Professorship at the University of Berlin, The, 685.
Thompson, H. Y., pioneer in educational reciprocity, 686.
Tilden, Samuel J., Chairman of Committee of Seventy, 380; founds New York city library, 760.
Tischendorf, Professor Constantin, discovers the Codex Sinaiticus, 70.
Toral, General, surrenders Spanish army at Santiago, 494.
Tories, treatment of the, during the Revolutionary War, 69.
Trade routes, The mediaeval, 596.
— Unions in the United States, 395; John Mitchell's statement of the case of, 395, 396.
Translations, comparative page of, of the twenty-third Psalm, 429.
Transportation, electric, 672, 673.
Treaty of Portsmouth, The, 612-625; description of Manchuria and Korea, 612, 613; the Siberian rail-

road, 613; peculiar measures of Russia to secure terminus on the Yellow Sea, 614; establishment of Russian "depots" in Manchuria, 614; nature of Russia's interest in the control of that country, 614; very different interests of Japan, 614, 615; rapid growth of Japanese population and commerce, 614, 615; war between Japan and China and its results, 615; Russia secures virtual control of Manchuria for thirty years by secret treaty, 616; effect of the "Boxer" uprising on the general situation, 616; Japan's last effort at peaceful negotiations with Russia, 616; severs diplomatic relations, 617; sudden attack of Japanese on Chemulpo harbor and Port Arthur, 618; brief review of the Russo-Japanese war and its results, 618; movements toward intervention, 619; such a course made natural by clauses of conventions adopted by the Hague Conference, 619; early efforts of Secretary Hay to secure the integrity of China, 620; conditions following the battle of Mukden, and destruction of the Russian Baltic fleet, 620; identical notes sent to both combatants by President Roosevelt, 620; envoys plenipotentiary appointed by the two Powers, 621; their arrival in America and reception by the President on the *Mayflower*, 621; Portsmouth, N. H., selected as a meeting place for the envoys, 622; detailed account of the meetings of the envoys, 622, 623; final agreement and execution of the Treaty, 623; reception of the treaty terms in Russia and Japan, 624; real significance and effect of the Treaty, 624.

Trencher, The, use of, in Colonial days, 58.

Trent, The Council of, decree of, as to Jerome's Vulgate, 433.

Trenton, N. J., grand reception of Washington at, 118.

Troy, The, or McMahon, revision of the Douay Bible, 436.

Trueblood, B. F.; his "Federation of the World" quoted, 566.

Trust, the stage coach, 53.

Tutuila, 781.

Twenty-third Psalm, page of comparative translations of, 429.

Tweed Ring, The, 371-382; character of New York city government, 371; conditions that made organization of the Ring possible, 372-375; Tweed's first entry into politics, 372; election to the National Congress, 373; his rapid rise in Tammany Hall, 373; Mozart Hall and Fernando Wood, 373; the new Wigwam, and the Democratic National Convention of 1868, 374, 375; Horatio Seymour forced upon the Convention, 375; Tammany's state and city candidates all elected, 376; the city ring complete,— Tweed, "Oakey" Hall, Sweeney, and Connolly, 376; Tweed's new city charter, 378; the combination of Fisk, Gould, the Tammany ring, and the ring of the State legislature, 378; estimates of the stealings, 378, 379; shocking increase in the city's indebtedness, 379; Tweed declines proposal to erect monument to him, 380; exposures of the New York *Times*, 380, 381; the Committee of Seventy, and its work, 380-382; Tweed's arrest, conviction, and sensational escape, 381; his capture and re-trial under a special law, 381; his death in Ludlow street jail, 381; summary of the marvelous operations of the ring, 381, 382; fate of its other members, 382; Tammany's charmed life, 382.

Tyndale, William, translates the Bible into English, 419-421; character and supreme importance of his translation, 425; his martyrdom and last words, 423.

Tyndall, John; his Lowell Institute lectures, 740, 741; establishes scholarships at American universities, 741.

U.

Ulysses, the return of, 31.

Uncials, the capital letter manuscripts, described, 406.

Union, The Interparliamentary, 574.

Unions, The Labor, 396-400.

United States, wealth and population of the, about 1800, 35, 44; conditions in, at the opening of the nineteenth century, 35; state of affairs in, preceding the Spanish war, 467, 468.

— —, The, a World Power, 767-783; influence of catch phrases and sentiments, 767, 768; the so-called world Powers, 768; the "Concert of the Powers," 768; the great change in political sentiment toward the close of the nineteenth century, 769; influence of tariffs and over-production, 769; Europe no longer the world, 769; outbreak of the land-grabbing fever, 769; conditions in China, 769; outbreak of the European nations in China due to formation of the Steel Trust in the United States, 769; the "battle for concessions," 770; real causes of the war between the United States and Spain, 770; causes set forth by the resolutions of Congress, 770; the declarations of President McKinley, 771; attitude of the dominant party in Congress, 771, 772; cause of the war from the Congressional standpoint, political, 771; light thrown upon the subject by the late Senator George F. Hoar, 772; position of leading party men regarding the annexation of Hawaii, 773; real causes of the war political and commercial, not humanitarian, 774; clause of the Peace Protocol as to the disposal of the Philippines, 774; delegates from the United States to arrange terms of peace at Paris, 775; general instructions of the President as to the Philippines, 775; differences between the Commissioners at Paris regarding the Philippine cession, 776; positive stand taken by Commissioner George Gray, 776, 777; President McKinley's western tour and change of position, 777; demands cession of the whole archipelago, 777; payment of $20,000,000 for the same, 777; treaty signed December 10, 1898; the United States a World Power, 778; different views of the influence of the United States, 778, 779; lack of interest in the "principles of the Fathers," 779; the debate on the Spanish treaty, 779, 780; changed attitude of Senators regarding the question, 780; opinion of Senator Spooner, 780; outbreak between American and Philippine troops, 780; influence of W. J. Bryan, 780; Joint Resolutions of Congress annexing Hawaii, 781; the foreign possessions that constitute the United States a World Power, 781; cost of the war with Spain, 781; the curse of militarism, 782; the glorious development of our nation, 782; the parting of the ways, 782; an Oriental opinion of America's course, 783; the brighter outlook, 783.

Universe, The, not a machine but an organism, 32; an immense unit, 32; events of, not works of chance, 32.

Unrighteous Bible, The, 437.

V.

Vancouver, Captain George, 534.

Vanderbilts, benefactions of the, 76.

Vane, Sir Henry, 700.

Vassar College, 728.

Vatican Council, The, decree of, regarding the Vulgate Bible, 436.

Vaticanus, The Codex, described, 407.

Venezuela, Boundary Dispute, The, 517-524; unsavory reputation of Great Britain in regard to the acquisition of territory, 517; her protest against American settlements on the Columbia river, 517; spicy rejoinder of John Quincy Adams, 518; origin of the trouble over the Venezuela boundary line, 518; claims set up by Robert Schomburgk, 518; constantly aggressive movements by Great Britain in the face of Venezuelan protests, 518, 519; Venezuela's appeal to the United States, 519; all representations of both governments ignored by Great Britain, 519; President Cleveland's message to Congress on the subject, 519, 520; prompt action by both houses, 520; appointment of a commission

by the United States to determine the true boundary line, 522; Great Britain consents to arbitrate, 523; distinguished list of arbitrators and their decree, 523.
Versions as sources of our Bible, technical meaning of, 406.
Vertus, Plains of, 503, 504.
Vessels, the largest of the Revolutionary Navy compared with those of the New Navy, 475.
Victoria, Queen, honors George Peabody, 743, 744.
Vigilance leagues, The Early California, 627, 628.
Vincent, Bishop J. H., and The Chautauqua, 730.
Vinegar Bible, The, 436.
Virginia, population of, and slaves, about 1800; early schools of, 708.
- and Pennsylvania, early conditions in, compared, 41, 42.
Vladivostok, 613.
Volta, and the Voltaic battery, 648.
Voltaire, quoted, 769.
Vulgate, The; Jerome's revision of the old Latin Bible, 411; decree of the Council of Trent regarding, 433; oldest extant copy of, and its history, 433.

W.

Wainwright, R. D., commander of the *Gloucester*, 492-494.
War, cost of the Revolutionary, 45.
Washington, George, the strenuous advocate of independence, 66; nominated and elected Commander-in-Chief of the Army, 89; assumes command at Cambridge, July 2, 1775; causes Declaration of Independence to be read to army, 68; conspiracy to proclaim him King, 91; farewell to the Army at Newburgh, and to the officers at Fraunces' tavern, New York city, 92; grand ovation to, on his journey to Mt. Vernon, 93; resigns his commission to Congress, at Annapolis, Md., 93; made president of the Convention to draft a Constitution, 111; unanimously elected first President of the United States, 116; his journey from Mt. Vernon to New York to assume office, 120; his position on the question of locating the national capital, 131; his last illness and death, 136-143; burial at Mt. Vernon, 142; estimates of his character and greatness, 142, 143.
—, the National Capital, in 1800, 40. *See also* under Capital.
— Temperance Society, The, 219.
—, Treaty of, 559.
— University, St. Louis, rehabilitation of the, 756.
Waterman, Nixon, quoted, 690.
Watson, Dr. William, affirms the existence of electrical ether, 641; his "Experiments and Observations," and its influence on Franklin, 642.
Wayside Inn, The, 53.
Webster, Daniel, meets Hayne in great debate, 197-205; description of his manner and the immediate effect of his oratory, 201-205; his matchless fame as a statesman established, 205; Secretary of State, and the "Caroline Affair," 205; his appreciation of the Bible, 443; his great argument in the "Dartmouth College Case," 718, 719.
— -Hayne debate, The, 197-205; events that led up to it, 198; Webster's great oration, 200, 201; tremendous excitement attendant upon the debate, 202.
Wei-hai-wai, leased by China to England, 770.
Weitzel, General, with his brigade first to enter Richmond, 340.
Wellesley College, 728.
Wells College, 728.
Wells, Dr. Horace, claims the discovery of ether, 236, 241.
Weyler, General, recalled from Cuba, 470.
"What God Hath Wrought," the first message over the Morse telegraph, 657.
Wheeler, Benjamin Ide, on the charm of old San Francisco, 628.
—, General Joseph, 491.
White, Andrew D., commissioner to determine the Venezuela boundary line, 522; delegate to the first Hague Conference, 564; notable tribute to Hugo Grotius, 564.
— Squadron, The, 479, 480.
Whitney, Eli, and his cotton gin, 44, 122; sketch of his early life, 123; base treatment of, by Southern planters, 125-127; bitter struggle of the inventor to protect his rights, 127.
Whittier, J. G., and the Bible; quotation from his *Miriam*, 444.
Wicked Bible, The, 436.
Wigwam, Tammany's New, 374.
Wilhelmina, Queen, sketch of her life, 565; her message of welcome to the delegates to The Hague Conference, 567.
William and Mary College, history of, 709-711.
Williams College, founding of, 718.
Wilson, Woodrow, president of Princeton University, 715.
Winthrop, John, 696.
—, Robert C., quoted, 745; his influence in directing the course of princely gifts, 760.
Wireless telegraph, the, a result of the discovery of the etheric waves, 673; Marconi and his system, 673-676; detailed account of his experiments, 673-675; the claims of other inventors, 674; remarkable invention of Orling and Armstrong, 675; the rescue of the steamship *Republic*, 676.
Wiseman, Cardinal; his estimate of the Challoner and Troy revisions of the Douay Bible, 436.
Witherspoon, James, president of Princeton College, 713.
Witte, Sergius, envoy of Russia to the Portsmouth Conference, 620-623.
Women, American, beauty and accomplishments of, 36.
Wood, Colonel Leonard, organizes the "Rough Riders," 490.
Woodford, General S. L., Minister to Spain, 469.
Worden, Lieut. J. L., commander of the *Monitor*, 300-302.
World Power, *see*, United States a World Power, The.
— Powers, illustrations of, 768.
Wyclif, John, influence of, upon the status of laborers, 393; his translation of the Bible into the new English tongue, 416; wonderful influence of his translation, 417.
Wyman, William, makes gifts to Johns Hopkins University, 748.
Wyse, Lieut., secures concession for a canal from Colombia, 600.

Y.

Yale College and University, history of, 711, 712.
—, Elihu, sketch of the life of, 711, 712.
Yalu river, the, 613, 614.
Yarmouth, The, in fight with the *Randolph*, 475.
Yellow fever, repeated scourges of, 35.
— Journals, the evil influence of, 496, 679.
Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, 386-388; organization of the first society, 386; rapid spread of the idea, 387; the third annual convention of, 387; publication of the Christian Endeavor World, 388; twenty-eighth birthday message of President Clark, 388; seventy-one thousand societies, with over four million members, 388.
Youth of the Nation, The, 782.

DEC 8 1909

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 011 446 437 5